Women in the American Civil War

Women in the American Civil War

VOLUME I

Lisa Tendrich Frank

Editor

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Introduction

Until the past few decades, most scholars would have agreed with Margaret Mitchell's narrator, who asserted in *Gone with the Wind,* that war "is men's business, not ladies" (Mitchell, *Gone with the Wind,* 8). Indeed, until recently, only a few scholars dared to treat women as central players in the American Civil War. Instead, the bulk of the scholarship on the war pushed women to the margins, discussing them only as a sidebar to the "important" work done by men on the battlefields and in the political arena. In most accounts, the women stayed at home as unnamed civilians, while the men in their worlds fought the battles that defined the outcome of the war. A few nurses were recognized for their valor, but their wartime efforts remained overshadowed by those of military men, such as William Tecumseh Sherman, Ulysses S. Grant, Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson, and Robert E. Lee, as well by those of politicians like Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis. This book reflects the growing and increasingly sophisticated literature on women during the American Civil War that demonstrates the need to acknowledge women's central roles in pursuing the war and in determining its outcome. Rather than auxiliaries, women across all racial, class, ethnic, religious, and geographic lines were an essential component of the action. Slave women and their white female owners shaped and were shaped by the war, as were female abolitionists, yeoman farmers, recent immigrants, widows, and domestic laborers. Whether living in the North, South, or West or in the countryside or city, women of all classes and backgrounds found ways to involve themselves in the events shaping their lives.

Although this volume focuses on women in the Civil War period, it does not glorify them for the sake of noticing them. Instead, the entries in this encyclopedia offer a nuanced view of how women survived, contributed to, undermined, and lived through the Civil War. This approach contrasts sharply with that of the literature about Civil War women appearing throughout the nation immediately after the war. These accounts typically elevated women, particularly elite white women, to a mythical status as self-sacrificing feminine patriots. To create this mythology, the accounts, written by both men and women, emphasized women's nurturing roles on the homefront, especially as nurses, seamstresses, and fundraisers for their men on the battlefield. The women of these extensive volumes provided the necessary support for politicians and soldiers, but they rarely played any independent role in the conflict. Instead, they willingly gave up their food, fancy clothes, comfort, homes, and loved ones in support of a cause that they believed in. They never stepped outside the boundaries of what was then considered proper womanhood, but rather performed their wartime tasks with the knowledge that they did them for the men. Those who took on the extraordinary roles as soldiers and spies were often portrayed as doing so in the name of the men they loved.

The reality of women's wartime experiences, however, was much more complicated than this self-sacrificing feminine image suggests. As women

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stepped outside their traditional roles as sweethearts, wives, mothers, sisters, and daughters, many willingly took on roles that, at the time, some classified as unfeminine. Some white Southern women, for example, vehemently supported or opposed disunion, engaged in political debates, attended secession conventions, and otherwise eagerly participated in the political sphere. Some Northern women similarly joined and helped form abolitionist organizations, petitioned Congress to limit the expansion of slavery, and otherwise became political actors. Once the war began, Northern and Southern women took government jobs, served as spies and soldiers, wrote political and fictional accounts of events, took themselves to the battlefield as frontline nurses, ran farms and plantations to varying degrees of success, worked as doctors, hid deserters and shirkers, protested conscription and wartime shortages, provided information and supplies to enemy soldiers in their midst, offered advice to husbands in military command, and otherwise demonstrated that they made their own choices throughout the war. Enslaved African American women helped turn the war into a fight for emancipation, claiming safety behind Union lines, reuniting with family members, and otherwise pursuing freedom. Free black women helped raise Union regiments, nursed injured and sick soldiers as necessary, and formed aid societies to help the soldiers and widows of their communities. Others remained leery of stepping outside the boundaries of femininity and instead remained on the sidelines as support staff to the men of their families. Many women, regardless of their stances, kept diaries of their experiences and observations of the war and of the people involved. Women of all backgrounds sent letters—filled with words of support, complaint, or requests—to their men at the front. In all cases, however, women could not escape a war that had such wide reaching effects.

To best explore how women experienced and affected the course of the Civil War, this title contains a mixture of types and lengths of entries. The fourteen contextual essays at the beginning outline the general contours of the war, the different types of women, the wartime issues, as well as the experiences of women in particular. These extended entries, appearing at the start of the volume and separated from the traditional alphabetical entries, provide an overview of how various groups of women experienced the era and how women in general shared similar experiences. Specifically, the essays explore abolitionism and Northern reformers, African American women, the Confederate homefront, female spies, female combatants, military invasion and occupation, Northern women, nurses, politics, religion, Southern women, the Union homefront, wartime employment, and wartime literature. Collectively, these essays provide an overview of the female experience during the war. They offer a broad outline of the war experience that is augmented by the individual shorter entries throughout the rest of the volume.

The bulk of the volume consists of more than three hundred entries that detail the experiences of women during the American Civil War without necessarily glorifying them, as was done in the postwar literature. They explore topics that traditionally fall under the headings of military affairs, social life, labor issues, politics, and culture. Some of the entries are explicitly about women, often biographical sketches of well-known and not so well-known participants and observers. Other entries explore famous military and political events, like the Battle of Gettysburg or the wartime elections, introducing and emphasizing the traditionally neglected participation of women. Women's roles in the recruitment of soldiers, the protest of wartime policies, the care of wounded men, and the creation of supplies for the men of both armies are highlighted. In addition, the volume details the cross-dressing women who served as soldiers in the Confederate and Union armies, as well as the employment of women in government and private-sector jobs. It also contains details about emancipation, slave life, and the enlistment of African American soldiers. Even women's homefront lives and roles are explored from various viewpoints. In short, this volume details the contributions and experiences of women across the social, ethnic, and racial spectra.

Each of the alphabetical entries contains the basic components of an encyclopedia—details, dates, names, and the other essential facts for the term—with special attention paid to how the topic

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relates to the experiences of women during the war. Biographical entries detail the milestones of the person's entire life, but the bulk of their information relates to the individual's wartime experiences. Similarly, entries on battles and other traditional military topics contain the outline of maneuvers and tactics, with special attention paid to the contributions of female spies, civilians, nurses, and soldiers as well as to how women experienced or reacted to the event. Each entry also contains cross references to allow users to flesh out the contours of the wartime experience through a reading of related entries. Finally, all the entries contain a list of specialized books and articles that will allow readers to further explore the topics covered.

The twenty-four primary sources included in the volume offer a first-hand look at women's wartime experiences. They cover a wide array of viewpoints and events, including the Richmond bread riots, the capture of Union spy Pauline Cushman, the formation of United States Sanitary Commission–sanctioned aid societies, the life of a slave woman, the education of freed people by Northern women, and the evacuation of Atlanta. In addition, they offer a brief glance at some of the contemporary popular literature, North and South. The disparate experiences outlined in these sources lend credence to the need for an encyclopedia that examines women's individual wartime experiences. Although these sources are all by or about women, they each offer a specific viewpoint on the war, on its effects, and on women's involvement, demonstrating the impossibility of casting women's wartime experiences in monolithic terms.

Exploring this volume, readers discover the centrality of the Civil War to the lives of American women and American society. Indeed, many scholars paint the Civil War as a defining moment in the history of the United States. Military historians stress its importance as the first modern war—a statement about the tactics, technology, and interaction of civilians. Social historians have uncovered the transformative nature of the war in a host of areas. Many women's historians argue that the wartime participation of Northern women in abolitionism, nursing, and aid societies led to the coalescence of a woman's movement in the Northern states. Even scholars of tourism demonstrate how the unprecedented movement around the nation by military troops helped to develop more of a nationwide tourism industry than had existed in antebellum America; soldiers wanted to revisit and bring their loved ones to the places they had fought, and widows and other family members wanted to visit the places where their loved ones had lost their lives. The Civil War did, in fact, alter the lives of all who lived through it. However, individual backgrounds, as well as locations, wartime experiences, and expectations, resulted in lingering effects that each person felt differently.

Readers may also be surprised by the connections between the homefront and the warfront, between civilians and soldiers, and between women and men that this encyclopedia illuminates. Although scholars have often ignored women in their military treatments of the Civil War because they were not on the battlefield, women's omnipresence on the homefront shaped how officers directed their military campaigns and determined what soldiers would eat and wear. Northern and Southern women's often unpaid work as nurses, recruiters, fundraisers, seamstresses, cooks, and laundresses provided essential functions for the waging of war. By performing these tasks, women fulfilled a need for labor and goods that would have otherwise drawn men from their positions on the battlefront. Consequently, women—whether they were rich or poor, black or white, Native American or immigrant, Southern or Northern, rural or urban—helped determine the outcome of the war and in turn were shaped by the events around them.

In addition, for many women, the homefront became the battlefront. Communities in the Shenandoah Valley, for example, constantly shifted between Union and Confederate control, and the residents there found themselves dealing with soldiers on a daily basis. They had to find a way to survive, retain their loyalties, and support their own troops. Similarly, in occupied Southern cities such as Vicksburg, Mississippi, women had to choose between loyalty oaths and possible starvation when occupying Union troops vowed not to do business

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with Confederates. Some women chose to take loyalty oaths while harboring Confederate allegiance, and others found their fervor for the Southern nation dampened by the realities of war and occupation. In New Orleans, Union officials dealt directly with what they saw as Southern women's insolence. Fed up with the behavior of the city's women, General Benjamin Butler issued the Woman Order to bring Confederate women under control and to force them to behave like ladies with the occupying troops. African American women, who expected the Union army to bring freedom from slavery and its horrors, often found themselves confronted with Northern racism. Much to their surprise, these women faced rape as well as the loss or destruction of their property by those they thought would be their liberators. Northern women, for their part, assumed themselves safe from invasion. However, some faced Confederate soldiers when the troops pushed northward, most notably into Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. Like their Southern counterparts, these women were forced to find ways to protect themselves and their families from enemy soldiers.

Even when they did not face enemy troops, women's roles on the homefront remained essential to the course of the Civil War. As many scholars and participants have noted, women's moral and material support allowed men to leave home for military duty. Women's objections to the course of the war or to the cause that their men supported often proved equally powerful. Some women, unable to handle the business at home on their own, urged their husbands to desert. Other women created underground groups of protest in their communities, such as the secret Unionist circle in Atlanta frequented by Cyrena Stone. In more drastic instances, women took to the streets to make their voices heard. In cities across the South, for example, hundreds of women participated in food riots in 1863, drawing attention to their needs in a time of shortage. That same year, many Northern women participated in draft riots throughout Northern cities.

In addition to the contextual essays and alphabetic entries, this volume also contains two additional resources to help readers understand the experience of women and the Civil War. At the start of the volume, there is a chronology that integrates women's participation in the Civil War with the traditional military and political events. At the end of the volume, an extensive bibliography offers researchers a way to begin their search for information on the topics covered and on the Civil War in general.

Margaret Mitchell may have penned her famous and misleading words about the Civil War a couple of generations ago, but her message resonates to this day. Hopefully, this encyclopedia helps illuminate the falsehood of treating war as men's work and of ignoring women in our interpretations and understandings of the Civil War. This volume, as well as the growing literature on women and the war, should make it clear that war is also women's work.

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Chronology

January 1831
Abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison publishes the first issue of *The Liberator.*

December 1833
The American Anti-Slavery Society forms in Philadelphia.

July 1840
Abby Kelly is elected to the board of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Subsequent debate over the role of women in the abolitionist movement results in some members forming the separate American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. William Lloyd Garrison remains with the American Anti-Slavery Society.

July 1848
Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and other supporters of women's rights hold a convention at Seneca Falls, New York, and issue a Declaration of Sentiments.

September 1850
President Millard Fillmore signs a series of bills that deals with states' rights and the extension of slavery into the new territories of the United States that becomes known as the Compromise of 1850.

May 1851
Sojourner Truth delivers her "Ain't I a Woman?" speech at a women's rights convention in Akron, Ohio.

June 1851
Washington-based abolitionist newspaper, *The National Era,* begins publishing in serial form Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin; Or, Life among the Lowly.*

March 1852
Uncle Tom's Cabin; Or, Life among the Lowly is published in book form.

April 1853
Harriet Tubman begins working on the Underground Railroad.

May 1854
Congress passes the Kansas-Nebraska Act.

March 1857
The Supreme Court makes its *Dred Scott v. Sanford* ruling.

October 1859
Abolitionist John Brown leads a raid on the federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, hoping to initiate a slave rebellion.

April 1860
Anna Dickinson delivers "The Rights and Wrongs of Women" at a Quaker meeting.

November 1860
Abraham Lincoln is elected president of the United States.

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December 1860
South Carolina secedes from the Union.

January 1861
Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana secede.
Harriet Jacobs [Linda Brent] publishes *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl.*

February 1861
Texas secedes.
Seceded states hold convention in Montgomery, Alabama, where they adopt a Confederate Constitution and elect Jefferson Davis president of the Confederate States of America.

March 1861
Abraham Lincoln is inaugurated as president of the United States.

April 1861
Rebecca Harding Davis publishes "Life in the Iron Mills" in *The Atlantic Monthly.*
Confederates fire on and capture Fort Sumter in South Carolina.
Lincoln calls for troops to put down the insurrection, and he orders a naval blockade of Confederate seaports. Virginia secedes. Lincoln also orders all civilian employees within the executive branch to take a loyalty oath.
Riots erupt in Baltimore, Maryland.
New York City women form the Women's Central Association of Relief.
Dorothea Dix is appointed Superintendent of the United States Army Nurses.

May 1861
Arkansas and North Carolina secede.
Dorothea Dix organizes the first military hospitals in the United States.

June 1861
The Women's Central Association of Relief is sanctioned by Lincoln, and it becomes the United States Sanitary Commission.
After speaking at a pro-Union rally, Sojourner Truth is arrested for breaking a state law that prohibited African Americans from entering Indiana.
Mary Ann Bickerdyke begins her work at Union hospitals.
Western counties in Virginia secede from the state and form West Virginia.

July 1861
Congress authorizes the enlistment of half a million soldiers and passes the Crittenden Resolution, which declares that the United States was waging war to reunify the nation rather than to eliminate or restrict slavery.
The Confederate and Union armies face each other for the first time at the Battle of Bull Run (Manassas). During that battle, Anne Blair Etheridge and other women witness their first combat as frontline nurses.

August 1861
Lincoln declares the Confederate states to be in a state of insurrection.
Congress passes the first Confiscation Act.
The United States Secret Service arrests and imprisons Rose O'Neal Greenhow for spying on behalf of the Confederacy.
Anne Ella Carroll publishes *Reply to the Speech of Honorable John C. Breckinridge.*

September 1861
Sally Louisa Tompkins becomes a commissioned Confederate officer in order to keep Robertson Hospital open in Richmond, Virginia.

October 1861
Charlotte Forten goes to Port Royal, South Carolina, to work as a teacher for recently freed African Americans.

November 1861
General Winfield Scott resigns his post as head of the United States Army. Lincoln appoints George B. McClellan to replace him.

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The Young Men's Christian Association establishes the United States Christian Commission.

January 1862
The Port Royal Experiment begins on the Union-occupied Sea Islands in South Carolina.

February 1862
Julia Ward Howe publishes "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" in *The Atlantic Monthly.*

March 1862
The Confederate ironclad *Merrimac* and Union ironclad *Monitor* fight to a draw.
The Peninsular Campaign begins.
The United States Congress passes the Impressment Act.

April 1862
The Battle of Shiloh takes place.
Congress abolishes slavery in the District of Columbia.
The Confederacy passes its first Conscription Act.

May 1862
Union General Benjamin Butler takes command of occupied New Orleans, Louisiana. He issues his General Order Number 28, the Woman Order.

June 1862
Virginian Robert E. Lee assumes command of the Confederate army.

July 1862
Lee and McClellan face each other at the Seven Days Battle.
General Henry Halleck takes control of the Union army.
Confederate spy Belle Boyd is imprisoned at the Old Capital Prison.

August 1862
Confederate soldiers defeat the Union army at the Second Battle of Bull Run.

September 1862
Lee's Army of Northern Virginia invades the North. The deadliest day of fighting occurs when twenty-six thousand soldiers die at the Battle at Antietam in Maryland.
Lincoln issues a preliminary Emancipation Proclamation.
Laura M. Towne establishes a school for freedmen and freedwomen on St. Helena Island, South Carolina.
An explosion at the Allegheny Arsenal kills seventy-eight workers, mostly young women.

November 1862
General Ambrose E. Burnside replaces McClellan as commander of the Union's Army of the Potomac.

December 1862
Confederates defeat Union forces at the Battle of Fredericksburg.
Louisa May Alcott begins work at Union Hospital in Washington, D.C.

January 1863
Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation goes into effect.
General Joseph Hooker replaces Ambrose Burnside, and Union General Ulysses S. Grant takes control of the Army of the West.
Recruitment begins for the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Infantry Regiment, the nation's first African American unit.

March 1863
An explosion at an ordnance lab in Richmond, Virginia, kills thirty-four women.
Women in Salisbury, North Carolina, riot in response to their shortage of salt and flour.
Mary Abigail Dodge [Gail Hamilton] publishes "A Call to My Country-Women" in *The Atlantic Monthly.*

April 1863
Women in Richmond, Virginia, engage in bread riots to protest the wartime shortages.

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The Battle of Chancellorsville begins.
Confederate Mary Frances "Fanny" Battle is arrested for spying.
The Union's policy of conscription goes into effect.

May 1863
Lee defeats Hooker at Chancellorsville.
The National Women's Loyal League meets for the first time.
Louisa May Alcott begins to publish in serial form her *Hospital Sketches.*
Fanny Kemble publishes her *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation* while in England; it is published in the United States that July.
Union spy Pauline Cushman is captured.

June 1863
Lee again invades the North, and General George G. Meade becomes the Union commander of the Army of the Potomac.
Residents of Vicksburg, Mississippi, evacuate to nearby caves to avoid Union shelling.
Western Virginia separates from Virginia and reenters the Union.

July 1863
The Union army defeats Lee at the Battle of Gettysburg.
Union forces under Grant capture Vicksburg and takes control of the Mississippi River.
The Battle of Honey Springs takes place in Indian Territory.
Draft riots in New York expose homefront frustrations. Similar riots occur in Boston, Massachusetts, Holmes County, Ohio, and elsewhere across the Union.

August 1863
Confederate William C. Quantrill and four hundred and fifty supporters raid Lawrence, Kansas.

September 1863
Confederates win the Battle of Chickamauga.

October 1863
Lincoln calls for a national day of thanksgiving to be held in November.
Grant takes control of all operations in the Western theater.
The United States Sanitary Commission holds one of its most successful sanitary fairs in Chicago.

November 1863
Lincoln delivers the Gettysburg Address at the dedication of a national cemetery.
Grant repels the Confederate siege at Chattanooga, Tennessee.

February 1864
Confederates win the Battle of Olustee in Florida.
The National Women's Loyal League presents Congress with a petition demanding the abolition of slavery.
Rebecca Lee becomes the first African American woman to earn an M.D. degree.

March 1864
Grant takes control of all the armies of the United States, and General William T. Sherman assumes control of Union forces in the West.
Women protest for peace in High Point, North Carolina.

April 1864
The United States Sanitary Commission holds a three-week fundraising fair in New York that raises $1 million.
A bread riot erupts in Savannah, Georgia.

May 1864
Union troops under Grant's command fight Confederate forces led by Lee at the Battles of the Wilderness and Spotsylvania.
Sherman advances toward Atlanta and the Army of the Tennessee.

June 1864
Confederates win the Battle of Cold Harbor.
Grant begins a nine-month siege of Petersburg, Virginia.

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July 1864
Sherman forcefully evacuates female workers and their families from the textile mill town of Roswell, Georgia.

September 1864
Sherman captures Atlanta and issues Special Field Orders, Number 67, evacuating the city of all civilians. The order primarily affects the city's women and children.
Frustrations lead to bread riots in Mobile, Alabama.

October 1864
Union General Philip H. Sheridan defeats General Jubal Early's Confederate troops in the Shenandoah Valley.

November 1864
Lincoln defeats McClellan in the presidential race.
Sherman burns Atlanta and begins his March to the Sea.

December 1864
General George H. Thomas defeats the Army of the Tennessee.
Sherman captures Savannah, Georgia.

January 1865
Freed slaves obtain control of the Sea Islands between Jacksonville, Florida, and Charleston, South Carolina, when Sherman issues Special Field Order, Number 15. Sherman marches through South Carolina, destroying much of Charleston, Columbia, and the surrounding areas.
Before Sherman arrives, the women of Columbia hold the Confederacy's largest fundraising bazaar.
Freed slave and Union spy Mary Elizabeth Bowser flees from Confederate President Jefferson Davis's Richmond home.

February 1865
African American Julia C. Collins begins publishing "The Curse of Caste; or, The Slave Bride" as a serial in the *Christian Recorder*, a weekly newspaper run by the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

March 1865
Grant defeats Lee at the Battle of Petersburg.
Congress creates the Freedmen's Bureau to help former slaves in their transition to freedom.
Clara Barton establishes the Office of Correspondence with Friends of the Missing Men of the United States Army.

April 1865
Confederate forces evacuate Richmond, Virginia.
Lee surrenders to Grant at Appomattox Courthouse, Virginia.
John Wilkes Booth assassinates President Lincoln at Ford's Theater in Washington, D.C.
Andrew Johnson becomes president.

May 1865
General Oliver Otis Howard becomes head of the Freedmen's Bureau.
Northerners celebrate the Union victory with a parade down Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, D.C.

July 1865
Mary Surratt is hanged for her involvement in the conspiracy to assassinate Lincoln.

November 1865
Mississippi passes the first black code.

December 1865
Congress ratifies the Thirteenth Amendment, abolishing slavery.
The Ku Klux Klan forms in Pulaski, Tennessee.

March 1866
Congress enacts the Civil Rights Act of 1866.

May 1866
Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton organize the Eleventh National Women's Rights Convention in New York City.

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July 1866
A race riot erupts in New Orleans.

July 1867
The Ladies' Memorial Association unveils the first monument to the Confederate dead in Cheraw, South Carolina.

July 1868
The Fourteenth Amendment is ratified. It grants citizenship to all men born or naturalized in the United States. The amendment introduces the term "male" to the Constitution.

November 1868
Ulysses S. Grant is elected president.

February 1869
Congress passes the Fifteenth Amendment that prevents states from denying voters the right to voice on the basis of race, color, or previous condition.

May 1869
Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton establish the National Woman Suffrage Association.

December 1869
Wyoming passes the first women's suffrage law in the United States.

April 1871
Congress passes the Civil Rights Act of 1871, also known as the Ku Klux Klan Act.

June 1872
Congress abolishes the Freedmen's Bureau.

March 1875
The United States Supreme Court, in *Miner v. Happersett,* concludes that citizenship does not guarantee suffrage.
The Civil Rights Act of 1875 guarantees that African Americans receive equal treatment in public facilities.

November 1876
Rutherford B. Hayes is elected president.

April 1877
Hayes orders the last federal troops to leave South Carolina, and Reconstruction comes to a formal end.

May 1881
Former Civil War nurse Clara Barton forms the American Association of the Red Cross.

September 1894
The United Daughters of the Confederacy is formed.

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Contextual Essays

Abolitionism and Northern Reformers

Abolitionism is commonly dated from the 1830s; however, the movement has its earliest origins in the Enlightenment doctrine of human rights and in the evangelical attack on slavery during the Great Awakening of the eighteenth century. In the United States, this early stage of abolitionism peaked in the last quarter of the eighteenth and early years of the nineteenth centuries with the abolition of slavery in the Northern states and a ban on the international slave trade. In 1831, William Lloyd Garrison initiated a new era in the abolitionist movement with the publication of *The Liberator.* Garrison's call for the immediate abolition of slavery was influenced by the religious revivals of the 1820s and early 1830s. Revivalist ministers exhorted their followers to renounce their sinful ways and seek divine salvation through good deeds and a close, personal relationship with God. The reform movements of the nineteenth century began or were deeply influenced by the revivals of the Second Great Awakening. Abolitionism was the most extreme of the reform movements in the antebellum North, often operating at the margins of political and social life.

In the early nineteenth century, sweeping changes transformed American society. The development of manufacturers, cities, transportation, and wealth in the North altered American society, often in dramatic ways. Manufacturing first took hold in New England. Power and transportation provided by the extensive waterways of the region, as well as the steady influx of immigrant laborers, facilitated the growth of the factory system. Prior to the development of the factory system, manufacturing had been completed in home-based artisan workshops. As industrialization took hold in New England and elsewhere in the North, small mills were replaced by large factories, labor became an impersonal market commodity, and the social controls inherent in home-based manufacture disappeared.

The growth of an urban working class, economic instability, improvements in communication and transportation, and the development of a mass culture and popular publications impacted every aspect of American life. Universal suffrage also contributed to the extreme social dislocations of early nineteenth-century American life. After 1815, state after state revoked property qualifications for voting and holding elected office. Suffrage was generally extended only to white males, however, as states limited or, in some instances, denied political rights to black men and all women. Nevertheless, the expansion of political rights transformed spectators into citizens as more and more eligible voters turned out at the polls. By 1840, nearly 60 percent of eligible voters went to the polls.

The early nineteenth century was also a time of great religious excitement. The Second Great Awakening emerged partly as a result of the social dislocations of early nineteenth-century American life. Revivalist ministers like Charles Grandison Finney and Lyman Beecher encouraged followers to seek a more personal relationship with God. Sin, they preached, was the result of selfish choices made by

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men and women who possessed free will to choose otherwise. The social evils that revivalists and reformers believed had penetrated American society were not the result of any one event or person or institution. Rather the collective sinfulness of society contributed to social evils like drunkenness, lewd behavior, intemperate husbands, and poor work habits. Therefore, redeeming the individual would redeem society. The religious revivals of the 1820s and 1830s attracted a broad range of converts, including women, blacks, and Native Americans. Women, in particular, were frequent participants in the revivals. Inspired by this renewed religious spirit, converts formed movements to reform and educate Americans. Movements for the abolition of slavery, educational reform, penal reform, temperance, women's rights, and moral reform (i.e., the elimination of prostitution, lewdness, and obscenity) all grew out of the religious ferment and the social dislocations of the early nineteenth century.

Northern middle-class Whigs were the most prominent reformers. Motivated by the religious revivals and the sin and disorder they saw throughout American society, Northern reformers established institutions and social movements to improve the morals of individuals and of society. Educational reform led to the establishment of tax-supported public schools. Reformers like Calvin Stowe of Ohio and Horace Mann of Massachusetts proposed public schools that would be controlled by the states and that would require attendance by all children. They emphasized teaching reading, writing, arithmetic, and good citizenship. Reformers believed that establishing public schools would open education to the masses and build the character of individual students who in turn would become good citizens. The extension of suffrage to all free males helped advance the educational reform movement because politicians worried about the effects of an illiterate electorate exercising the right to vote. Throughout the North, public schools were established along the lines advocated by Mann and other educational reformers. In the South, however, educational reform made little progress.

Prison reform was another significant movement of the era. Rather than punishing the prisoner through whippings, incarceration, or execution, prison reformers sought to improve the soul of the convict. Prison reformers believed crime was the result of prisoners' childhood neglect. Rehabilitation therefore was the only way to counteract the trauma of such an upbringing. Rehabilitative programs emphasized instruction, personal discipline, and order. Reformers believed that former prisoners, once rehabilitated, would exercise the self-discipline necessary to become productive members of society. The prison reform movement also sparked an effort to reform how the mentally ill were treated. Until the 1840s, the mentally ill were incarcerated in poor houses or more often in prisons, which only worsened their conditions. Reformer Dorothea Dix helped lead a movement to establish insane asylums to rehabilitate the mentally ill.

The temperance movement was the largest and most sustained of all the social movements of the period. The social upheaval in early nineteenth-century America contributed to a remarkable rise in the production and consumption of alcohol. Northern Whig evangelicals, concerned over the rising popularity of drinking, established temperance organizations, most prominently the American Temperance Society formed in 1826. Reformers believed drinking led to a host of social evils, including poverty, crime, family violence, and poor child rearing. As the movement expanded in the 1830s, more and more workers joined the movement out of concern over the effects of alcohol consumption on job performance. By 1835 reformers had established more than five thousand temperance societies throughout the United States. By the 1840s, the temperance movement had successfully reduced alcohol consumption, and by the 1850s many states had limited or prohibited the sale of alcohol.

Abolitionism was the most prominent and probably the most controversial of the reform movements that emerged in the 1820s and 1830s. In the Revolutionary era, antislavery societies were generally organized by white elite males, often members of the Society of Friends (the Quakers). The New York Manumission Society (NYMS) and the Pennsylvania Abolition Society (PAS) were among the earliest and most prominent of these first-genera-

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tion abolitionist organizations. The NYMS and the PAS fought for gradual emancipation, which they believed would be achieved after the international slave trade was abolished. Early abolitionist efforts were strikingly different from the abolitionist movement under way just before the Civil War. The NYMS and the PAS, along with other early abolition societies, did not emphasize the sinfulness of slavery, seeking instead to mediate the conditions of slavery and bring about its eventual demise through gradual emancipation.

After the 1808 abolition of the international slave trade, abolitionist activity waned until the founding of the American Colonization Society (ACS) in 1817 by abolitionists who hoped to establish an American colony in Africa for freed slaves and free blacks. Addressing concerns over the presence of a large, free black population should slavery be abolished, colonizationists hoped that slaveholders could be encouraged to free their slaves if, once emancipated, they would emigrate to Africa. Members of the ACS believed that blacks and whites could not live together and that blacks would be assured of their rights only if they were settled in their own colony. Though racist in its worldview, the ACS gained the support of Christian antislavery activists. However, the ACS failed to win the support of black activists, who feared forced emigration to Africa. Black and white antislavery activists believed the ACS to be antiblack, not antislavery, because of its racist intentions and numerous concessions to slaveholders. Throughout the 1820s and 1830s, black and white abolitionists organized to fight the colonization movement. This organizational activity against the ACS encouraged participation in the abolitionist movement by women and African Americans, two groups that generally had been excluded from early organizations established to fight slavery.

The 1831 publication of the first issue of William Lloyd Garrison's *The Liberator* is often used to date the start of the nineteenth-century abolition movement. With this inaugural issue, Garrison helped birth a new, radical abolitionist movement that called for an immediate end to slavery and equality for African Americans. Influenced by the revivals of the 1820s, Garrison declared slavery a sin that had to be abolished without delay. Slavery prevented blacks from exercising their innate free will to make good choices. Slavery also corrupted the slaveholder by sanctioning brute force, lust, and hatred of an entire group of people. To fight slavery, Garrison established the New England Anti-Slavery Society in 1832. In 1833, Garrison also helped form the American Anti-Slavery Society (AASS), the first such national organization. By 1840, abolitionists had established more than fifteen hundred local organizations.

The abolitionist movement of the 1830s, like other reform movements of the period, drew from a broad base of support, including women, blacks, and white men of all classes. However, the evangelical middle class of New England, upstate New York, and the Old Northwest, particularly Ohio, provided the movement's primary constituency. Garrison dominated the New England group, while Arthur and Lewis Tappan dominated the New York group and James G. Birney, Elizur Wright, and Theodore D. Weld dominated antislavery activity in Ohio. The evangelical middle class lived in a reform society that saw social evils closing in all around them. Moral free will and Christian love were locked in battle against brutality and power, particularly in the institution of slavery, and it was the reformers' responsibility to take that fight to the masses.

Unlike other nineteenth-century reform movements, abolitionism constituted a minority of the reform movement and occupied the margins of American political and social life. Abolitionists were often confronted by mobs of angry proslavery supporters who sought to silence the reformers. In 1835, the abolitionists' postal campaign sparked a wave of mob violence throughout the North and South. Abolitionists targeted ministers, politicians, and newspaper editors throughout the South, inundating them with thousands of pieces of abolitionist literature. If slaveholders could be convinced of the hostility of world opinion, abolitionists believed, they would realize the futility of their fight against the antislavery movement. By the end of 1837, the AASS estimated that more than a million pieces of antislavery literature had been sent south. However,

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any hopes of peacefully converting slaveholders to an antislavery position were dashed in the wave of violence that followed the postal campaigns. In 1835, angry South Carolinians broke into the Charleston post office and destroyed the antislavery literature. The mob later hanged Garrison and Arthur Tappan in effigy before burning the effigies and the abolitionist newspapers in a massive bonfire. Throughout the South, slaveholders established vigilance societies to search incoming mail and to confiscate and destroy any abolitionist literature.

Similar antiabolitionist riots broke out in the North. In 1835, British abolitionist George Thompson was greeted by mobs everywhere he went. Later that year in Boston, antiabolitionist mobs looking for Thompson found Garrison instead and dragged him through the city streets. Violence peaked with the murder of Elijah P. Lovejoy, a printer in Alton, Illinois, who had refused to back down from his antislavery stand. In November 1837, mobs set fire to the warehouse where Lovejoy and his supporters had gathered to guard his press. When Lovejoy ran from the burning building he was shot, making him the movement's first martyr.

In the mid-1830s, abolitionists also began an intensive national antislavery petition campaign. Abolitionists had already petitioned Congress for an end to slavery in Washington, D.C., and for an end to the interstate slave trade. The national campaign launched in 1835 emphasized local effort as volunteers went door to door, gathering signatures on antislavery petitions bound for Congress. The grassroots approach of the petition campaign appealed to women and to others who found signing the petitions a safe and effective way to voice their support for the abolitionist cause. By May 1838, the AASS reported that it had sent more than four hundred and fifteen thousand petitions to Congress. Over half of those petitions bore the signatures of women; however, no Congressional action was taken because the petitions were automatically tabled as a result of the gag rule, implemented in 1836. The gag rule was passed during the height of antislavery violence when Northern and Southern politicians, with various motives, sought to quell sectional hostilities. In force until 1844, the gag rule ironically contributed to the growing sectionalism of American politics and did much to politicize the American abolition movement.

Mob violence was not limited to the cause of antislavery itself. Women, who were particularly prominent in the temperance and antislavery crusades, were taking an increasingly active stand in both movements. However, women's involvement in the abolitionist effort provoked the greatest controversy. Women had been involved from the beginning of the second-generation abolitionist movement, and they had been involved in benevolent organizations since the 1790s, caring for widows and orphans, assisting the aged, and providing medical care for pregnant women. However, women's involvement in reform movements, especially abolitionism, was markedly different from their work in benevolent organizations. Benevolent organizations adhered to a deferential mode of politics. Women active in such organizations used private influence to gain the financial and political support necessary for their work. Benevolent organizations focused on improving the moral character of the individual and on promoting social order. Women's reform groups, however, drew members from more varied social backgrounds, organizing across both race and class lines. Women reformers also sought political support from a large group of politicians and citizens, employing controversy to publicize their work and to bring out about sweeping social changes. Furthermore, women reformers and their supporters called on other women to identify with fallen, poor, or enslaved women. Garrison and other abolitionists used this tactic to recruit women for the antislavery movement by using real or implied images of women in bondage and subject to indiscriminate whippings.

Women responded in large numbers to the call for the immediate abolition of slavery. They participated in local, state, and national organizations and formed antislavery societies that served as auxiliaries to larger, male-dominated organizations. The Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society (BFASS), formed in 1833 as auxiliary to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, is an example of female abolitionist activity in the 1830s. Counting prominent members like Helen Garrison and Lydia Maria

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We are assembled here this evening, for the purpose of discussing the question of American Slavery: — — The startling fact that there are in these United States, under the sanction of this professedly Christian, Republican Government, nearly Four Millions of human beings now clanking the chains of Slavery. — Four Millions of Men and Women and children, who are owned like horses and cattle, — and bought and sold in the Market. — Four Millions of thinking, acting, conscious beings, like ourselves, driven to unpaid toil, from the rising to the setting of the Sun, through the weary

Text of "Make the slave's case our own" anti-slavery speech of Susan B. Anthony, ca. 1859. (Library of Congress)

Child among its membership, the group also recruited working-class women and black women to join in the fight. The BFASS followed the traditional pattern of women's involvement in antislavery societies by organizing antislavery fairs to raise funds for the state society, circulating petitions, aiding in the creation and distribution of antislavery literature, and establishing institutions like the Samaritan Asylum for indigent black children.

By the mid-1830s women took on more public roles in the fight against slavery. In 1836, Garrison hired Angelina and Sarah Grimké as lecturers for the AASS. As members of a well-known slaveholding South Carolina family, the Grimké sisters proved powerful spokespersons for the antislavery cause and quickly became favored speakers on the antislavery lecture circuit. Within a short time, the women were attracting mixed-sex audiences, which shocked the general Northern public. The Congregational clergy rebuked them in 1837, declaring that, when women like the Grimkés assumed the public role of men, they risked shame and dishonor.

The growing activism of women in the antislavery movement brought the issue of women's rights to the fore. The temperance and antislavery movements had given women a chance to be publicly involved in reforming society. Women reformers soon began agitating for their own rights as well as for temperance and abolition. The Grimké sisters, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Lucretia Mott had all been active in the antislavery movement. These women and their supporters, including William Lloyd Garrison, argued that men and women were created equal and should be treated as equals under the law. The movement for women's rights, like abolitionism, was more radical than mainstream reform movements like temperance, education, and prison reform. Equal rights for women carried serious implications for black civic rights if slavery were abolished. If women and blacks achieved full civic rights, opponents predicted social chaos.

The debate over the place of women's rights within the antislavery movement split the movement in 1840. Conservatives like Lewis and Arthur Tappan worried that the controversy over women's rights would taint the abolitionist cause. After years of fighting with Garrison and other radicals in the movement, the Tappan brothers and other conservatives left the AASS and formed the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society (AFASS). Garrison assumed leadership of the AASS, which maintained a broad reform platform that included women's rights. Garrison recruited all abolitionists regardless of religious, social, or political views. He was a particularly avid supporter of women's involvement in the abolitionist movement. Lewis Tappan, however, argued that mixing abolitionism with other reform movements threatened the antislavery cause. Antislavery must remain orthodox, he argued. Failure to remain compatible with traditional views of issues like women's rights might alienate the general Northern public. Abolitionists should instead focus on a single reform movement.

In addition to establishing organizations to reform American society, Northern reformers organized national and international gatherings to

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further publicize their cause. For example, in the late 1830s, women abolitionists organized three Anti-Slavery Conventions of Women. The conventions, held in 1837, 1838, and 1839, signaled the growing involvement of women in the antislavery movement. The convention speeches encouraged traditional antislavery activism, and delegates passed resolutions to abolish slavery in Washington, D.C., and the territories. Delegates also passed a resolution calling on women to play a more public role in the abolition of slavery. The 1837 convention drew two hundred women. A year later, more than three hundred women attended the second convention; however, the success of the event was marred by mob violence. The violence of the second convention made locating the third convention difficult, and a much smaller crowd attended in 1839.

As reformers sought to broaden their humanitarian efforts, international gatherings became a logical step forward in the progression. The first World's Anti-Slavery Convention inaugurated numerous international gatherings on a variety of reform issues. Prior to the 1840 convention, the only international meetings were church-organized councils. In addition to the antislavery conventions of 1840 and 1843, other international congresses were held focusing on peace, temperance, prison reform, agriculture, and free trade. The first World Peace Convention in 1843 and the first World Temperance Convention in 1846 were part of a growing trend to organize reformers on an international level. Prison reform and free trade congresses were held in 1846 and 1847. Motivating these international gatherings was the reformers' desire for international cooperation in all manner of social and moral reform.

The idea for the World's Anti-Slavery Convention began in 1839, when the newly formed British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society (BFASS) began discussing the possibility of hosting such a convention to bring together representative abolitionists from throughout the world. Members of the BFASS, particularly British abolitionist Joseph Sturge, organized the world gathering of abolitionists. Dubbed the London Committee, the organizers gathered information and statistics about slavery and the slave trade from around the globe. Additionally, the Committee provided convention tickets only to recognized members of antislavery organizations and made it clear that only male delegates would be seated. The AASS selected a prowoman's rights delegation including Lucretia Mott, Wendell Phillips, and Garrison. However, Garrison and many of his close associates delayed their departure for the convention because of the mid-May meeting of the AASS, which ultimately gave the more radical Garrison control of the society. Garrison arrived on the fifth day of the convention to find that the London Committee had refused to seat the organization's women delegates. In protest Garrison sat in the balcony with the ladies rather than enter the convention and be seated with the other delegates.

The first World's Anti-Slavery Convention included discussions of free labor versus slave labor, endorsing the former as a means of combating slavery, and the role of the church in supporting slavery in the United States. Delegates issued admonitions, memorials, and addresses to the people of Great Britain and the United States, but ultimately the convention could do little more than continue the moral and political campaign against slavery where it existed.

A second World's Anti-Slavery Convention was held in London in 1843. Planners had considered holding the convention in the United States but decided conditions were not favorable for an international gathering of abolitionists. The second convention was not as well attended as the first, and only sixteen of the three hundred delegates were from the United States. Garrison and his supporters had not been invited. Instead, Lewis Tappan led the American delegation. As in the earlier convention, delegates discussed the use of slave labor versus free labor and the church's role in supporting U.S. slavery. They also discussed the possible annexation of Texas by the United States. While other reform movements continued to hold international gatherings throughout the 1840s, the second World's Anti-Slavery Convention marked the end of any organized international gathering of abolitionists.

While antislavery activists continued their fight during the politically charged 1850s, it was not until

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the Civil War that the abolitionist movement was reenergized with a new sense of purpose that allowed it to transcend some of the 1840s divisions. Early wartime abolitionist and reform activities resembled those of the antebellum era, as abolitionists conducted petition drives and held conventions. Abolitionists also called on President Abraham Lincoln to make the war about slavery rather than just the preservation of the Union. Most abolitionists saw the Civil War as the culmination of decades of work aimed at abolishing slavery and gaining civic rights for blacks. When the Emancipation Proclamation took effect on January 1, 1863, abolitionists' work took on even greater urgency.

During the Civil War, hundreds of abolitionists went south to teach freed slaves and tend to their material needs. When Union soldiers occupied South Carolina's Sea Islands in late 1861, abolitionists saw an opportunity to bring literacy to the freed slaves and to refute the commonly held view that blacks were inherently inferior. For abolitionists, educating the freed slaves was an extension of their antislavery activities. By war's end, more than nine hundred Northerners, including agents of Lewis Tappan's American Missionary Association (AMA), were teaching in the South. During the war, the AMA began schools for freed slaves throughout the South, and by 1867 it had established hundreds of schools in every Southern state. Women also headed south, as agents for the Freedmen's Aid Commission, to tend to the various physical, spiritual, and mental needs of the freed slaves.

During the Civil War, other antebellum Northern reformers turned their focus to raising regiments for the Union and then sustaining the soldiers. Throughout the North, women collected medical supplies and other sundries for soldiers on the battlefield. New York women established the Women's Central Association of Relief (WCAR) to coordinate the wartime relief work of women throughout the state. The WCAR eventually became a regional branch of the United States Sanitary Commission (USSC), a male-led national organization established in 1861 to coordinate women's war work throughout the North. Women also formed local soldiers' aid societies to gather and send much needed supplies to the men in the field. The United States Christian Commission (USCC), also established in 1861, brought ministers and tracts to tend to the spiritual needs of soldiers. Building on the earlier work of evangelical ministers and the American Tract Society, the Christian Commission often clashed with the Sanitary Commission. The Christian Commission was established and operated under an older style of benevolence based in traditional grassroots evangelicalism, whereas the Sanitary Commission embraced a new style of reform, developed during the Civil War, that placed greater emphasis on the efficiency and centralized control of relief work.

The end of the Civil War resulted in the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery. The American Anti-Slavery Society continued under the direction of Wendell Phillips until 1870 and the passage of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments guaranteeing black citizens protection of their civil rights.

Julie Holcomb

See also Aid Societies; Antislavery Societies; Child, Lydia Maria Francis (1802–1880); Dix, Dorothea Lynde (1802–1887); Education, Northern; Education, Southern; Emancipation Proclamation (January 1, 1863); Factory Workers, Northern; Fairs and Bazaars; Fifteenth Amendment; Fourteenth Amendment; Garrison, William Lloyd (1805–1879); Grimké (Weld), Angelina (1805–1879); Grimké, Sarah Moore (1792–1873); Lincoln, Abraham (1809–1865); Mott, Lucretia Coffin (1793–1880); Northern Women; Politics; Quaker Women; Religion; Stanton, Elizabeth Cady (1815–1902); Teachers, Northern; Thirteenth Amendment; United States Christian Commission; United States Sanitary Commission.

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African American Women

The American Civil War was a defining event for African American men and women. Most drastically, the war turned slaves into freed people, emancipating nearly 4 million black slaves from generations of bondage. Although many of the freedoms that emerged during and after the war would be temporary, African Americans used the war to secure the legal and social rights that had long been denied them. The Civil War also created crises for black women; they suffered from wartime shortages, the dangers of invasion, race- and gender-based hiring policies, refugee life, and the absence of many loved ones. The era of Reconstruction that followed eradicated their race-based form of bondage but confirmed that patriarchy would continue in a postslavery American society.

When the American Civil War began, the United States contained 4.4 million African Americans. Nearly half a million were free blacks, whereas the majority were enslaved in the Southern and border states. African Americans comprised approximately 31 percent of the total Southern population, and Mississippi and South Carolina had slave majorities. Although most slaveholding Southerners owned fewer than five slaves, the majority of slaves lived on large plantations growing staple crops like cotton, rice, and tobacco. Within this context, African American slaves created vibrant yet precarious communities. About 10 percent of African American slaves lived in the nation's towns and cities. There they intermingled with the free black population, working as craftspeople, manual laborers, and domestics.

Even before the Civil War, African Americans recognized that they had a tremendous stake in the sectional conflict. Black abolitionists and former slaves like Frederick Douglass, Harriet Jacobs, and Sojourner Truth used their firsthand experiences to help the cause. In their oral and written narratives, Jacobs and Truth offered a feminine voice on the abuses of slavery and the particular problems faced by slave women. Jacobs, in her *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl,* described the problems of sexual assault in a society that denied black women protection from white men. Jacobs hoped that her descriptions of her abuse by her white master would help persuade middle-class women to join the abolitionist cause. Similarly, in her speeches, Truth pointed to the sexual injustices of slavery. Denied the rights of a mother, sister, and wife, Truth went on the lecture circuit and famously asked, "ar'n't I a woman?" (Gilbert 1968, 134).

When the Civil War began in 1861, African Americans played an increasingly active role in shaping its ideological direction. Although emancipation was not recognized as a war aim at the beginning of the conflict, many African Americans took steps to push President Abraham Lincoln and the federal government in this direction. Through their actions and words, free and enslaved blacks worked to end the institution of slavery. At the start of the war, returning runaway slaves to their owners was the official policy of the United States. Despite this reality, as Union troops approached slaveholding homesteads and occupied Confederate territory, hundreds of African Americans pressed the issue by fleeing to Union lines.

Although Lincoln refused to incorporate an antislavery and abolitionist stance in his policies, some of his commanders realized the utility of freeing Southern slaves as a way of impeding the Confederacy. On August 30, 1861, John C. Frémont, com-

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mander of the Western Department, proclaimed the slaves of all Confederates in Missouri to be free. Although Lincoln asked Frémont to modify this order and only confiscate property, including slaves, that Confederates directly used to aid their war effort, Frémont refused to comply with the president's wishes. In response, Lincoln removed Frémont from command and revoked the emancipation order. Lincoln's actions outraged abolitionists, who understood the need to strike down slavery in order to win the war.

The path to official emancipation remained a slow one, however. Eventually, the growing numbers of slaves running to Union lines forced the issue. When three slaves escaped to General Benjamin Butler's lines in Virginia in May 1861, he ruled that the state's decision to secede released him from the terms of the Fugitive Slave Act. He consequently determined the runaways to be contraband of war, including them in a category that applied to any enemy property used in the pursuit of the Confederate war effort. Lincoln approved the policy and by July approximately one thousand contrabands—men, women, and children—had run to Union lines. The congressional vote on the issue allowed the confiscation of property but still refused to recognize contrabands as free people. Even so, once they escaped to Union lines, these African Americans lived under the protection of the United States government and were not eligible to be returned to their owners. It was not until Lincoln's 1863 Emancipation Proclamation that freeing the slaves became a war aim and tactic.

At the start of the war, many African Americans volunteered to serve in the army only to be turned away. Instead, Northern free blacks frequently found their labor impressed by the Union cause. Even before they were permitted to enlist in the Union army, local officials forced them to perform unpaid menial labor on behalf of the Union cause. In the fall of 1862, for example, Cincinnati officials used the threats of bayonets and jail to coerce a group of free blacks to perform hard labor. The policy concerning the enlistment of African Americans changed in the summer of 1862, with the creation of the First Kansas Colored Infantry. After the Union formed the Louisiana Native Guards and the First South Carolina Infantry, it turned its attention to forming a Northern black regiment. In January 1863, the Union mustered the Massachusetts Fifty-fourth, and other black regiments formed throughout the remainder of the war. By the end of the war, approximately two hundred and sixteen thousand African American men had enlisted in the Union army and navy. Although many soldiers were single men, many left wives behind to manage the household and other chores. For the wives and mothers of the more than thirty-seven thousand black soldiers who were killed, the war brought immeasurable emotional pains.

With the establishment of black regiments, many African American women became unofficial recruiters for the Union army. Harriet Jacobs and Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin, for example, both helped raise troops for the Massachusetts Fifty-fourth. They, like most African American women, recruited for the Union army as volunteers. An exception to this rule was Mary Ann Shadd Cary. In August 1864, Indiana Governor Levi P. Morton made her the only paid female recruiting officer for the Union army, when he commissioned Cary to raise a black regiment. Later in the war, Cary also worked as a paid fundraiser for Chicago's Colored Ladies Freedmen's Aid Society. Ironically, the success of black recruiters led to the increased workload on female African Americans on the Northern homefront.

Economic needs and political desires led many African American women to perform a myriad of tasks to assist the United States in its war effort. Whether slave or free, African Americans were accustomed to working in a variety of contexts when the war began. As a result, many free black women took jobs with the federal government to provide themselves with the basic necessities. About a quarter of a million African Americans officially worked for the Union and Confederate armies as laborers, servants, and laundresses. Many of these workers were women whose husbands or fathers had enlisted in the Union army and who therefore could not completely provide for their families. African American women worked as nurses, cooks, seamstresses, teachers, and relief workers. They nursed

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wounded soldiers, raised money and supplies to aid troops, and recruited soldiers to enlist in the Union army. African American women received lower wages than did African American men and white women who performed comparable work. In 1864, African American female nurses and cooks received $10 per month plus rations. In addition to the relatively low wages, the federal government routinely treated its black workers with disregard and failed to meet their economic obligations. As a result, many African American women filed formal applications to be paid for the work that they did. Most of these petitions failed to secure the promised wages. In addition, some African American women performed labor without pay in relationships that nearly paralleled Southern slavery. In these cases, African American women provided their labor under the knowledge that their hard work might secure the freedom of the nation's African Americans.

Many African American women volunteered to educate the swelling population of freed people. Although most of the teachers hired by the American Missionary Association were white, the association also hired black teachers. Most of the black teachers came from wealthy and well-connected families and frequently believed that they could force a more radical vision of what postemancipation society might resemble. As a result, African American teachers often focused much of their efforts on teaching their students about the importance of voting, racial uplift, and African American history. Charlotte Forten, for example, worked as a teacher in the North prior to the war and went to Port Royal, South Carolina, to teach recently freed slaves from 1862 to 1864. She, like many other Northern black teachers, thought education could eradicate the myths that pervaded society about black ignorance, laziness, and intellectual inferiority. In addition, poor African American women, unable to obtain employment with schools, served as teachers in an informal fashion, tutoring within their communities. Others taught African American soldiers who served with their husbands.

Just as the United States was slow to enlist African American soldiers, it was also slow to hire African American women for certain professions. The United States, for example, did not hire African American nurses until January 16, 1864. Even after hiring black nurses, the Union often relegated them to jobs doing menial hospital tasks. Rather than tending to the sick and wounded, many black nurses did laundry, cooked meals, cleaned, and performed other domestic tasks. Nevertheless, African American women increasingly found employment with the federal government during the war.

Some black women worked directly for the Union military. Hundreds of African American women risked their lives to assist the Union war effort, serving as spies and scouts. These courageous women passed Confederate secrets on to Union soldiers, informing them of maneuvers, troop numbers, and other vital information. For example, in addition to leading hundreds of slaves to freedom during the war, Harriet Tubman served as a scout or spy on several occasions. The intelligence Tubman provided to Colonel James Montgomery, the African American commander of the Second South Carolina Volunteers, allowed Montgomery to destroy several Confederate warehouses and ammunition depots. In addition, many African American women provided tactical assistance while they performed domestic chores. For example, Susie Baker, who later became Susie King Taylor, routinely cleaned guns and taught soldiers to read while she officially served as a laundress and nurse.

A few black women served as soldiers in the Union army. To do so, African American women, like other female soldiers, had to hide their sex. As a result, the number of female black soldiers remains uncertain. Scholars have discovered that Virginian Maria Lewis served with the Eighth New York Calvary, yet most of her life remains obscure. Other African American women fought without officially enlisting in the Union army. On several occasions, the Union army received military assistance from the scores of African American refugee families who followed the Union army as it advanced through the South. Similarly, many African American women marched alongside their husbands when they went off to battle, helping out with various chores and otherwise suffering from

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the discomforts of wartime marches. Confederate soldiers, outraged by the presence of African American soldiers, sometimes took out their fury on black women as well. For example, at the Fort Pillow massacre, one woman was killed after the battle as she retrieved the body of her slain husband.

Like their white counterparts, many black women formed organizations to help their enlisted loved ones, provide assistance for the widows of killed soldiers, and otherwise help the Union war effort. Women's aid societies tended to be segregated, and black women's organizations formed out of a fear that other Union relief groups would not assist black soldiers. Some aid societies were extensions of African American churches, whereas others grew out of abolitionist organizations. These societies collected and donated food, clothing, cooking utensils, bandages, cash, and other goods to help muster and support black regiments. In addition, just as did white women, black women formed sewing circles to create uniforms, socks, and regimental flags for their men. They also wrote letters to soldiers for illiterate members of the community, assisted at local hospitals by comforting and caring for wounded soldiers, and raised money in their communities through fairs, bazaars, and solicitations.

Many African Americans became refugees during the Civil War. Once white slaveholding civilians abandoned their homes, their slaves frequently left to find loved ones and otherwise experience freedom. Many of these refugees congregated in the nation's cities. Refugee and urban populations consequently flourished as the war progressed. In 1862, for example, approximately four hundred escaped slaves had congregated in Washington, D.C. At the end of the war, the refugee population swelled to forty thousand.

Refugee camps were established across Union-occupied areas to shelter these former slaves. Life was difficult in the camps; African American women were expected to support themselves despite the dearth of employment opportunities. Black women frequently leaned on one another for support, pooling resources, sharing food, living together, and tending to communal gardens. In many Northern cities, black women formed relief organizations to assist local and distant refugees. Some African American groups collaborated with white organizations by creating auxiliary associations or by joining them. For example, Elizabeth Keckley, first lady Mary Todd Lincoln's seamstress, was a member of the integrated National Association for the Relief of Destitute Colored Women and Children in Washington, D.C. Keckley was also a founder of the Contraband Relief Association, an all-black organization formed in August 1862. Others joined and assisted with integrated abolitionist organizations that extended their missions to deal with the refugees.

The war provided African American women the opportunity to expose many of the racial inequities that existed in Northern society. Using the enlistment of their husbands and sons as leverage, these women confronted various forms of mistreatment. In the summer of 1864, for example, African American women, who were refused seats on the train when they traveled to Camp William Penn to tend to wounded black soldiers, protested their treatment on trains. This protest led to few changes during the war, and Philadelphia did not prohibit discrimination on streetcars until 1867. Elsewhere, African American women were more successful in their protests. In 1864 New York, for example, an African American widow of a killed black soldier had a conductor arrested for assault after he forced her off the streetcar. This and other victories were closely watched by the African American press and brought renewed confidence to the courts to institute social change.

For numerous reasons, most slaves remained on Southern plantations and farms throughout the war, despite opportunities to escape. Many stayed out of fears that stemmed from rumors of abuse by federal soldiers or from concern about retribution by owners for running away. Others remained out of a general reluctance to abandon gardens and homes that they had built and lived in all their lives. Perhaps the most compelling reason to remain where they were, however, was family; many African American women believed that, if they left their homes, their loved ones would not be able to find them. As a result, most Southern African Americans lived as slaves during the war.

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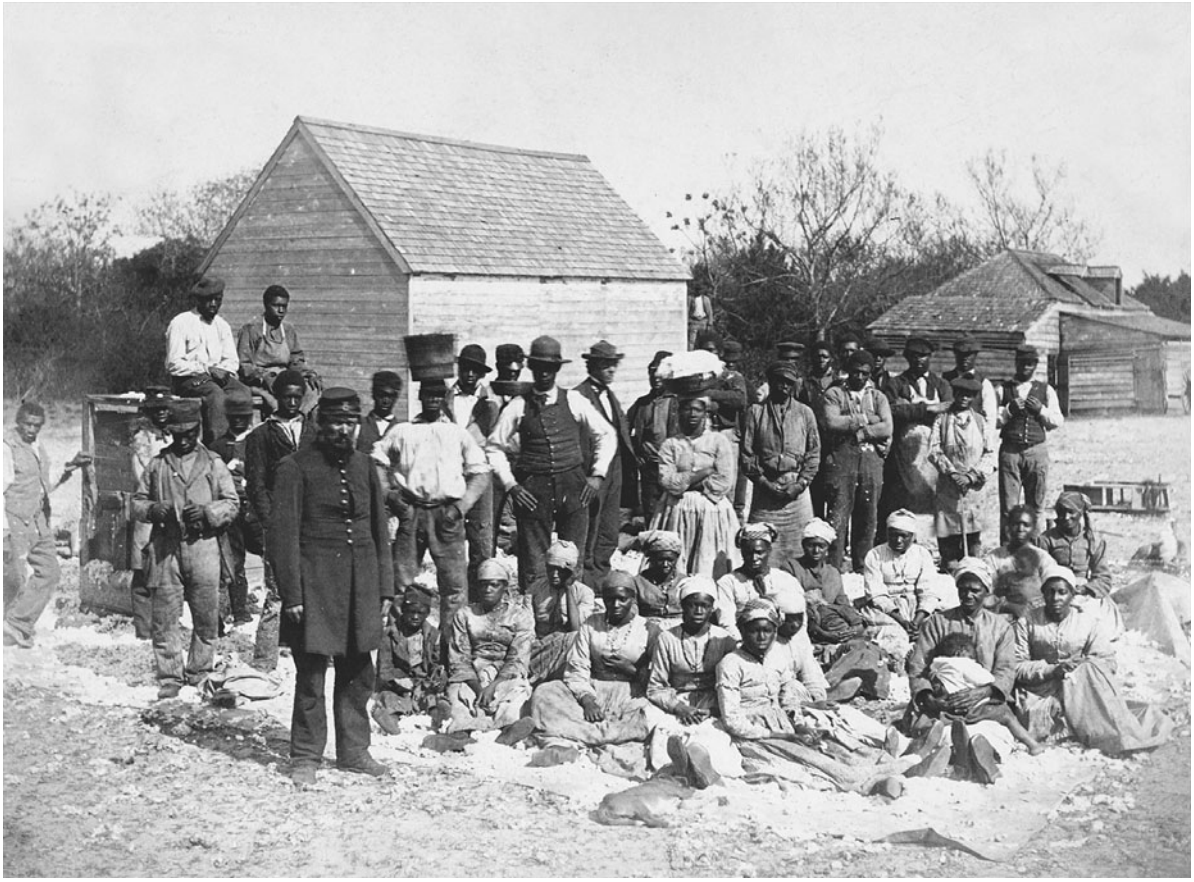

Slaves of Confederate General Thomas F. Drayton at his plantation on Hilton Head Island, South Carolina, during May 1862. (Library of Congress)

In some ways, life on the plantation initially remained unchanged for slave women at the start of war. Slave masters continued to treat slave women as their sexual property and abused them as they had for generations. Slave sales continued for years into the war, and physical beatings continued for any woman caught defying the wishes of her owner. The war, though, compounded many of the abuses associated with slave life and created new ones. Many slaves put slave women at risk when they decided to run away, stop working, or disobey their owners. Many slave women were punished for these actions, even when they were not the perpetrators. In other instances, slave women were brutally punished by their masters and mistresses in their desperate attempts to maintain control of a society that seemed to be crumbling from within.

The lives of slave women also underwent tremendous changes during the war. Many disruptions resulted from wartime shortages and the enlistment of Confederate men; others resulted directly from actions within the slave community. Many slaves found ways to fight for their freedom without leaving the plantation. They committed acts of arson, vandalism, and generally sabotaged the Southern economy. In some instances, they intentionally poisoned livestock and generally slowed down the pace of work in the fields. Others stole food and other valuable supplies and sneaked them to Union soldiers. Slave women also helped captured Union soldiers escape, and they cared for wounded and sick Union soldiers without the knowledge of their owners. In short, slave women helped destroy any sense of tranquility on the Southern homefront.

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Slave masters frequently disrupted the lives of slave women by impressing them and, more often, their husbands into wartime service. The impressment of slave labor did not end with the arrival of Union troops, which often brought new hardships. As they foraged and looted their way through the South, Union soldiers frequently failed to distinguish between the private property of Confederate families and items that belonged to the slave community. In addition to stealing the property of slaves, some Union soldiers also committed acts of rape and sexual assault on slave women. Union soldiers raped slave women more often than they sexually assaulted white Confederates. These actions, which were comparable to the treatment of slave women by Confederate deserters and returning soldiers, often surprised slave women who had initially come to see Union soldiers as natural allies and emancipators. Similar acts of abuse occurred as slave refugees left their homes for the presumed safety of Union camps.

As the Southern economy and social structure strained in the face of the war and Southern civilians suffered increased prices as well as shortages of food and basic supplies, African American women found themselves in a precarious position. Although surrounded by cotton, Southern civilians increasingly faced a scarcity of cloth. Consequently, the custom of providing slaves with new clothing came to an end. At the outset of the war, for example, slaves on one South Carolina plantation received pants but no coat. By the final months of the war, new clothing was provided to very few. Shoes were equally hard to come by, as were some tools and refined foods. In addition, slave women found that their workloads changed and increased as a result of the war. The impressment of horses and mules left them with fewer work animals to perform routine fieldwork. Furthermore, the confiscation, sale, and wartime killing of livestock left them with even less meat than was normal. As a result, slaves often ate and wore only what they could create themselves. Several coastal plantations, for example, included only rice in the allotted wartime rations for the slaves. As a result, Union soldiers frequently saw hungry, malnourished, half-naked slaves as they marched through the Southern countryside.

Workloads on plantations also changed as a result of the war. On some plantations, masters increased or changed the agricultural tasks to cope with the naval blockades. With the diets and fashion of white Southerners tied to slave production, workloads increased for slave women. They spun more cotton into homespun, wove more cloth, made more clothing, and otherwise performed more domestic tasks than they had prior to the war. With many slave men impressed into the Confederate army to perform labor, many female domestic slaves found themselves working in the fields during the day and sewing at night.

At the same time, with many white men and overseers gone, many female slaves discovered a more autonomous life during the war. Many plantation mistresses and overseers watched as their slaves routinely ignored directives and otherwise chose when to work and what work to do. During the war, slave women frequently traveled to other plantations to visit loved ones and to get information. It was within this realm of autonomy that many slave women were able to pass military information to Union officers. In addition, a general inability to govern the wartime plantation allowed for the expansion of illicit trade among slaves. During the Civil War, the slaves' clandestine trade of crafts and food with poor whites and free blacks extended to trade with Union soldiers. In many cases, it also extended to wealthy white Southerners who were suffering from shortages as well. The expansion of autonomy was especially true in areas like Port Royal, South Carolina, where thousands of slaves gradually obtained their freedom when the Union occupied their lands.

When the war ended, African American women took the opportunity to reunite with husbands, children, and other loved ones from whom they had been separated prior to and during the war. They waited for soldiers to return home, scavenged for information about where their families were, and frequently made plans to legally sanctify their relationships. In this postslavery society, marriage became synonymous with freedom for many Southern black

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women. Officially barred to them in slavery, marriage became a way to secure and demonstrate their new rights as citizens. As a result, in the immediate aftermath of the war, thousands of African American couples recorded marriages that had been socially established years beforehand.

African Americans celebrated the end of the Civil War and their emancipation nationwide. In many towns and cities, African Americans held orchestrated parades and other festivities. They welcomed home soldiers, made speeches that pointed to the possibilities lying ahead, and otherwise celebrated the contributions of blacks to the war. As in many of the vigils that took place on December 31, 1862—the eve of the Emancipation Proclamation—women figured prominently in many of these celebrations.

The passing of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments brought a legal end to slavery and established a new place for African American citizens and voters. The Fifteenth Amendment, however, did not provide suffrage to African American women. Much to the dismay of many white and black women, it specifically extended the vote to African American men and refrained from leaving any misunderstanding by including the term "male." African American women further suffered from the Union's decision to provide few means for economic freedom. Although Africans Americans shook off the shackles of slavery, a race-based economy remained. In this postbellum society, whites provide the capital and blacks provided the hard labor.

Andrew K. Frank

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; Aid Societies; Antislavery Societies; Camp Followers; Cary, Mary Ann Shadd (1823–1893); Civilian Life; Confederate Homefront; Contraband Relief Association; Contrabands; Courtship and Marriage; Destruction of Personal Property; Douglass, Frederick (ca. 1817–1895); Emancipation Proclamation (January 1, 1863); Enlistment; Fairs and Bazaars; Farm Work; Female Combatants; Female Spies; Fifteenth Amendment; Flags, Regimental; Food; Foraging, Effects on Women; Forten (Grimké), Charlotte L. (1837–1914); Fourteenth Amendment; Free Blacks; Freedmen's Bureau; Frémont, Jessie Benton, (1824–1902); Fundraising; Homespun; Hospitals; Impressment; Jacobs, Harriet Ann [Linda Brent] (1813–1897); Keckley, Elizabeth Hobbs (ca. 1818–1907); Lincoln, Abraham (1809–1865); Military Invasion and Occupation; Northern Women; Nurses; Politics; Rape; Reconstruction (1865–1877); Refugees; Religion; Rural Women; Sherman Land (Special Field Orders Number 15); Shortages; Slave Families; Southern Women; Teachers, Northern; Thirteenth Amendment; Truth, Sojourner [Isabella Baumfree] (1797–1883); Tubman, Harriet [Araminta Ross] (1822–1913); Union Homefront; Wartime Employment; Widows, Union.

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Confederate Homefront

The Confederate homefront has attracted a great deal of attention among historians of the Civil War,

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in large part because the overwhelming majority of military engagements took place on Confederate soil. Moreover, a profusion of newspapers and the voluminous correspondence between soldiers and their family members kept those on the homefront well aware of events on the battlefield. In no other war did Americans experience such sustained and regular contact between soldiers and civilians, although Confederate homefront experiences varied widely across space and time. Those who lived in remote areas generally faced fewer difficulties than civilians in close proximity to the armies. As the war progressed, the widespread scarcity of goods and civilian discontent began to threaten the stability of the Confederate war effort, factors that many historians cite when explaining the collapse of the Confederacy. Because the Confederacy lost the war, nearly every aspect of its homefront experience is the subject of great debate.

The Confederacy was roughly the size of continental Europe, so it is difficult to describe its homefront as a single entity. It is possible, however, to make a few key generalizations about the seceded states—Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. The eleven Confederate states were overwhelmingly rural, with economies based on the sale of crops like wheat, cotton, rice, and sugar cane. During the 1850s, wealthy Southerners had invested most of their capital in land and slaves, which were wise long-term investments but difficult to liquidate and reinvest in the industry needed to support a war. The fledgling industrial centers of the South, among them Richmond, Virginia and Atlanta, Georgia, had expanded during the late antebellum years, but in 1860 the number of factories in the Northern states still exceeded the total number of factory workers in the Southern states. Yet perhaps the most impressive feature of this predominantly agricultural nation was the speed and success with which it developed war-related industries. Private industrial manufacturers rapidly expanded production to meet the needs of the Confederate armies, and the government built and operated many additional factories. By 1864, Southern factories were producing impressive amounts of iron and gunpowder in particular.

Unfortunately, these manufactured goods did not always get to the armies. Southern railroad construction had proceeded at a rapid pace in the 1850s, but a uniform standard had not governed construction, and the Confederacy lacked the machinery and skilled workers to maintain tracks, cars, and engines once the war began. Since the government was unable to control the railroads or keep them in good repair, the manufactured and agricultural goods the armies needed at the front often sat waiting in the interior of the country. Thus, though economically strong in 1861, the Confederate States were at a comparative disadvantage as the war became a prolonged conflict dependent on the combatants' capacity to manufacture and distribute war materiel.

The Confederate government also failed to create a viable financial infrastructure for the new nation. Struggling to negotiate the twin impulses of state sovereignty and basic survival, the Confederate Congress created several modest sources of tax revenue, including a property tax, a personal income tax, and small levies on wholesalers' profits and consumer goods. Combined, these taxes never accounted for more than 5 percent of the government's income. The state and national governments also sold bonds, and Confederate bond sales yielded about 35 percent of the revenue the government needed to fund its armies. The remaining 60 percent came through paper currency. The Confederacy printed massive amounts of paper money but never enacted legislation to make this paper currency legal tender, thus fueling inflation rates that exceeded 9,000 percent by April 1865. Some historians have suggested that this inflation constituted an indirect tax on Confederate citizens, because they paid ever increasing prices for consumer goods and food. Modest national taxes, the indirect tax of inflation, and eventually a 10-percent tax-in-kind on agricultural products were the basic means through which Southerners on the homefront financially supported their new government.

The new burdens of inflation and taxation combined with widespread shortages of many key

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goods. The Union blockade of Confederate ports, though never fully enforceable, severely restricted the flow of European manufactured goods into the Confederacy. New and expanded factories, though impressive in their growth, devoted all of their energies to war production rather than to goods for home consumption. The loss of important agricultural areas like northern Virginia, coastal Georgia and South Carolina, western Tennessee, and the Mississippi delta in the first two years of the war caused shortages of basic food items like wheat, corn, rice, and sugar. Moreover, chronic salt shortages made it difficult, if not impossible, for farmers to preserve meat. These shortages were exacerbated by the departure of most able-bodied white men for the front and the intransigence of slave laborers, as chronicled by both diarists and historians. Southern newspaper editors—though hampered by dwindling supplies of paper and ink as well as by a dearth of skilled woodcutters and printers—encouraged discontent among citizens, who blamed scarcity and high prices on incompetent politicians and ruthless speculators.

These tensions erupted in the spring of 1863, as women publicly protested high prices and shortages on the streets of several Southern towns and cities. The largest of these protests, the Richmond bread riot of April 2, 1863, comprised several hundred people. These were mostly white women, many of them soldiers' wives, refugees, or workers in the city's expanded factories. The women marched toward the capital square, breaking into stores to steal bread, flour, bacon, and clothing, as they demanded the attention and assistance of municipal, state, and national lawmakers. Accompanied by Richmond Mayor Joseph Mayo and Virginia Governor John Letcher, President Jefferson Davis ordered the women to disperse, giving them five minutes before he would have the public guard fire into the crowd. The crowd quickly left the square, and the guard arrested sixty-eight of the protesters. Although the city government moved quickly to make examples of these protesters, they also worked to allay the discontent that had fueled the riot in the first place, setting up free markets to distribute food and clothing to poor residents of the city. Similarly, state and county governments across the Confederacy created or broadened relief programs for the families of poor soldiers, although these failed to meet fully the needs of most families.

Confederate politicians, in general, were ill equipped to handle the economic and social dislocations that the war caused. Many Confederate lawmakers, especially at the state levels, had little or no legislative experience, often because the more experienced politicians entered the army. Similarly, most talented, ambitious, well-educated young men sought their futures in the Confederate officer corps, which seemed more exciting and patriotic than political service. Confederate legislators who had served in the United States Congress during the antebellum years, moreover, had inherited a tradition of legislative obstructionism that hindered effective lawmaking in the early days of the Confederacy. Finally, both houses of the Confederate Congress met in secret and published no records, creating an atmosphere of distrust among their constituents.

With all of these factors working against the success of Confederate politicians, their list of accomplishments becomes even more impressive. First and foremost, they established the physical trappings of a working government, appropriating buildings as national institutions, dispatching ambassadors to European capitals, and selecting a national flag. They quickly created a massive national army out of disparate groups of state militia; they even enacted the first conscription law in North America in April 1862. This Conscription Act contained a controversial clause exempting one man on every plantation with twenty or more slaves, prompting bitter denunciations from yeoman farmers across the South. Still, though less than comprehensive, the Confederate draft was a vital step in both filling the army's ranks and increasing the power of the central government. The central government also impressed animals, wagons, agricultural produce, and black male laborers—both slave and free—to supply the army.

Confederate economic policies, though spectacularly unsuccessful at limiting inflation, represented a similarly huge departure from the idea of a limited central government. The modest income and prop-

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erty taxes that citizens paid to the Confederacy were shocking to Southerners, as most had never paid any kind of direct tax to the United States government. The tax-in-kind, requiring citizens to hand over 10 percent of their produce to Confederate agents, was an even greater limitation of state sovereignty. Furthermore, the War Department's management of clothing factories, arsenals, ordnance works, mines, and railroads ensured that the national government remained intimately involved in the economy. State governments also actively intervened in the economic activities of the homefront, enacting their own legislation for impressment, taxation, price controls, and crop management.

Conscription and taxation are merely two examples of the growth of the central Confederate government. President Davis suspended the writ of habeas corpus, which requires that a person not be imprisoned without being formally charged with a crime, and instituted martial law when he considered it a necessity. Most controversially, Davis urged the Confederate Congress to enact legislation that would enroll male slaves as Confederate soldiers and then provide for their manumission after the war. Certainly, a great deal of innovation and flexibility characterized the Confederate approach to politics, despite the fact that the Confederacy ultimately lost the war. However, none of these innovations came without intense debate between lawmakers who favored a strong national government and those who wanted power to remain with the individual states.

Political dissent in the Confederacy, like so many other topics connected to the Confederate homefront, has attracted quite a bit of attention from historians. For years, they pointed to the lack of political parties in the Confederacy as a weakness. Confederate politicians deliberately avoided creating a two-party system when they developed their political culture, hoping thus to forestall partisanship. This lack of organized political competition, historians have asserted, made all opposition personal rather than political. Often, these historians suggested that the existence of a two-party system in Northern politics allowed for a loyal opposition to develop in the Union, while the Southern political opposition became increasingly obstructionist. More recent studies of Confederate politics have undermined this argument, suggesting that all Confederates—regardless of class status—shared a common political culture that rejected partisanship and sought a return to an idealized vision of eighteenth-century republicanism. By this formulation, even those who resented the strength of the central government, like North Carolina Governor Zebulon Vance, maintained an interest in a unified, harmonious political culture that championed white supremacy and thus did not actively seek to undermine the Confederacy.

Whether loyal or obstructionist, partisan or political, opposition to President Davis's policies abounded, although it is not clear that he faced significantly more opposition than did United States President Abraham Lincoln. Because the Constitution of the Confederate States of America allowed the president a single, six-year term, Davis did not face a reelection campaign during the war, but he did need to defend his policies over the course of numerous congressional and gubernatorial elections. These elections produced mixed results for Davis. Historians have lavished a great deal of attention on Vance's reelection on a peace platform in the spring of 1863 and his subsequent disagreements with Davis, but other elections seemed to vindicate Davis's nationalist agenda. Virginians, for example, voted in large numbers for former Whigs in their May 1863 elections, thus sending to Congress and the General Assembly men who favored strong central governments.

The struggle to understand why the Confederacy lost has led many historians to question the depths of Confederates' commitment to their new polity. One very common argument suggests that class divisions between the planter class and the nonslaveholding farmers always plagued the Confederacy and that Confederate politicians were unable to unite these two discordant groups with a sense of common political or cultural identity. Other historians argue that, while Confederate citizens possessed a sense of common purpose at the beginning of the war, they lost faith in their new nation and gave up hope, thus precipitating the end of the conflict. One

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Confederate bread riots as depicted in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* on May 23, 1863. The mothers, daughters, and wives of Confederate soldiers grew more desperate for food as their sons, fathers, and husbands died on the battlefields and inflation increased on the home front. This desperation resulted in riots throughout the South during the Civil War. (Library of Congress)

strain of this argument suggests that Southern women were central to this loss of faith. Certainly, the Confederate government's apparent inability to protect them angered many white women, especially those who experienced short-term Union army occupations or who had to leave their homes as refugees. Others reacted to economic deprivation with acts of civil disobedience—some by participating in bread riots but far more by writing to their husbands in the army, urging them to come home. Yet it is not clear that these dissatisfied women were willing to give up and accept a Union victory.

While some historians associate hardship on the Southern homefront with a defeatist attitude, an equal number have suggested that, rather than inducing despair and capitulation, hardship and occupation often increased Confederates' will to resist. These historians argue that Confederate citizens did feel a sense of common identity, one centered around their military institutions and thus lost faith in victory only with the surrender of the Confederate armed forces, particularly Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia. Others have proposed that the deprivation people experienced when in the proximity of Union armies actually increased Confederate nationalism, since it gave them an external enemy to blame for their problems, rather than concentrating all their frustration on the government in Richmond. Indeed, Southerners living in occupied areas may have outwardly capitulated to the United States government, but their personal papers often showed evidence of strong internal affiliation with the Confederacy. In addition, while many women wrote to their husbands, sons, and brothers, begging their return from the Confederate armies, others regularly urged the men in their families to remain at the front.

The debate over Confederate nationalism on the homefront remains open because so much evidence exists to support both sides. There were pockets of Union supporters scattered throughout the Confederacy, particularly in the mountainous areas of eastern Tennessee, western North Carolina, and northern Alabama. There were also communities of conscientious objectors and draft resistors, and even local militias that conducted guerrilla raids against Confederate units. Yet there were also civilians who endured severe economic hardship and even physical danger but remained committed to the Confederacy until the end of the war. Indeed, it seems that those people living the closest to Union armies were also the most willing to endure sacrifice to achieve a Confederate victory. This debate will no doubt continue to attract the attention of future generations of historians.

While the motivations and loyalties of white Southerners may still be open to debate, historians have found the loyalties of black Southerners much easier to understand. Those slaves who lived in areas near the Atlantic coast or close to Union army operations began running away from their masters even before the fall of Fort Sumter. Slaves in the

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interior remained at home but used the departure of white men for the Confederate army to gain autonomy from their mistresses. Although the much feared mass uprising of slaves never materialized, many slaves engaged in small acts of disobedience and disloyalty that undermined the agricultural, industrial, and even military capacities of the Confederacy. When slaves refused to work—or worked poorly—they deliberately limited the productive capability of the Confederate homefront. Free blacks, like slaves, had to be circumspect in their actions, but many welcomed Union victory. Free black communities in urban areas faced extra scrutiny early in the war and at low points in the military status of the Confederacy, but they also took advantage of the disarray of war to strengthen their community institutions, building a tradition of black collective activism that they would turn to political ends after the war.

Since the overwhelming majority of white Southern men served in the Confederate armies, any story of the Confederate homefront tells a great deal about the wartime experiences of women. Most studies have focused on the experiences of elite white women because they left behind the greatest quantity and variety of written records. Women of the planter class struggled to maintain control over their enslaved labor force, especially the male slaves. Although they had help from exempted men and those men too old for military duty, asserting authority over the agricultural work force was a new and challenging role for elite women, particularly as slaves sought to take advantage of this new situation. Elite women from occupied areas along the Atlantic coast and the Mississippi River often left their plantations and became refugees. Some left their slaves behind and went to cities like Richmond and Charleston. Others helped shepherd large numbers of slaves into more remote areas of the Piedmont or Texas. Although the refugee experience was difficult for all the families who left their homes, the women of the planter class had greater economic resources with which to face these dislocations.

In addition to their newfound economic responsibilities during the war, elite white women were the most likely of all Southern women to engage in patriotic and voluntary endeavors. Although the Confederacy did not have a formal organization similar to the United States Sanitary Commission, Southern women organized fairs, concerts, and other fundraising activities to send medical supplies and reading materials to the soldiers. They also had less formal involvement in the nursing profession than Northern women, but many Southern women served as nurses on an ad hoc basis whenever a battle occurred near their homes. Wealthier Southern women collected food to provide holiday celebrations to the soldiers or basic necessities to their neighbors. And in the aftermath of the war, white Southern women formed numerous cemetery and memorial associations to celebrate the valor of Confederate soldiers. As several historians have noted, in doing so these women usually obscured their own contributions to the Confederate war effort. Indeed, the basic continuity of gender roles in the South over the course of the Civil War seems due to deliberate choices on the part of elite white women to maintain their traditional roles in ideology if not in reality.

Nonslaveholding white women had always played key roles in the Southern economy, and so initially their wartime experiences represented a less dramatic change than those of elite women. The wives and daughters of yeoman farmers had always participated in agricultural labor, and so taking over the farm during the war was not, in the beginning, a huge departure for them. But the scarcity of hired labor, the shortages of seeds and implements, the impressment of farm animals, and the Confederate tax-in-kind all combined to create great hardship for women running the small farms that constituted the majority of the Confederate homefront. Moreover, while Northern farm women benefited from a wide variety of agricultural machinery designed to maintain production with a reduced work force, Southern factories concentrated all their energies on war materiel. Working-class women faced even greater difficulties, as real wages declined rapidly due to inflation and scarcity constantly increased the price of food.

Southern women's vocal maintenance of a conservative gender ideology, both during and after the

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war, greatly obscured the array of new opportunities that the war offered for white women in the wage work force. Despite the rapid depreciation of their wages, white women made significant—if often temporary—inroads into the Southern wage labor force during the war. Although most nursing took place on a volunteer basis, some women received paid positions as nurses and hospital matrons, particularly in the large, formal hospitals like Chimborazo Hospital outside Richmond. Educated young women of the middle and upper classes worked as clerks in government offices and signed bond certificates for the Treasury Department. Poorer women sewed uniforms or wrapped cartridges in ordnance factories. This last job could be especially dangerous. In March 1863, an explosion in an ordnance lab on Brown's Island in Richmond killed thirty-four women and injured several dozen others.

The women least likely to receive attention in the literature on the Confederate homefront are enslaved black women. Aside from hagiographic paeans to "Mammy," black women are noticeably absent from most stories of the Civil War. Yet they were undeniably vital to the Confederate war effort, however unwillingly. Like black men, slave women worked in the fields on most farms and plantations; indeed, when the state and national governments impressed black men to build fortifications, slave women took on an even greater proportion of the agricultural labor in the Confederacy. Most of the slaves who ran away to the Union lines were men, leaving behind women and children to perform all the farmwork. In addition, when their husbands ran away, slave women faced retribution from their masters and mistresses. Finally, female slaves who were forced into the Confederate hinterlands as refugees may have left behind friends and relatives on neighboring farms. Free black women faced the same economic hardships as white women, along with the knowledge that their free status was always precarious, especially during the disorder of war.

Obviously, the Confederate homefront was a vast and complex entity. The experiences of Southern civilians varied greatly with race, class, and gender, as well as with shifting qualities like proximity to the armies, the strength of local governments, and the health of local economies. What makes the Civil War so fascinating is the ability to examine the components of Confederate homefront experiences in such detail and even perhaps to compare the Confederate homefront to that of the Union. Furthermore, the intimate and sustained relationship between battlefront and homefront in the Confederacy makes its example quite distinct in the history of the United States.

Jaime Amanda Martinez

See also African American Women; Aid Societies; Atlanta, Evacuation of (Special Field Orders Number 67); Bread Riots; Civilian Life; Columbia Bazaar (January 17–21, 1865); Conscription; Davis, Jefferson (1808–1889); Desertion; Destruction of Homes; Destruction of Personal Property; Diaries and Journals; Domesticity; Enlistment; Factory Workers, Southern; Fairs and Bazaars; Family Life, Confederate; Food; Foraging, Effects on Women; Free Blacks; Fundraising; Government Girls; Guerrilla Warfare; Homespun; Hospitals; Impressment; Ladies' Memorial Associations; Letter Writing; Military Invasion and Occupation; Monuments; Morale; Nationalism, Confederacy; Nonslaveholding Southerners; Nurses; Plantation Life; Politics; Rape; Refugees; Rural Women; Secession; Separate Spheres; Sewing Bees; Shortages; Slave Families; Slaveholding Women; Southern Unionists; Southern Women; Treasury Girls; Union Homefront; United States Sanitary Commission; Urban Women, Southern; Wartime Employment; Widows, Confederate; Woman Order (General Order Number 28); Wounded, Visits to.

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Female Combatants

Despite public sensitivity, gender constraints, and government policy, hundreds of young women disguised themselves as men, enlisted, and served the Confederacy and the Union as combatants during the American Civil War. The exact number of female combatants is impossible to determine, however, because only the women who were discovered as such can be found in the records. In an age when dress, more than anything else, determined one's gender, women easily passed the superficial physical exams required for enlistment. In addition, if the men with whom they lived, slept, and fought recognized a female combatant among their ranks, they seldom reported the impostors to their superiors. Instead, capture by the enemy, the treatment of certain wounds, as well as pregnancy or birth led to the discovery and discharge of women soldiers. Often discharge did little to curb women's wartime service. Records indicate that several discharged women soldiers went to other regiments to reenlist. Women's motivations for enlistment ranged from a desire to remain with a lover, husband, or other family member, to a need for money or a thirst for adventure. For the most part, women, like their male counterparts, joined the armed forces for the social and economic opportunities that enlistment provided as well as out of a devotion to their country or region. However, female combatants, unlike men, could easily get released from their enlistment if they so desired. By outing themselves to the proper authorities or by discarding their disguises, they could return home and resume their civilian lives.

Women in uniform fought from the beginning of the war in 1861 to its conclusion in 1865. Women fought not only in minor scrimmages, but also in major confrontations in every theater of the war. Records of female combatants include their service in the Battles of First Manassas (Bull Run), Wilson's Creek, Fort Donelson, Shiloh, Murfreesboro, Antietam, Gettysburg, Vicksburg, Petersburg, Cold Harbor, the Shenandoah Valley and Peninsular campaigns, and the final conflicts near Appomattox Court House, where Robert E. Lee surrendered to Ulysses S. Grant. Ten women are known to have fought at Antietam, including a mother-to-be, and at least five known women made their contributions on the battlefield at Gettysburg, a battle that some scholars argue marked the turning point of the war. Two Confederate women died from wounds suffered during Pickett's Charge at Gettysburg, and one Southern female combatant survived the three-day battle after having her leg amputated by surgeons. Scholars can pinpoint these female combatants but are left to guess at the numbers of unknown women who fought. Although most documented female combatants were white, at least one woman on record served with the Twenty-ninth Connecticut Infantry (Colored).

As early as 1882, estimates of women soldiers surfaced. In their *History of Woman Suffrage,* Susan B. Anthony, Matilda Gage, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton wrote of "hundreds of women" who served as soldiers during the American Civil War. They noted that these women served out of their patriotism and loyalty, either to the Union or for the cause of the Confederacy. Considerable debate

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continues to exist over the actual number of female combatants who served in the Union and Confederate armies. Recent historians argue that one of the earliest estimates from the 1880s, that posited four hundred female soldiers, included only those discovered, and it may have referred only to women who served in the Union army. More recent estimates put the number of Civil War female combatants between five hundred and one thousand.

Scholars' exploration of female combatants have revealed vital details of these Civil War soldiers from official records and contemporary accounts. According to one study of over two hundred and forty discovered female combatants, over twice as many women served in the Union army as did in the Confederate army. In addition, 15 percent of female combatants suffered wounds; many women received more than one wound in the course of their military service. This detail illuminates how women were forced out of the armies. The location of a female combatant's wound could lead to the discovery of her sex and her subsequent discharge from service. Furthermore, according to this study, a greater percentage of female soldiers, as compared to men, died on the battlefield or from wounds than they did from disease. Additionally, statistically 2 percent more women than men found themselves captured. Many captured female combatants were exchanged or sent back to be handled by the armies they fought for, and most found themselves discharged upon their return. However, several women maintained their disguises during their time as prisoners of war. The study also revealed that female combatants served for an average of sixteen months, and approximately 10 percent of them mustered out of the army without their secret being discovered. Female combatants proved themselves as soldiers, and their promotion rate was 14 percent higher than that of their male comrades in arms.

Details about women who served as female combatants are found not only in government records, but also in more personal contemporary sources. Once discovered, a woman soldier became newsworthy. Local newspaper accounts provide details not found elsewhere. However, these accounts, often sensationalized and critical, also contain inaccuracies. In addition, letters written home by a female combatant's male comrades offer another perspective.

Despite prevailing social norms and nineteenth-century sensibilities, the young women who chose the soldier's life did so for a variety of reasons. For many, the excitement of military life seemed a cure to their homefront boredom. By the midnineteenth century, the popularity of cross-dressing female heroines in fictional and semifictional accounts had inspired the imagination of the reading public for hundreds of years. With limited opportunities in the social and economic realms, young women often envied the less traditional life of these literary characters. Additionally, in an era when society expected women to be pious and submissive and to remain within the private sphere of the home, the lure of a more active, exciting public life must have appealed to many young women. Few acted on the lure of a man's world, but many of those who became soldiers sought a life different from the one their sex mandated. With the outbreak of the Civil War, a few of these young women decided to find their own adventures. Their ability to fool physicians who performed the initial physical examination, as well as their commanders and comrades, tells as much about the time in which they lived as about their abilities to act like men.

Necessity rather than adventure contributed to the decision of some young women to become soldiers. The economic advantages of being a soldier persuaded numerous men and quite a few women to join the armies of the North and South. Though some young women found work outside the home for wages, employment opportunities were limited for working- and lower-class women. Occupations such as cook, laundress, or domestic worker provided little pay and few advantages; women might expect to earn a small percentage of what a man could earn as a farmer, the predominant occupation for men of the same socioeconomic level. Posing as a man in either the civilian or the military realm provided a logical way for a woman to alleviate the conditions of poverty. A few young women, even before the outbreak of the Civil War, had taken the

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opportunity to find better-paying jobs by seeking work disguised as men. Well-known female combatants Sarah Edmonds (Franklin Thompson), Jennie Hodgers (Albert D. J. Cashier), and Sarah Rosetta Wakeman (Lyons Wakeman) all earned a living as men in a male occupation before joining the army. In fact, peer pressure may have been an enlistment motivation for any female living as a male in a particular community.

Joining the army proved monetarily advantageous for women who did so. As a soldier, a woman could earn anywhere from two to four times more than a man in a civilian occupation. Many women took advantage of this economic opportunity and, like Sarah Rosetta (Lyons Wakeman), sent money home to help their families.

In their quest for economic survival, some women chose combat over prostitution, another last resort for economic survival, proving ridiculous local newspapers' claims that women combatants enlisted to serve as prostitutes. Journalists, in an attempt to condemn cross-dressing women, especially those who refused to admit the error of their ways, insisted that women must have disguised themselves as soldiers to better take advantage of the needs of male soldiers. In addition, women could be found in every regiment serving as cooks, laundresses, nurses, and prostitutes. Wives and other women, so-called camp followers, found an acknowledged place in the military life of the camps. Despite these realities, nineteenth-century notions about womanhood allowed the accusations that maligned women soldiers as prostitutes.

While money may have attracted a number of women to infantry, artillery, or cavalry positions in both the Union and Confederate armies, other factors also promoted enlistment. Some female combatants enlisted to escape an abusive relationship or home environment. At the same time, other women chose to enlist to remain with or to follow husbands, lovers, fathers, or brothers. Upon discovery, some revealed that the family member or members with whom they had enlisted were the only ones they had, and they did not wish to, or could not, remain behind. Often, their significant others remained the only ones who knew the true identity of the female combatant. A few officers ensured the enlistment of their wives, who then served under their husbands' commands. One woman who joined with her husband left her children in her sister's care. Another woman left her children in her husband's care and joined in his place. That these cases prove the exception remains unlikely. Although a few women revealed their identities to get out of military duty when the men they enlisted with died or mustered out, several women finished their enlistments despite the death or discharge of loved ones.

Whether joining with someone or not, women, like their male counterparts, cited patriotism as a reason for becoming a soldier. For both men and women, preserving the Union or protecting one's homeland resulted in a desire to join the army. Even revenge could serve as a motivating force; many soldiers on both sides sought satisfaction by fighting an enemy who had caused the death of a loved one. Whatever their initial motivation, women's reasons for reenlisting or continuing to serve after facing combat, more often than not, like men's, changed. The adrenaline rush of battle may have sufficed as a reason to remain despite the possibility of death. Women combatants may have feared battle less than they feared discovery, which could call into question their morals and reasons for becoming soldiers.

Nothing, including pregnancy, seemed to deter a woman who chose to fight. Records reveal that one veteran sergeant fought at the Battle of Murfreesboro even though she was five months pregnant; she was not unique. An unnamed New Jersey enlistee contributed to the fighting in the Seven Days' Battles during her first trimester. The second trimester found her at Antietam, where she suffered from a wound from which she recovered to return to her regiment to fight at Fredericksburg. After earning a promotion to sergeant at Fredericksburg, she remained in the ranks until she gave birth to a baby boy. As these cases indicate, some female combatants successfully hid their pregnancy as long as possible, often until childbirth.

A number of factors, unique to nineteenth-century America, allowed women soldiers to succeed in their deception. Clothing expectations and

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perceptions of capabilities contributed to the ease of disguise in which many females became men for military purposes. Attire rather than physical appearance determined gender in the nineteenth century. By nineteenth-century logic, if it wore pants and carried a gun, it must be male. No one expected to find a female in the ranks—soldiers cared more about whether their comrades in arms could fight than what sex they might be. It is no wonder that one of the first things required of a captured female soldier was that she get appropriately dressed in female attire.

Additionally, the enlistment of so many boys whose hairless faces could be seen and whose high-pitched voices could be heard in every regiment masked the fact that several smooth-faced youths were female rather than male. Although a few women gave themselves away by unintentionally displaying womanly mannerisms, other females secured their disguises by exhibiting "male" personal habits, including drinking, smoking, fighting, swearing, womanizing, and gambling. Some female combatants, such as Jennie Hodgers (Albert Cashier), dated women.; Señora Loreta Janeta Velazquez (Lieutenant Harry Buford) was considered an unashamed flirt with the ladies, much to the disdain of later accounts that found this characteristic of the cross-dressing self-promoter of more concern than that she fought and led others into battle. Whether these female combatants engaged and entertained women to enhance their disguises or to suit their personal preferences remains difficult to determine. In any case, their behavior certainly helped in their quest to be seen as male soldiers.

Although women, like all Civil War soldiers, had to pass a physical exam to gain entry into the army, most of the exams were superficial, and few physicians followed government directives. Enlistment numbers mattered more than policy, and many women joined a regiment already in the field, thereby bypassing the process entirely. The need for soldiers prompted many examiners to offer a cursory once-over, focusing instead on the needs of the military. As long as a prospective soldier could shoot—or had all ten fingers—he—or she—could easily pass the physical examination. In addition, most of the skills required by the armies for combat were gender neutral. The majority of women who enlisted had worked on farms or performed other chores that aided physical adaptability to army life, such as carrying gear weighing between 40 and 50 pounds. Subsequently, they easily passed their physical and joined the ranks.

Albert D. J. Cashier of the 95th Illinois Regiment, aka Jennie Hodgers. (Courtesy of the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library)

Despite the care taken by female combatants to remain undetected, it appears that other women could often see through a disguise. Female combatants may have felt comforted in finding other women in the same situation. They could work together to keep their sex hidden as they tried to survive military service. Although evidence suggests that a few female combatants had male companions who kept their secret, as well as relatives or acquaintances who aided their deceptions, occasionally a disgruntled relative or family friend could cause dismissal upon recognizing a woman he knew in the ranks and reporting her to the authorities.

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For the most part, however, only close scrutiny could unmask a female combatant.

The modesty of the times allowed women soldiers enough space and privacy to attend to personal matters. As for menstruation, most female combatants' monthly cycle stopped altogether due to the physical demands of soldiering. Furthermore, the "evidence" of women's monthly cycles blended in with the items generated by the daily treatment of wounded soldiers.

A female combatant often found herself participating in duties other than combat. In addition to fighting, drilling and marching became a part of her daily existence. Other duties to which women soldiers, as well as men, found themselves assigned included guard duty, scouting, and occasionally hospital duty. The rate by which women rose in either the enlisted or the officer ranks attests to their abilities as soldiers and leaders. Though a woman, like a man, more than likely entered the enlisted ranks as a private, several women, by the time of their discovery and outing, had risen to the rank of sergeant. Most of the women whose disguise fell away when they gave birth were listed as sergeants, suggesting evidence of field promotion due to their courage under fire; several letters sent home by fellow male soldiers attest to these women's abilities as soldiers, as well as to their comrades' surprise at their abilities to become mothers. Although many female officers held their rank due to the influence of husbands under whom they served, one woman gained her husband's rank and command after his death. It is unlikely that this would have happened had she not been capable of fulfilling the position's duties and of holding the increased responsibility, and had she not proven herself worthy to those she commanded. Although for the most part women commanded as lieutenants and captains, one female prisoner of war was a major.

Many female combatants could not, or chose not to, uphold their disguise. Once revealed as women, most female combatants were mustered out of the army. No female combatants were court-martialed for crimes, incompetence, or disgrace. In addition, although scholars have found three female combatants who deserted, two of them reenlisted. As the war continued into its third and fourth years, several women, especially those in Southern regiments, found it unnecessary to continue to disguise themselves as men, finding that discovery did not bring an automatic mustering out; by this point in the war the need for man, or woman, power far outweighed gender sensitivities and ideals. Female combatants who served in the Western theater found regulations less restrictive as well because frontier ideals did not necessarily comply with traditional societal expectations.

Several women reenlisted after being released as prisoners of war. Neither the Union nor the Confederate army had any regulations to deal with women prisoners. The experiences of captured female combatants must be understood on a case-by-case basis, because individual commanders dealt with the situation as best they knew how and often with individual biases in place. More often than not, once it was discovered that a prisoner was not a man, she was provided with appropriate female attire, paroled, and sent on her way, unless she was ill or injured, after promising to return home. Some released women quickly discarded the dress for trousers and reenlisted. If injured or ill, women whose disguises had been discovered more likely than not found themselves segregated from their male comrades and retained in the same prison or sent to a civilian hospital. Some women used the fact that they were women to gain either release from the military or from the horrific conditions under which most prisoners lived; these women seldom reenlisted. Several others withheld their true identities and suffered along with their comrades. In prison and on the battlefield, a woman often refused treatment to keep her secret. When men on burial detail detected a female combatant, they usually buried her separately, whether she died on the battlefield or in prison, occasionally marking her grave, while mass and unmarked graves served well enough for fallen men.

At the end of the war, many female combatants returned home and took up the life they had lived before the war. The resumption of their prewar lifestyle was especially the case for those who had joined and served with their husbands or sweethearts. Several of these women had children, raised

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their families, and went on with their life as if nothing had happened. They never dwelled on their wartime battlefield experiences.

A few female combatants, such as Velazquez and Edmonds, whose disguises seemed to fluctuate throughout the war, published their memoirs afterward. Their elaborated and sensationalized details brought to question the true sacrifices of many other unnamed or unrecognized fellow female combatants. After the war, the public wanted to believe the less accurate though culturally acceptable tales of romanticized female soldiers—perhaps heartbroken, crazed, or morally bereft. These sensationalized tales held more appeal than any true account of female combatants whose motivations differed significantly or who had shown boldness and strength and proved themselves worthy soldiers and human beings.

Female combatants who had taken up male disguises prior to the war also returned to the lives that they had led before their enlistment. For example, female Civil War veterans and combatants such as Albert Cashier (Jennie Hodgers) of Illinois and Otto Schaffer (actual name unknown) of Kansas returned to the lives they had more than likely lived prior to their military service. Although, unlike other female combatants, these women continued to dress as men, they did so having lived as men for most, if not all, of their adult lives. It is unlikely that these two individuals were the only female veterans who led full lives as men after their wartime experiences. Other cross-dressed women who were never discovered likely continued as men after the war.

The female identity of Cashier was not discovered for decades after he mustered out of the army. Injured in an accident in 1911 and discovered by the physician who treated her, Cashier's secret was not revealed by the doctor or by the senator for whom she worked. In addition, once the news of Cashier's sex became general knowledge, her former comrades in arms maintained a loyal and somewhat protective response. Forced by her true identity to finally become a woman, the state of Illinois placed Jennie in the woman's wing of the mental hospital at the age of seventy. The state also determined that Jennie should look the part and dress as a woman. Unaccustomed to female attire—she had worn men's clothes her entire adult life—she tripped, fell, and broke her hip, an injury from which she never recovered. A woman who had fought tirelessly and without wounds through the Civil War succumbed to old age and a long skirt. The continued support of former comrades in arms ensured, however, that she be buried with full military honors.

Some female combatants applied for and received military pensions for their service, often with the support of former comrades who had come to know the true identity of their fellow soldier. The high level of support that came from former comrades in arms, even after a soldier had been identified as a female, might suggest that many men knew during the war that some of their fellow soldiers were women. As long as they fought bravely, did not complain any more than expected, and took on their assigned duties, their sex did not matter to other soldiers. Fellow soldiers, as well as community members, recognized and honored the Civil War service of female combatants in the postwar era.

Kay J. Blalock

See also Antietam/Sharpsburg, Battle of (September 17, 1862); Bull Run/Manassas, First Battle of (July 21, 1861); Camp Followers; Confederate Soldiers, Motives; Courts Martial; Desertion; Disease; Domesticity; Edmonds, Sarah Emma [Franklin Thompson] (1841–1898); Enlistment; Family Life, Northern; Family Life, Southern; Female Spies; Fredericksburg, Battle of (December 13, 1862); Gettysburg, Battle of (July 1–3, 1863); Hodgers, Jennie [Albert D. J. Cashier] (ca. 1843–1915); Imprisonment of Women; Letter Writing; Morale; Murfreesboro, Battle of (December 31, 1862–January 2, 1863); Nationalism, Confederate; Nationalism, United States; Northern Women; Peninsular Campaign (1862); Petersburg Campaign (June 1864–April 1865); Prostitution; Separate Spheres; Sheridan's Shenandoah Valley Campaign (1864); Shiloh, Battle of (April 6–7, 1862); Southern Women; Union Soldiers, Motives; Velazquez, Loreta Janeta [Harry T. Buford] (1842–n.d.); Wakeman, Sarah Rosetta [Lyons Wakeman] (1843–1864); Wartime Employment; Wartime Literature.

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Female Spies

Female spies joined other women across the country during the Civil War in performing duties previously unimaginable for women. Even though they could not vote and were in most respects subservient to men, women who became spies were well educated and had long participated in family decisions and in church benevolent societies. As talk of war intensified, these women discussed the major issues—secession, slavery, and sedition—with their families, friends, and neighbors. Once the war began, they took on more active roles to support their nation.

Initially, most people in the North and South expected the conflict to end in a matter of months, if not days. Before either side conscripted troops, men with stanch convictions volunteered to fight. Their daughters, sisters, and wives later emerged as spies. In the Deep South, where secessionist sentiment raged, the minority white male population diverged along class lines. Plantation owners, who were exempt from service, often donated money to Confederate coffers and raised companies of soldiers that included their own sons. Concurrently, many masters sent their slaves to the most remote areas of their holdings in an attempt to insulate them from talk of freedom and to discourage escape or rebellion, while they either moved north or west to avoid harm or went into voluntary exile farther south. Some left their wives and children behind, assuming their dependents would be protected by their status and the ubiquitous code of male paternalism and chivalry. In the Upper South and Midwest, where small farmers with only a few or no slaves dominated the rural landscape, families worked alongside their servants in the fields. These men were less inclined to abandon their homes for what they perceived as a rich man's war until forced by the draft, lured by money, or persecuted by neighbors.

After the Union and Confederacy instituted conscription, women in rural middle-class families of necessity stayed at home to protect their children and property, no small feat when guerrilla violence plagued areas outside Federal or Confederate protection. Poor women moved in with family members or neighbors when possible; otherwise, they became refugees, finding food and shelter as they roamed from place to place. Black women, free and slave, fled the South to the North and Canada or to the safety of Union lines when possible. A few remained in their Southern homeland. Because the soldier-aged white male population in Northern states was larger than that in the South, Northern communities were not as bereft of men as Southern ones. In addition, because battles and troop movements took place primarily in the South, Northern women, black and white, contended with less disruption and

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deprivation than did Southern women. After the Union army began accepting black men as soldiers in 1863, their female dependents followed when allowed. Otherwise, Northern black women's experiences paralleled those of Southern women more closely than those of Northern white women. By the war's third year, women in Southern states felt the effects of feeding two armies, hosting battles, and the lack of male protection and assistance. Shortages of food, clothing, medicine, firewood, salt, labor, and work animals affected rural women more than residents of Union-occupied towns. Since one army or the other appropriated most beasts of burden, only the most fortunate women retained a horse. Women spies experienced the same hardships, although not as extensively or as early in the conflict as poorer and older women. Even though female spies sewed, tended wounded soldiers, and otherwise made contributions similar to those of other women, their wealth supplied the leisure time, social contacts, and transportation necessary for spying.

Even before the Civil War officially started, some spymasters planned their networks and strategies. Female spies close to central governments in Washington, D.C., and Richmond, Virginia, extracted critical information from elected and appointed officeholders in the legislative and executive branches and from other government employees, often funneling it via female friends and relatives. Socialite Rose O'Neal Greenhow, for example, cultivated U.S. cabinet and congressional members privy to presidential and military decisions. Because departments like the Secret Service and Federal Bureau of Investigation did not exist on the eve of the war, individual generals, Union and Confederate, bore responsibility for their own intelligence work. Even if he hired a civilian to head his espionage efforts, the general retained the authority to decide whether to obtain information from citizens, prisoners, refugees, deserters, or anyone, as well as how much credence to give each source. Union General George B. McClellan, who retained former Chicago railroad detective Allan Pinkerton as his first intelligence chief, experimented with a variety of information-gathering techniques, including balloons and signal corps in addition to people. While official records use the term "spy," military documents also refer to persons who performed the same functions as scouts, guides, and couriers. Ideally, commanders delegated spy duties to their cavalry units. Muster rolls show soldiers on "detached service," "courier duty," or "special service"—all terms used to describe their absence while on undercover missions. Later, generals on both sides integrated local civilian spy groups into their networks. The Confederacy continued to rely on each general to organize his own band of spies; however, Confederate President Jefferson Davis occasionally entertained and supported singular secret missions. Not all generals considered women capable of or suitable for spying.

Rose Greenhow was a spy for the Confederacy during the American Civil War. She is reported to have continued her intelligence activity even after her capture by the Union in 1861. (Library of Congress)

During the first year or so of war, men on both sides failed to recognize the potential for harm that women presented. As Union generals conquered new territory, they hoped to cultivate latent nation-

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alist sentiments among the local populace, as well as to improve troop morale by inviting area women to army-sponsored balls—perfect opportunities for female spies to coax secrets from unsuspecting soldiers. Even officers proudly escorted small parties of area women around fortifications or through manufacturing operations like the Confederate Tredegar Iron Works. Female spies capitalized on such opportunities. Gradually military police units realized that women were hiding smuggling and spying activities behind their charm. Nevertheless, the notion that women were incapable of treason persisted among military leaders. Actress turned Union spy Pauline Cushman convinced Confederate General John Hunt Morgan that she was a raging secessionist, yet fellow General Nathan Bedford Forrest failed to fall for her act. Tennessee Governor Andrew Johnson ordered the release of two "harmless belles" arrested for spying.

By its nature, espionage is a solitary activity rarely generating written records; thus, a person's participation can be speculative, based on circumstantial evidence. Consequently, what scholars know of Civil War espionage is a composite of the *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion,* provost marshal records, newspaper articles, papers of intelligence chiefs and military officers, family papers, civilians' memoirs, and soldiers' diaries. Because many female spies operated at least one or two links removed from the male spies who reported to a spymaster or a general, their names do not appear in documentation created by the higher echelon. While payment records certainly validate a woman's service, the absence of a woman's name does not prove that a woman never spied. She may have volunteered; her name may have been changed, shown as initials, or omitted; or the record may be missing. Before Richmond fell, Confederate Secretary of War Judah Benjamin burned stacks of documents, likely including those containing information about covert operations.

Whether her service consisted of a single incident or a series of tasks, whether she was an organizer or a link in the spy chain, a female spy usually associated with family members, friends, former classmates, or neighbors rather than infiltrating a circle of strangers. Some women smuggled goods or assisted refugees, escapees, or fugitives, while awaiting a spying opportunity. A few diaries and memoirs by credible women spies exist, usually published only after their deaths. Veiled entries such as "visited Dr. Hudson" or "Mr. Wilson here" indicate contact with male members of the clandestine network. After the War, both Union and Confederate officials encouraged operatives to continue their silence because exposing surreptitious activities could have endangered lives for years.

Women acknowledged as spies were typically young, white, well-to-do, and unmarried, as well as attractive, charming, intelligent, and quick-witted —desirable characteristics when eliciting information from soldiers. Since few able-bodied men or servants remained in communities, especially in the South, married and widowed women usually were too preoccupied with caring for family, neighbors, and soldiers to consider becoming involved in surreptitious activities. The majority of female spies volunteered; however, occasionally women were officially recruited even if they had previously been operating independently. Virginian Elizabeth Van Lew, who spied for the Union, and Washington, D.C. socialite Rose O'Neal Greenhow, who aided the Confederacy, were two of the most well-known who were sought out by spymasters. Some, like Belle Boyd, stepped forward because they happened upon valuable information, while others, such as Mary Overall, wanted to assist a friend. Those who sought public acclaim after their escapades via published memoirs or in traveling lectures were some of the least effective as spies, in part because the very publicity ended their usefulness and that of their contacts as spies. Openly discussing their actions or the failure to use coded messages while the country was still at war not only exposed their comrades and methods to the enemy, but also jeopardized future operations.

Although women on both sides participated in spying and smuggling, most battles occurred on Southern soil; thus Unionist and Confederate Southern women had the advantage of being near knowledgeable sources and commanders who needed information. Confederate sympathizers in

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the North and Unionists in the South found it much more difficult to form or join networks of like-minded spies. Intelligence groups were most active between Union encampments or occupied territory and the closest Confederate boundary. Male spies for both sides regularly traveled between Union and Confederate lines, corridors plagued with foragers, deserters, and bushwhackers. To meet with or to leave messages for other members of their network, women traversed the same territory, often without the required travel passes. Having a horse was critical for female spies, who operated outside the towns, a necessity that excluded poor women from spy networks.

Careful to maintain ladylike behavior in normal times, women pushed the boundaries of acceptable conduct when engaging in covert activities. Arranging to meet a male conspirator in a hotel lobby, admitting men into one's home late at night, or taking an unescorted horse or buggy ride created, at the least, speculation about a woman's virtue. Rose Greenhow attracted suspicion and criticism early in the war due to the steady stream of men visiting her house. Others invited censure by openly flirting, as in Belle Boyd's case, or by flashing pistols and sleeping with male cohorts, as did Frankie Abells. Northern and Southern newspapers branded any woman charged with treasonous acts as a prostitute unless her wealth or social position was significant enough to temper reporters' rhetoric. The same adventurous spirit that attracted women to spying also caused them to disregard their reputations. More dangerous and socially isolating, however, was assisting the army that her neighbors considered the enemy. Women who possessed the courage and determination required for covert operations were not intimidated.

What constituted spying changed as the war escalated. In 1863 Union commanders issued orders defining spies or traitors as anyone who transported or wrote secret mail as well as extreme female secessionists. Secret mail included letters to soldiers in the opposite army. A woman could be arrested for spying when a letter found on a dead man was signed with a code name similar to hers. Anyone caught carrying newspapers across military lines was automatically considered a spy. Traveling with a forged travel pass also led to arrest. Initially, United States and Confederate investigators refrained from searching women bodily in deference to the prevailing codes of chivalry. Women's elaborate hairstyles, dress bodices, hems, and large hoop skirts concealed maps, battle plans, troop strength and movement details, and accounts of army supplies, among other confidential information. Unable to find evidence to support a charge of spying, officers arrested women for smuggling. By mid-1863, the Union employed female guards to find documents and contraband goods that women spies carried.

Women used a variety of spying techniques. Those who avoided detection used cipher codes or invisible ink for written correspondence and entrusted only a few well-known contacts with their true purpose. Rose Greenhow's contemptuous disregard for the Union led to her arrest when she carelessly left uncoded messages and her cipher key easily accessible to Pinkerton's detectives. Coded want ads in newspapers provided clues regarding travel and rendezvous. Messages written in tiny script, further reduced by photography and then concealed inside buttons, were later deciphered using strong magnifying glasses. Many spy rings used Vigenere Tableau, court, route, or other ciphers based on text, pictographs, or numbers. Often only the sender and receiver could interpret the message. When personal contact was too risky or inconvenient, operators left messages at a designated street corner, in a rural hollow stump, or inside objects such as books, napkins, newspapers, and chairs in public places.

Men and women differentiated spying tasks based on gender. Men could easily wander about enemy camps in the uniform of the other army or in the guise of peddlers or other civilians, whereas women charmed post commanders and pickets so that they could readily obtain passes to and from garrisoned towns. Male military officers garnered information from interrogating prisoners, deserters, and contrabands; men operated surveillance balloons and formed the signal corps. Women's assignments involved gathering information about troop numbers and movements, obtaining maps and newspapers, determining fortifications, and

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conveying letters across enemy lines; however, they spent much of their time transferring messages from one male operative working between Confederate and Union lines to another inside occupied towns. They also kept track of other spies in their chain, searching or substituting for them when they failed to appear at the expected time, advising their intelligence network chief of changes in operating methods and of problems, assisting male spies in escaping from prison, and claiming the bodies of male spies killed in the line of duty.

Occasionally a female spy adopted a disguise. Self-proclaimed Union spy Emma Edmonds allegedly posed at various times as a soldier, a slave boy, a black woman, and an Irish peddler. Elizabeth Van Lew dressed like a working-class woman. In the chaotic milieu of war and with many young boys joining the military, other soldiers rarely scrutinized a beardless face. Unless wounded, a woman's gender could remain undetected. Nor was her race questioned because both armies used black women as cooks and laundresses. Women, along with blacks, preachers, physicians, and photographers, were "invisible" in that soldiers talked freely around them as though they were not present. Invisibles could travel across enemy lines with little interference and did not have to hide during the day, as did male spies. Thus, women spies often gathered more information and delivered messages more quickly than did their male counterparts.

Countless nameless male and female blacks, free and enslaved, facilitated the work of white spies, and their number doubtless exceeded that of their white colleagues. African American women, most notably Harriet Tubman, and some white women acted out of abolitionist convictions; they saw spying as a means of fighting slavery. Slaves accompanied their owners on secret missions and acted as lone couriers. They provided food, shelter, and transportation when needed, found horses, hid horses, and relayed overheard conversations. Perhaps their most valuable contribution was using their superior knowledge of roads and wooded trails to hide spies or to lead spies from one contact point to another. When Confederate officials suspected blacks of aiding treasonous whites, black associates received disproportionately harsh treatment, including the loss of freedom, physical abuse, imprisonment, and death, for keeping their secrets.

The reasons females spied are as diverse as the women themselves, but patriotism was a common denominator. Those with Confederate sympathies believed their first loyalty was to their homeland, the South, perhaps instinctively and subconsciously realizing that their lives would be easier during and after the war if they held the same political philosophy as their neighbors. Spies for the North believed the Rebels had no right to secede, and many also wanted to end slavery. North and South, religious leaders encouraged patriotism. Consequently, women, considered more pious than men, had a sacred duty to do whatever they thought necessary to assist the cause. Contemporary accounts frequently mention Confederate women's zeal, so strong that they ridiculed men who were reluctant warriors. A large part of their fervor came from Southern ministers who assured women that not only was God aligned with the South, but also that He sanctioned women's efforts in support of His chosen land and people. Loyalty to family and friends was another factor, although some spies alienated themselves from their loved ones' over differing political views. For other women, the risk, adventure, excitement, or challenge presented a rare opportunity to step outside traditional roles at a time when life would otherwise have been quite dismal.

Until the Union began its hard war campaigns in mid-1863, the consequences of spying for both Confederate and Union women were mitigated by a paternalistic system, socioeconomically stratified by class, that excluded wealthy white women from suspicion of immoral or illegal behavior and that insulated them from harsh treatment. Although neither side executed female spies, some women received death sentences that were later commuted. Wealthy women, though sometimes arrested and imprisoned, generally were not treated as cruelly as were poor women, blacks, and male spies. From Old Capitol Prison in Washington, D.C., to Gratiot Street Prison in St. Louis, imprisoned female spies described almost universally squalid physical environments, contending

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with rats, bad food, and uncomfortable, unsanitary cells. Nevertheless, women's conditions were considerably less crowded and unpleasant than those that male spies encountered. Women convicted of spying for the Confederacy were exiled to the Deep South, usually hundreds of miles from their families. Occasionally, a particularly valuable or well-connected female spy was exchanged for male Union prisoners held in the South, but more typically women prisoners were exchanged for other women in a one-to-one ratio. Deserved or not, women who garnered bad reputations had difficulty shedding them after the war.

Whether the memories were too painful or the deeds too sensitive, most women who spied refused to discuss or publicize their roles. Recognizing their significance, descendants published some women spies' papers decades later. A few female spies received accolades during or immediately following the war. Rose Greenhow funneled information to Confederate General Pierre G. T. Beauregard that enabled him to prepare for the Battle of Bull Run. Another female spy in the same ring with Greenhow warned the Confederacy of an impending naval attack on Port Royal. Although Belle Boyd's well-reported and public rush to convey Federal troop positions to Brigadier General Richard Taylor enabled General Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson to rout Union forces at Front Royal, Virginia, historians discredit her other espionage claims.

After the war, male spies and military officers publicly acknowledged certain women spies' importance to their operations, although rarely revealing details. Alfred Douglas, cofounder of Confederate General Braxton Bragg's Coleman Scouts, commended Mrs. Doctor Patterson and Miss Fannie Battle, while another Coleman Scout lauded Kate Patterson and Robbie Woodruff for saving men from capture as well as for identifying opportune times and places to attack Federal forces. That particular network, which included several women, contributed to raids by Generals John Hunt Morgan and Nathan Bedford Forrest. The fact that Union General Grenville Dodge gave orders specifically to capture Coleman Scouts indicates the effectiveness of the group and indirectly compliments the women. Confederate President Jefferson Davis and numerous Missouri officers acknowledged Belle Edmondson's sacrifices and devotion. Near the end of the war, Union spies in Richmond relayed precise information to General Ulysses S. Grant in time for him to capture Fort Harrison and weaken Confederate General Robert E. Lee's troop strength. Union Generals Grant and Butler and Colonel George H. Sharpe praised Elizabeth Van Lew's work, and Congress awarded her partial compensation for wartime expenses. That women spies were arrested validates their power even though a particular woman's information may not have contributed to winning or losing a battle.

How female spies fared after the war depended to some extent on their political persuasion and place of residence. Elizabeth Van Lew, for instance, continued to live in Richmond, suffering social ostracism because she spied for the Union in the midst of a Confederate majority population and continued to assist blacks after the war. Benefiting from her wartime alliance with General Grant, she used her appointments to the Freedmen's Bureau and as Postmaster to help blacks move to the North and to hire blacks as postal clerks. Most former female spies who had aligned with the dominant cause in their area chose postwar marriage and a traditional domestic life. In addition, many former Confederate spies were active in the organization that became the United Daughters of the Confederacy, raising money to place memorials to fallen soldiers, ensuring that school children learned the "true history" of the war, and otherwise contributing to the Lost Cause campaign. Some women spies joined socially acceptable occupations, primarily teaching, until they married. A few women spies opted to remain unwed and to teach or enter fields newly opened to women, such as nursing and positions as office, shop, or government clerks, because they had performed those jobs during the war. Some participated in the burgeoning women's club, temperance, and suffrage or antisuffrage movements. Most participated in their church benevolent society, and a few delved into what eventually became social work. The handful who traveled recounting their exploits or who quickly published

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memoirs brought sorely needed attention to women's capabilities and contributions, sometimes exaggerating their own deeds and thereby instilling doubt about other female spies' achievements.

The extent to which female spies impacted life during and after the Civil War is debatable. Significantly, a sizeable number of women risked their reputations and lives as activists for their cause in an era when such behavior was unexpected and, during peacetime, socially unacceptable. Their wartime assertiveness presaged women's late nineteenth-century move toward attaining higher education, working outside the domestic sphere, engaging in activism for causes, and choosing to delay or forgo marriage—transformations that may not have come as quickly or spread as widely without women's Civil War experiences.

Nancy L. Adgent

See also Abolitionists and Northern Reformers; African American Women; Battle, Mary Frances "Fannie" (1842–1924); Boyd, Belle (1844–1900); Bull Run/Manassas, First Battle of (July 21, 1861); Civilian Life; Confederate Homefront; Conscription; Cushman, Pauline [Harriet Wood] (1833–1893); Domesticity; Edmondson, Belle (1840–1873); Enlistment; Female Combatants; Freedmen's Bureau; Guerrilla Warfare; Greenhow, Rose O'Neal (ca. 1814–1864); Imprisonment of Women; Lee, Robert Edward (1807–1870); Military Invasion and Occupation; Nationalism, Confederate; Nationalism, United States; Northern Women; Nurses; Politics; Refugees; Religion; Separate Spheres; Shortages; Southern Unionists; Southern Women; Teachers, Northern; Teachers, Southern; Tubman, Harriet [Araminta Ross] (1822–1913); Union Homefront; United Daughters of the Confederacy; Van Lew, Elizabeth (1818–1900); Velazquez, Loreta Janeta [Harry T. Buford] (1842–n.d.); Wartime Employment.

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Military Invasion and Occupation

During the Civil War, Union and Confederate women experienced military invasion and occupation differently. For women in the Union, citizens initially expected an aggressive Confederate military to make raids into Northern states. Such fears proved largely unfounded; with the exception of

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the Gettysburg campaign, no real organized Confederate invasion materialized. Union women's interaction with Confederate troops was largely limited to dealing with foraging and raiding parties, as well as guerrilla attacks. Women of both sympathies living in the border states had greater contact with the troops than their Northern counterparts, because their territory frequently became contested terrain between the two forces. Since the majority of battles took place in the Southern states, Confederate women's lives were the most affected by invading military forces. Homefront resistance flourished, and Union military strategy had to evolve to include relations with enemy civilians. While many instances of courtesy and protection are on record, most Confederate women could expect to suffer some loss of property, slaves, dignity, honor, and even life as the Union army conquered and subdued the rebellious region.

Regardless of where a woman lived or where her sympathies rested, fears about confrontations with enemy troops existed among the female population. With traditional male protectors absent from the homefront and the line between battlefield and home blurring, women's trepidations were many. The general pattern of invasion was well known: rumors preceded the arrival of troops, the military suddenly appeared and embarked on a brief pillaging period, and then the enemy just as suddenly evacuated. Once rumors of an invasion began to spread, panic and flight often followed. For those who remained to face the enemy, the protection of person and property took precedence. Anxieties about sexual assault dominated women's minds, and psychological stress either abounded while waiting for an attack or emerged after the devastation occurred. When the enemy finally arrived, women's reactions ranged from calm acceptance to hysterical panic, and their attitudes swung from courteous to hateful.

Once the war began, Union women faced few actual encounters with an invading army. Of greater concern for these women than fear of occupation, particularly in the border states, was contact with guerrilla forces or Confederate cavalry raiders. Guerrilla attacks were frequently damaging and bloody, with William Quantrill and his raiders among the most notorious in Missouri and Kansas. These men were often not associated with either the Union or the Confederacy's legitimate military force; as a result, many viewed them as rabble and composed of a lower class of men bent on selfish purposes. Their wide-ranging attacks targeted civilian populations without remorse, and their purpose was often to instill fear and intimidation. Again, Union women's interaction with organized Confederate forces was limited. The Confederate military sent regiments of cavalry into the North on scouting and scavenging missions. In these instances, the troops arrived in towns to search for food and supplies for the trailing army or to intimidate the local population into supporting the Confederate cause. As a result, Union civilians often had their crops and livestock commandeered or their personal safety threatened. If payment for supplies was promised, it often never came. The most prominent of such raiders were J.E.B. Stuart and Jubal Early in Maryland and the Shenandoah Valley region, as well as John Hunt Morgan in the Ohio Valley.

Confederate women's experiences were different. With the war being fought on their doorsteps, Southern women's interaction with an invading, and eventually occupying, military force was frequent. Contact between women and the military depended on the strategic importance of the region. In areas of high strategic value, such as major Southern cities and ports, the military kept a constant presence once it had secured possession. In the area surrounding such armed camps, the Union made occasional appearances while on patrol, foraging, or searching for the enemy. In remote or frontier territories in the Confederacy, citizens' contact with the military was sporadic.

The Union's military attitude toward enemy civilians evolved from an initial policy of conciliation to a policy of total war. Given early beliefs in a quick resolution to the sectional conflict, the official military guidelines urged noninterference with civilians. Southerners' rights were to be respected, their property left untouched, and their slaves unprovoked. The rationale was that most civilians only tacitly approved of secession and that, if the Union

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could demonstrate its respect for Southern life and property, a speedy reunion would ensue. Such a position dominated policy through the early stages of the war, until Union military reversals in 1862 forced a reexamination of policy. At that point, securing military victory became paramount, and concern for civilians became a consideration only so far as interaction affected the outcome of the battle. By 1864, with continued Confederate resistance among civilians, especially from women, Union military policy again shifted. A hard war policy developed, in which civilians became targets of the Union military in an effort to demoralize any fighting spirit that remained and to ruin the economic infrastructure that was sustaining the Confederacy.

As the interaction with Confederate civilians increased, the Union military needed a set of guidelines for conduct in the field. In 1863, the military issued General Order Number 100, also known as Lieber's Code for Francis Lieber, the lone civilian on the committee and primary author of the guidelines. The Code distinguished three categories of civilians: (1) those who were truly loyal and would support the Confederacy only if compelled to do so by force; (2) noncombatants who did not interfere in military affairs; and (3) openly hostile citizens determined to resist the invasion. Each group required different treatment. The military tried to protect loyal citizens' property as much as possible; if troops took supplies, payment was offered. For noncombatants, the Union would not harass them as long as they continued to not interfere. Their property, however, was subject to impressment if the military needed it. Any attempt by those in this group to aid the enemy would result in greater property seizures and strict punishment for offenders. The Union military treated citizens who were aggressively resisting Union occupation the most severely, subjecting them to property seizure and destruction, confinement, or expulsion from their homes and communities.

General Order Number 100 also provided a guideline for determining which property or action could be considered a military necessity: specifically, the material or action needed to facilitate the end of the war. With such latitude, soldiers could destroy property, obstruct travel and commerce, and take supplies needed to sustain their efforts. However, the Code did not advocate "wanton" destruction or any action that would create such resentment as to make peace difficult to attain. The Union wanted to conquer the Confederate territory, not produce lasting bitter feelings. Nonetheless, the message behind the guidelines was that the burden of the war was to fall on disloyal citizens.

As the army approached Confederate cities, commanders frequently issued formal warnings to the citizens. They urged people to evacuate the region to avoid unnecessary civilian casualties. Confederate city officials also encouraged women, children, and the elderly to flee the city limits, freeing up more men, provisions, and facilities for overall defense. For those who chose to leave, the roads and railroads were often congested with refugees struggling to flee with the few possessions they could carry. Those ignoring the warnings often suffered when the battle began. Not only did they have to avoid becoming casualties of the battle, but they also had to contend with reduced ability to provision themselves. One of the best examples of this was during the siege of Vicksburg. Women who stayed in the city were eventually forced to live in caves and feed their families on mule and rat meat due to the devastation of battle. Unfounded rumors of an attack became so frequent in some areas, often with no attack coming, that women frequently ignored the warnings, realizing too late when the danger proved real.

Choices existed for citizens as the enemy approached. Evacuation from homes and communities was a decision many Confederate sympathizers frequently made. When rumors were the only signs of approach and no one knew how the enemy would behave, the fear of harsh punishment, prison, or even death motivated many citizens to leave their property unattended in the face of invasion and become refugees. Often families of the elite classes chose this alternative, having the means and personal connections to transport themselves and their property to another location. In many communities, this caused a vacuum in local leadership, making the resistance by those who remained more difficult to sustain. For most of the

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population, the desire to protect their own property shored up their failing courage. Women often hid as many valuables as possible before the enemy raiders arrived in town. Hiding places ranged from cellars and attics (although those proved insecure and were usually the first places the soldiers searched), to wells, cisterns, mattresses, and even their own persons. Often suspicious of the loyalty of their slaves, Confederate women frequently changed their hiding spaces, even to the point of entering the woods and reburying items in the middle of the night.

When soldiers and civilians came into contact with one another, troop behavior varied. In some instances, the formal surrender of a town took place in a quiet, orderly ceremony. The conquering military officers announced their intentions and expectations, and then they began to work on winning over the population's favorable sentiments. Bodily harm would rarely come to middle- and upper-class white women, with officers punishing soldiers who physically abused the women they encountered. Rape also proved to be rare for upper-class women, with African American women the more frequent victims of sexual assault. In the early years of the war, the outright looting and destruction of property often occurred only if the home was abandoned, and in many instances, straggling soldiers or guerrillas, wandering slaves, or retreating Confederate troops did the most damage. Once the policy of total war guided the army's behavior, Union soldiers became more aggressive in their interactions with Confederate sympathizers. As the Union armies increasingly relied on the region for provisions rather than on supply lines from the North, property destruction increased. Exterior buildings and fences were always susceptible to impressment by passing troops, as were women's crops and livestock for sustenance. As the war dragged on, soldiers were less likely to be compassionate and leave a few supplies behind for the family's benefit. Search and seizure in women's homes also rose with each passing year. Women were shocked by the invasiveness of the men, and their images of Yankees as barbarous and inhuman were solidified when soldiers maliciously destroyed personal effects. While physical rapes were rare and never officially sanctioned, soldiers became adept at symbolic rape when they entered a woman's home. Entering a woman's bedroom and taking her clothing and undergarments, often parading around the house in them or sending them back to their own female relatives, was a definitive violation of a Confederate woman's privacy and dignity. Soldiers also made obscene or lewd gestures or comments to women and their daughters, stole or destroyed family mementos, or forced women to cook meals for them, all in the effort to demonstrate women's helplessness and force them into humiliating submission.

Some good came with enemy occupation. Federal troop presence often brought a return of stability, improved law enforcement, job opportunities, a steady supply of food and provisions, and care for the indigent and refugees. In most cases, access to this care required all citizens, including women, to swear an oath of allegiance to the United States. Failure to do so not only made survival in an occupied region more difficult, but it could also mean expulsion from the area altogether. The shared experience of suffering helped to unite the Confederates, often across class lines. The devastation reduced many wealthy citizens to an impoverished status, and dependency on fellow citizens and Federal assistance gradually emerged. While some resistance remained, as the war lingered, more Confederate citizens swallowed the bitter pill and took the oath when survival became paramount.

Women's responses to invasion varied, ranging from passive avoidance to aggressive confrontation with the troops. Because their men had left for the battlefields or had gone into hiding to avoid capture, Confederate women frequently faced the invading Union forces alone. Prior to the war, women had been left alone to manage their farms and plantations when business took the men away, so that situation was not necessarily unusual. The strength of resistance women offered was what shocked many Union troops, who expected women to be passive and sheltered from the hostile world of men. Indeed, many women believed that civilian and military affairs were distinctly separate from each other and that soldiers would not cross that border and

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invade women's homes. Once troops arrived, however, such notions were quickly disabused, and women worked to have their homes, personal property, and persons protected. In early interactions, with the conciliatory policy in place, soldiers hesitated or were apologetic when searching women's homes or removing property for military use. In many ways this lulled women into believing that they could be defiant without suffering repercussions, that their gender would shield them. Thus, when attitudes hardened and soldiers became more demanding and punitive, women became bolder and their level of defiance increased. Since society prevented women from facing their foes on the battlefield, they seized the opportunity to actively attack the enemy on the homefront. Popular beliefs held that Yankees were contemptible, without honor, and unworthy of respect, and Confederate women used this rationale to behave in unladylike ways. Gender conventions could be cast aside since the targets of contempt were deemed unworthy, although the unchristian attitude and behavior that some women exhibited proved shocking. From sneering and insulting men, to spitting on and emptying the contents of chamber pots on passing soldiers, to physically attacking the men with fists and guns, women could behave badly.

Other Confederate women chose to negotiate with or manipulate the Union troops they met. In seeking protection for their homes and property, some women offered proof of their Northern birth or connections to Northern relatives or influential Northern friends, and in some cases this tactic proved successful. Some women continued to use their femininity to secure what they wanted. Practical needs often warred with women's emotional hatred for the enemy. Many women became two-faced, publicly flattering and flirting with the troops, pretending to be helpless and ignorant, and appearing to cooperate with Union authorities, while privately continuing to resist and promote the Confederate cause. Confederate women's dedication remained strong throughout the conflict, but survival often dictated a hypocritical demeanor in occupied regions.

When contact with the enemy went on for long periods of time, despite the instinct to hate the invader, many women found themselves grudgingly respecting them instead. Soldiers' humanity emerged, and some women found themselves attending to sick and wounded Union troops as tenderly as they would for their own men. Friendships developed, and genuine affection existed between some of the conquerors and the women citizens. With their own men absent and the need for social activity and the desire for beaux still present, many Confederate belles turned their affections toward the Union troops. On occasion, romance and marriage resulted, although both sides criticized many such unions as unacceptable.

One of the early and most infamous interactions between a Union occupying force and resistant Confederate women happened in New Orleans. That city fell under Union control by April 1862, and General Benjamin Butler bore the initial responsibility of maintaining peace and order in the city. His most difficult challenge came from Confederate-sympathizing women. Angered at the desertion of their own troops and seemingly determined to sustain the resistance, the women frequently and publicly displayed their displeasure toward their occupiers in very gendered ways. Feminine decorum evaporated, and women did everything from flouncing out of theaters, churches, and restaurants when a Yankee soldier entered, to spitting on the troops and dumping chamber pot contents on soldiers as they passed below residents' windows. Women believed that their gender—their being women—gave them immunity from punishment for such acts of aggressive resistance. However, General Butler made it clear that enemy combatants would not be tolerated, regardless of gender. In May 1862, he issued General Order Number 28, known by Confederates as the Woman Order. It stated that, if such disrespectful and disorderly behavior continued, the woman responsible would be treated as "a woman of the town plying her trade." Outrage over the implications of the Order broke out among the women of New Orleans and among sympathizers throughout the Confederacy. For Confederates, the Order renewed fears about rape or the violation of female purity. However, Butler was attempting

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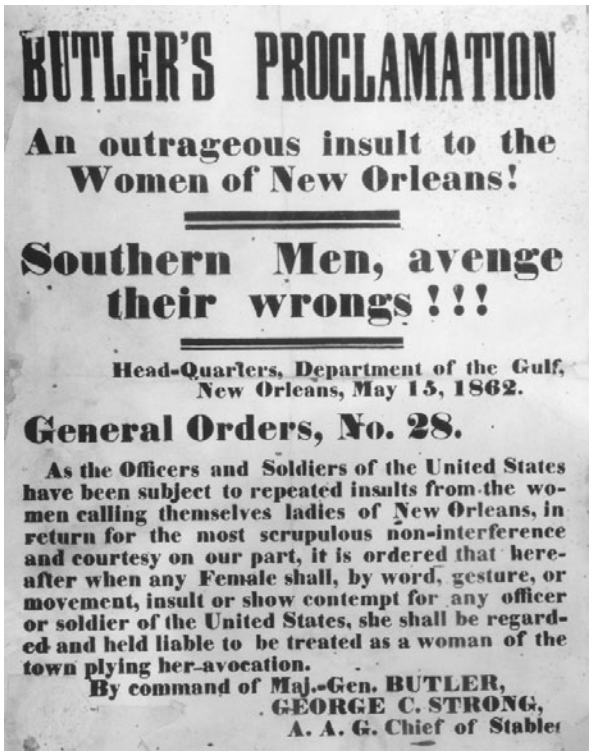

BUTLER'S PROCLAMATION

An outrageous insult to the Women of New Orleans!

Southern Men, avenge their wrongs!!!

Head-Quarters, Department of the Gulf, New Orleans, May 15, 1862.

General Orders, No. 28.

As the Officers and Soldiers of the United States have been subject to repeated insults from the women calling themselves ladies of New Orleans, in return for the most scrupulous non-interference and courtesy on our part, it is ordered that hereafter when any Female shall, by word, gesture, or movement, insult or show contempt for any officer or soldier of the United States, she shall be regarded and held liable to be treated as a woman of the town plying her avocation.

By command of Maj.-Gen. BUTLER,
GEORGE C. STRONG,
A. A. G. Chief of Staff

Broadside attacking Butler's Proclamation, which declared that any New Orleans woman who offended a member of the Union army would be treated as a common prostitute and thrown in jail, May 15, 1862. (MPI/Getty Images)

to make women accountable for their public behavior, demonstrating that such symbolic acts of protest carried as much significance as overt resistance by the Confederate military.

Women's resistance in New Orleans quieted following Butler's order, but, when General Nathaniel Banks replaced Butler in November 1862, renewed defiance emerged. In the so-called Battle of the Handkerchiefs in February 1862, a conciliatory policy toward women resurfaced. When a group of Confederate officers was being transported from New Orleans to Baton Rouge as part of a prisoner exchange, the women of the city gathered to support their men. In the Union's attempt to quiet the women, troops were faced with women waving parasols and handkerchiefs who refused to disband. The troops were hesitant to impose a forceful removal of the mob, although some women were slightly injured in the dispersal. The confrontation was considered a victory for the Confederates, because it seemed that Union policy would revert to seeing women as noncombatants or beyond the realm of political responsibility or retribution.

Perhaps the most complete implementation of the Union's total war policy came from troops under the command of General William T. Sherman as they marched through Georgia and into the Carolinas in 1864 and 1865. On Sherman's March to the Sea, from Atlanta to Savannah, Union soldiers lived off the land, taking supplies from homes and working to devastate the region's economy and ability to execute the war. This practice continued as the men turned north into the Carolinas. As the army moved to conquer South Carolina, inflicting vengeance on the population many believed to be responsible for the war was foremost in many soldier's minds. Renewed attention was focused on hurting civilians' ability to find food and shelter; homes came under more frequent attack, and verbal assaults on the female occupants also increased. Theft of property took precedence over physical attacks on women. The Union perspective held that, by encouraging the rebellion rather than nurturing productive civic-minded citizens, these women had violated the tenets of Republican Motherhood, which was women's role in the national political scene. Nonetheless, Confederate women in the state held fast to their commitment to the cause of Southern independence, and they defied their invaders with silent stares, accusations of immoral behavior, shaming, and physical assault. While the physical devastation weakened women's ability to sustain the conditions of their previous lives, in many cases it also renewed their drive to survive and resist. The enemy remained demonized, more so after actually experiencing the damage the army could do, and many women renewed their commitment to continue the fight, motivated by the desire for revenge.

For African Americans, the invasion of the Confederacy by Union troops offered a mixed blessing. On the one hand, many slaves associated the advent of the Union army with emancipation and fled their masters at the first rumor of approaching troops.

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On the other hand, slaves were also victimized by their supposed saviors. Black women were more frequently raped than white women, and they were more likely to be the targets of verbal and physical abuse. African American property was not immune from military confiscation either. The treatment of loyal slaves who remained with their masters was severe as well, with threats of violence made to encourage the disclosure of the whereabouts of valuables or the owners. Racism remained within the ranks of the Union army, preventing absolute joy and harmony among African Americans, who had anticipated freedom as the Union armies forged through the Confederacy.

Kristen L. Streater

See also African American Women; Atlanta, Evacuation of (Special Field Orders Number 67); Border States; Butler, Benjamin F. (1818–1893); Camp Followers; Civilian Life; Columbia Bazaar (January 17–21, 1865); Confederate Homefront; Contrabands; Destruction of Homes; Destruction of Personal Property; Diaries and Journals; Domesticity; Family Life, Confederate; Family Life, Union; Food; Foraging, Effects on Women; Gettysburg, Battle of (July 1–3, 1863); Guerrilla Warfare; Honor; Impressment; Imprisonment of Women; Letter Writing; Loyalty Oaths; Morale; Northern Women; Nurses; Politics; Quantrill, William Clarke (1837–1865); Rape; Separate Spheres; Sheridan's Shenandoah Valley Campaign (1864); Sherman, William Tecumseh (1820–1891); Sherman's Campaign (1864–1865); Southern Women; Union Homefront; Woman Order (General Order Number 28); Wounded, Visits to.

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Northern Women

The stories of the over 2 million men who fought for the Union during the American Civil War have been told many times, but the accounts of the women they left behind and the ways in which the war impacted their lives have often been overlooked. Whereas the majority of Northern women did not experience the war firsthand, as did many of their Southern counterparts, a great number participated in the war effort by contributing to soldiers aid societies or by providing nursing services to wounded soldiers. Many more took on new duties at home, running businesses and farms in the absence of their husbands, brothers, and fathers. A small but interesting group of Northern women sought out unusually direct roles in the war effort by disguising themselves as men and enlisting in the army or serving as spies. Finally, women who had been involved in the abolitionist movement and most black women felt the impact of the war in ideological ways, striking a blow for the freedom of African Americans throughout the nation. Whether in response to patriotic feelings or unromantic necessity, the war forced Northern women to undertake new roles and to expand their influence in ways they had never imagined.

The role of women in the Civil War has been underrepresented in most accounts since the first publication of the war's histories. Exceptions to this rule are notable. In 1867 Frank Moore published

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Women of the War: Their Heroism and Self Sacrifice, a biographical account of Northern women who supported the war effort in various ways. While Moore recounted the deeds of dozens of women, his views were circumscribed by the mores of his time. Moore overlooked black women entirely. His belief that a lady would not seek out publicity for her good works colored his interpretation and led him to downplay women's public impact on the war. He also deleted the accounts of some women at the request of male relatives who, when they heard of Moore's upcoming work, wrote to make sure he did not include the ladies from their families. After Moore's work, the contributions of women during the Civil War period were largely ignored by the scholarly community until nearly one hundred years later. The centennial of the war in the 1960s coincided with the rise of the women's movement and brought women's achievements during the Civil War to the forefront. The centennial of the war was also responsible for the publishing of many women's diaries from the war, which helped to bring their stories out of the attics and into the hands of historians and the general public alike. Out of this newfound information came studies of women during the Civil War, predominately those of elite, white, Southern women. Still, until relatively recently, studies of Northern women during the Civil War were few in number.

The women of the Civil War era came of age between 1830 and 1860, a period that marked the emergence of the American middle class, a rapid expansion of manufacturing, and the idea of "separate spheres." With the rise of industrialization, traditional women's work lost monetary value, and men became the sole breadwinners for the family. As such, men were associated with the public sphere, the world outside the home. Women began to disappear from their already limited role in the public world as their household production became devalued in the new industrial society. Since middle-class women came to be less and less relied on to produce the basic household articles necessary for survival, the image and ideal of the American home came to be seen more and more as a haven for the feminized values excluded from public life, including piety and morality. A domestic sphere shorn of its productive value and market relationships came to be seen as a symbol of status and respectability, and a new ideology of gender emerged, giving expression to and supporting this ideal. Historian Barbara Welter first termed this change in gender ideals a "cult" of domesticated women, and since then historians have referred to the midnineteenth century Cult of True Womanhood or Cult of Domesticity as shorthand for large changes in class dynamics, work, and the operation of gender in women's lives at this time. This ideal must be taken into account when considering how Northern women impacted the waging of the war and when assessing the impact of the war on them.

In the decades preceding the Civil War, women began to be perceived as being morally superior to men and as the moral guardians of society. The cult of true womanhood focused on four foundational traits: domesticity, submissiveness, piety, and purity. Whereas gender segregation had long been a part of many American traditions, the cult of true womanhood gave new impetus to the idea of separate spheres for men and women. According to its ideology, since women were innately more emotional, domestic, modest, religious, and submissive than men, it was only natural that they belonged in the home, safe and protected from the outside world. The most important consequence of this ideology as it relates to the Civil War is that it obliged many middle-class Northern white women, who might otherwise feel little affinity for enslaved black women, to decry the market relationships that invaded the home through the mechanism of plantation slavery. Paradoxically, the same middle-class women, whose status depended on their divorce from the public realm, demanded public roles on the basis of the moral stature that the divorce had lent them.

Other paradoxes that hinged on the contradictions embedded in the separate sphere ideology also abounded during the war. With their fathers, husbands, and sons off in the Union armies, many Northern women stepped up to fill the traditionally male role as head of the household and thereby found themselves challenging the notion of sepa-

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rate spheres. Women not only ran their households, but in many cases oversaw the farm or family business as well. In the early days of the war, women relied heavily on the guidance, through letters, of their husbands or other male heads of households, to govern their actions with regard to how farms and businesses should be run. However, as the war lengthened, women became more confident in their abilities to make business decisions. Consequently, many came to rely less and less on input from their male relatives and depended more on their own ability to make the correct decisions. While letters from the battlefield continued to be filled with advice for running the farm, business, and other aspects of homefront life, women independently handled day-to-day affairs. Women who had previously written to their husbands about "your" fields or "your" business now claimed ownership for themselves when they wrote of "our" fields or even "my fields."

Northern women who assumed the task of running their family's farm or business also had a decided advantage over their counterparts in the South. Women in the North, with the notable exceptions of the border states, did not have to deal with the severe shortages or battles in their communities, faced by their Southern counterparts. Even so, Northern women had to cope with rising wartime prices and labor shortages as well as with other hardships such as illness, pregnancy, and the loss of family members while continuing to manage their family's assets. While not every woman who assumed the task of running farms and businesses did so willingly or even with much success, for many others it became the opportunity to loosen or abandon traditional gender restrictions and prove to themselves and others that they were capable of managing their family's assets.

In addition to assuming the duties of running their homes, farms, and businesses, many Northern women also joined soldiers' aid societies. The first official soldiers' aid society in the North was founded on April 15, 1861, in Bridgeport, Connecticut, and it was soon followed by thousands more throughout the North. The majority of these aid societies were overseen by the leading women of the community and were most often made up of members of the middle class. For many aid societies, there was no official network through which they worked. Instead they were founded to supply the men from the community with food, clothing, blankets, and bandages. The ladies of the community held fairs, raffles, concerts, lectures, and dances to raise money to pay for supplies for their soldiers. In hopes of consolidating the goods produced by local aid societies, national aid societies like the United States Sanitary Commission (USSC) were created and began to centralize the aid efforts of Northern women. In spite of some resistance, the Sanitary Commission became the most successful aid society during the war, creating over ten thousand branch societies, producing goods worth over $15 million, and collecting monetary donations of nearly $50 million. The great success was achieved mainly due to the abilities of their female aid workers.

Not only did women supply food, clothing, and bandages to the soldiers, but they also kept the soldiers connected to the homefront. Letter writing was extremely important throughout the war, and letters from soldiers were eagerly awaited and sometimes published in local newspapers. Through letters, women kept male family members informed of community and family news, the latest happenings at home, and what the children were doing; letters essentially kept soldiers connected to their prewar lives.

Other women took their writing a step further and wrote not only for family members but also to the larger Northern population. The war forced women to step outside their traditional roles and to look beyond the family for solutions to their problems, and many women turned to writing as a solution. Some Northern women used their writing skills in an effort to get their loved ones home. Women wrote letters to commanding officers and even to the president detailing their hardships and asking that male family members be excused from military obligations to help their family. Most of the women who sent these letters had very little education, but they understood the gender roles of the time. In their barely literate letters, they wrote of

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their weakness as women, their inability to support their children, and their need to have their male providers returned home. Women of the middle and upper classes also used letter writing in hopes of mobilizing the war effort. Soldiers' aid societies created networks of women who, through correspondence, attempted to organize relief work, ensured that soldiers received the goods they needed, and offered encouragement to other aid workers, stressing the importance of their work.

Other women supported the war effort through nursing. Although many women saw nursing wounded and ill soldiers as an extension of their traditional family duties, there was opposition to female nurses in the military hospitals. Many male surgeons were concerned that ladies' delicate sensibilities would be disturbed by the sights, sounds, and smells of battlefield hospitals. Male doctors also balked at the idea of female hospital matrons because they frequently perceived the women as a threat to traditional male authority. In spite of these obstacles, over twenty thousand women from the North served in hospitals during the war. Many society women, including First Lady Mary Lincoln, frequently visited military hospitals, dispensing treats to the wounded soldiers, reading to them, and writing letters home for those who were unable to write for themselves.

Visiting was one of the common ways in which Northern women involved themselves in caring for the wounded, but it was not the only way. The majority of Northern women associated with military hospitals were there as hospital workers. Contrary to popular opinion, these female hospital workers cannot be categorized as white, educated, middle-class women. Northern female hospital workers represented all classes of women and included a larger than acknowledged population of African American women. In June 1861, Union Surgeon General R. C. Wood appointed well-known humanitarian Dorothea Dix to oversee female nurses officially associated with the Union army. The women hired by Dix to be nurses were paid $12 a month (40¢ a day) and given a food ration.

Dix was well known for her demands that all nursing volunteers be plain in appearance and dress, be between the ages of thirty-five and fifty, and have several letters of recommendation testifying to their moral character. Women rejected by Dix found other opportunities to serve; women with family connections could secure nursing appointments, and many women without powerful friends simply headed for Washington, D.C., hoping they would not be turned away from the hospitals once they arrived. Still other women bypassed the hospitals completely and went directly to the front to care for the wounded there. Women like Clara Barton from Massachusetts raised their own money and supplies and worked unofficially as nurses on the front lines, helping in field hospitals and providing food as well as medical care to the wounded.

Female hospital workers included more than just nurses; thousands of Northern women found work in military hospitals as cooks, laundresses, seamstresses, and cleaners. Nearly 10 percent of all Northern female hospital workers were African American. The majority of female African American hospital workers were to be found doing menial, yet vital, jobs such as laundry, cooking, and cleaning.

A small group of Northern women felt that traditional avenues of wartime support did not go far enough. These women wanted a more direct way to become involved in the war. Many were also looking for excitement and for something they could do outside the realm of their traditional sphere. For these women, serving as spies for the Union army or disguising themselves as men to fight in combat offered them unique opportunities to serve their country. Others became official "daughters of the regiment" and supported the troops through domestic work.

A considerable number of women traveled with the Union army during the war. Many were wives of officers; others were there in official capacities as laundresses, cooks, or nurses. Still others, especially during the early days of the war, were daughters of the regiment—generally younger women who wore military style dress and served mainly in an ornamental fashion with newly formed regiments. They also performed camp chores and cared for the wounded. Some drilled with the male soldiers and marched with them in parades and some, like Kady

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Brownell of Rhode Island, saw combat action. Brownell accompanied her husband when he enlisted in the First Rhode Island regiment in 1861. She drilled with her husband's regiment, wore a military uniform with a knee-length skirt over the trousers, and became proficient in the use of the carbine and sword. She was praised for her bravery under fire and remained with the regiment until her husband was wounded at the Battle of New Bern, North Carolina.

Other women were not content simply to accompany the army; they wanted a more active role and became soldiers themselves. It was surprisingly easy for some women to pass themselves off as men and enlist in the army. The most obvious thing a woman had to do was to disguise her female characteristics, and many did so by cutting their long hair and tightly binding their chests to hide any unmanly curves. Also, with the rush to volunteer for service, many recruitment officers were more interested in filling their regiment rosters than in making sure their recruits were physically able to withstand the hardships of being a soldier. If a physical exam was administered to the new recruits, it often consisted of little more than a cursory look for obvious physical defects that might hinder marching or firing a rifle. As a result, many young boys enlisted in the army, and it was not unusual to see recruits with boyish faces in uniform. Since such little attention was paid to many of the new recruits, a woman could easily pass the physical exam and find herself enlisted. While it was fairly easy for some women to join the military, the difficulty was not in appearing to be a man but in acting like one, and in several accounts female soldiers were successful in disguising their appearance but were discovered when they were unable to disguise their feminine mannerisms and behaviors.

Estimates range from anywhere from four hundred to over one thousand women who disguised themselves as men and fought in the Civil War. Their motivations for enlisting vary from the desire to serve their country—which they believed they could do better as a soldier than through any outlet available to them as a female—or simply a desire for adventure. Whatever their motivation, nearly four hundred examples of female soldiers have been documented. Of those, the most well-known is that of Sarah Emma Edmonds. Edmonds disguised herself as Franklin Thompson and enlisted in the Flint Union Greys, which was later absorbed into the Second Michigan Infantry. She served in the regimental hospital as a male nurse as well as at the front. She served until April 1863, when she became ill and deserted so that her true identity would not be discovered. She had served without incident and apparently without anyone suspecting her secret for two years. Later in life she petitioned the government for Frank Thompson's pension for his military service during the war and became the only female soldier to receive a veteran's pension under her own name.

Other women, who wanted to serve their country but not become soldiers, served as spies. Women often made perfect spies because they were rarely suspected as such. Nineteenth-century gender ideals assumed that women had no interest in or understanding of military matters, and female spies often used these assumptions to their advantage when gathering vital information. Also, women were rarely searched thoroughly as they traveled through military lines, especially during the early days of the war, so it was relatively easy for them to smuggle supplies or information without being detected. The Pinkerton Agency was among the first to use female operatives as a source of information, and, when the war began, hundreds of women with no training took it upon themselves to pass what they considered valuable information to those in positions of authority. While much of the information gathered by these amateurs had little or no value, there were several female spies who provided valuable service to the Union army. Northern actress Pauline Cushman used her position in a theater troupe to travel throughout areas of the South and pass information on Confederate positions, troop movements, and the names of Confederate spies to Union officers in Kentucky and Tennessee. Her career as a spy came to an end when she was captured by Confederate General Nathan Bedford Forrest and sentenced to death near Shelbyville, Tennessee. She was rescued by Union troops before her sentence could be carried out, but her usefulness as a spy was over.

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Pauline Cushman (1833–1893), Union spy. (Library of Congress)

Perhaps the group of Northern women whose wartime experiences are the least known are African American women. These women lived as second-class citizens based on their race, yet many worked to support the Union war effort, hoping to end slavery and improve the status of African Americans in the United States. A few African American women played a large part in the Union's fight against slavery. The names of a few of these women have become well known. For example, Sojourner Truth, born a slave in New York, obtained her freedom and became well recognized as an abolitionist. During the Civil War, she took part in recruiting African American men for military service and in caring for wounded African American soldiers. Another former slave, Harriet Tubman of Maryland, served the Union cause as a spy, scout, and nurse but gained her greatest fame as a conductor on the Underground Railroad, leading hundreds of slaves to freedom. Less celebrated black women, like Charlotte Forten of Philadelphia, grew up as part of the small free black middle class and during the war traveled to the Sea Islands in South Carolina to set up schools for the newly freed slaves. Other members of the black middle class, after being excluded from aid societies created by white women, created their own benevolent and soldiers' aid societies to support African American soldiers.

In addition to facing racism, many Northern African American women, especially those in border areas, lived with the fear that Confederate soldiers would seize them or their family members and take them into slavery in the Confederacy. This fear was not unfounded. There are accounts of between thirty and several hundred African American men, women, and children being kidnapped by Confederate soldiers during the Gettysburg campaign and taken south into slavery. Many of those taken had never been slaves but were part of the free black community in Pennsylvania.

African American women of the North, whether they were freeborn or had escaped from slavery, contributed to the Union war effort. In spite of being excluded from many avenues of participation, black women persevered and created their own institutions to aid African American soldiers and to care for those who were wounded. Others took on more dangerous roles as spies and scouts and were very successful in working behind Southern lines. Other elite black women went south to serve as teachers to newly freed slaves or helped to provide the funding to make such work possible.

The war thrust black and white women into new roles on the homefront, such as running business and farms, or closer to the battle, such as serving as nurses in military hospitals. Many women expanded their traditional roles to create soldiers' aid societies and nursing corps to aid the men who had gone off to war. Others, searching for more adventurous ways to aid the Union, served as spies or disguised themselves as men and fought. However, not every woman in the North supported the war effort.

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Some, especially those living in border areas, were Confederate sympathizers, and still others who were members of pacifist religious communities did not actively support the war effort. What can be said for nearly all Northern women, though, is that the Civil War opened new roles and offered new opportunities for them to participate in public life.

Lisa M. Smith

See also African American Women; Aid Societies; Barton, Clara (1821–1912); Border States; Brownell, Kady (1842–n.d.); Camp Followers; Civilian Life; Cushman, Pauline [Harriet Wood] (1833–1893); Diaries and Journals; Dix, Dorothea Lynde (1802–1887); Domesticity; Edmonds, Sarah Emma [Franklin Thompson] (1841–1898); Factory Workers, Northern; Fairs and Bazaars; Family Life, Union; Female Combatants; Female Spies; Fiction Writers, Northern; Forten (Grimké), Charlotte L. (1837–1914); Free Blacks; Fundraising; Gettysburg, Battle of (July 1–3, 1863); Government Girls; Hospital Ships; Hospitals; Letter Writing; Morale; Mourning; Nationalism, United States; Nurses; Rural Women; Separate Spheres; Shortages; Southern Women; Teachers, Northern; Treasury Girls; Truth, Sojourner [Isabella Baumfree] (1797–1883); Tubman, Harriet [Araminta Ross] (1822–1913); Union Homefront; United States Christian Commission; United States Sanitary Commission; Urban Women, Northern; Wartime Employment; Wartime Literature; Widows, Union; Women's Central Association of Relief; Wounded, Visits to.

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Nurses

The effort to provide adequate medical care during the Civil War involved thousands of women and men and provided a way for noncombatants to demonstrate their patriotism. For many women the experience of wartime nursing proved to be personally definitive, and, in the process of being changed, they left a woman's imprint on Civil War hospitals and camps. While most of the women who got involved did not continue working as nurses during the postwar era, nevertheless their wartime efforts became an important experimental proving ground. Women's wartime experiment as workers in the medical field helped inspire a movement in the United States to professionalize nursing. Ultimately it helped create a place in the public sector in which women could work.

In Victorian America, expectations regarding what a nurse should do were varied. Hospitals dedicated to the care for the sick were limited to the biggest cities and thus were relatively inaccessible to a nation still largely rural. Of those hospitals, two offered small and rudimentary training programs for nurses before 1859. Most nurses in antebellum America were men, because society assumed their natures were better suited to hospital work.

Although nuns were beginning to branch into public nursing on the eve of the Civil War, Protestant women were usually the caregivers for ailing

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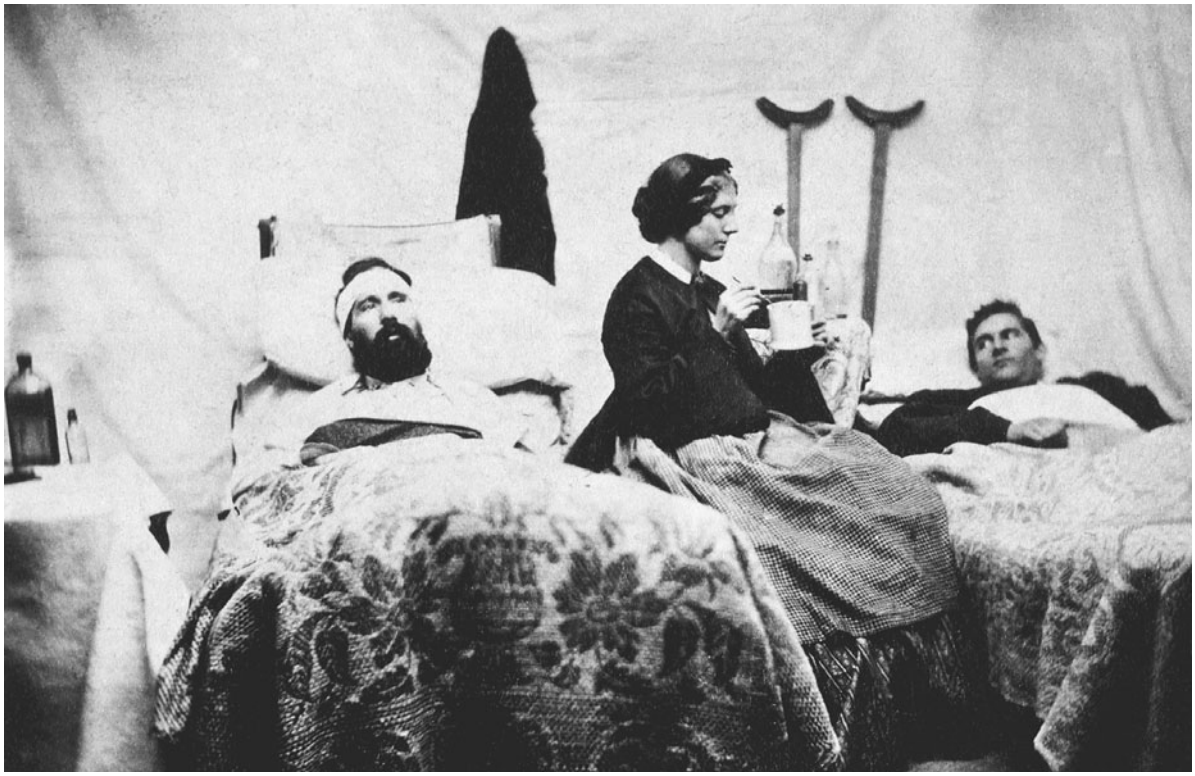

Two wounded Federal soldiers are cared for in Tennessee by Civil War nurse Anne Bell. Thousands of civilians took up their nations' call to help wounded soldiers. (Corbis)

family members. They were accustomed to applying motherly nurturing and comforting skills and to providing food, water, comfort, home remedies, and companionship for the sick within the confines of family and community. Widely accepted gender restrictions, however, made many women and their families, especially those of the upper classes, think twice before taking up medicine in the public realm.

One of the earliest women in the United States to begin formal studies in the medical field was Elizabeth Blackwell. In 1853, after completing medical school and finding that gender prejudice made it difficult for her to get a job, she opened a clinic in the slums of New York City. That year in England, Florence Nightingale, although criticized by members of her own family, finished a three-month nursing course, then began working in a hospital for women. A year later, with her country embroiled in the Crimean War, she worked to improve the medical treatment available to soldiers. Her success made Nightingale a household name in England and gave her a reputation abroad. It also demonstrated that women could fill a vital position in wartime hospitals.

In the United States, gender expectations hindering women's entrance into public nursing were the most stringent among the South's upper classes. War did little to change the long-standing prohibitions against women's involvement in medicine. For example, Kate Cumming, of Mobile, Alabama, had to go against her family's wishes when she followed her brother to the front lines after the Battle of Shiloh in 1862. Although Cumming ultimately found respectability as a nurse in Confederate hospitals, she was angered to see that nuns were allowed a measure of freedom from the same conventional gender restrictions that limited what she could do for the wounded soldiers.

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At the same time, the progressive urge to professionalize nursing was gaining momentum in the United States and Europe. For example, by the 1840s medical doctors were creating standards for themselves and their colleagues, while attempting to exclude those they viewed as uneducated practitioners, including homeopaths and midwives, both medical professions in which women had long been active.

Nevertheless, the majority of women who enjoyed elite hospital positions during the Civil War were influenced by this progressive move to create new professional standards. They were women who sought to maintain the values of Victorian female culture, which upheld qualities like submissiveness and self-sacrifice, while seeking to create professional standards for nurses that corresponded with the traditionally male qualities of confidence, action, and assertiveness. Whether Jane Hoge, the elite nurse from Illinois, or the South's Fannie A. Beers, they brought gendered ideas into professional culture.

However, if they influenced professional standards for medical personnel during peacetime, progressive ideals did not shape the reality of conditions in army hospitals during the war. Civil War battles left fields full of injured soldiers, unsanitary conditions in camp helped spread infectious diseases like influenza and smallpox, and inadequate army rations led to widespread illnesses caused by nutritional deficiencies. These specific conditions meant that military medical personnel could emulate peacetime standards, but they could not duplicate them. More specifically, progressives might insist on using only properly trained nurses, but conditions often demanded that any able-bodied person be put to work as a nurse. This meant that matronly, sufficiently responsible women were deemed qualified for the job. In some cases, convalescing soldiers, qualified only by the fact that they were less incapacitated than their fellow patients and that they had time to tend the sick since they were still too ill to be pressed back into battle, were similarly put to work as nurses.

Further complicating the situation, nineteenth-century medical technology was rudimentary and limited. With no way to sterilize wounds and no X-rays to help diagnose problems, surgeons routinely amputated injured arms and legs. Ether, chloroform, and alcohol were the only medications available to ease a patient's pain.

Nurses comforted and fed patients, wrote letters by the thousands for sick and wounded soldiers, and often prayed with them. They also assisted surgeons in changing bandages and performing operations. Some obtained supplies and distributed them. Others cooked and did laundry. A small number of well-to-do nurses worked on transport ships. Elite women in the North helped manage branches of philanthropic commissions, such as the United States Sanitary Commission (USSC) and the United States Christian Commission (USCC).

Patriotic women and men, in both the North and South, recognized the enormous medical needs created by war. Those who did not muster up for battle saw aiding the infirm as a way to make their personal contribution to the effort. For example, Dorothea Dix, the fifty-nine-year-old native of Massachusetts became the Union's Superintendent of Female Nurses in June 1861. She had already earned a reputation as a tireless advocate for establishing humane, state-controlled asylums for the insane. A native of Massachusetts, Dix had crusaded to improve the conditions of prisons and other institutions stretching from New England to Illinois and south to the Carolinas. When hostilities broke out in 1861, she immediately headed for Washington and volunteered to aid the Union cause.

There was no precedent in the United States for Dix to follow as she defined the responsibilities of her job. Consequently, she combined Victorian gender conventions with progressive ideas to create guidelines for appointing nurses. Just as progressives feared an outpouring of what they called benevolent chaos, Dix believed that tight control over who would become nurses would prevent the enthusiastic but ill-prepared masses from creating serious problems in army hospitals. She asserted that a female nurse must be in good health and observe high moral standards. To help ensure that only the best women work in military hospitals, she declared that successful candidates for nurse must be at least

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thirty-five years of age, dress simply, and not be too attractive. Finally, Dix preferred giving appointments to white middle- and upper-class women.

In attempting to reserve nursing jobs for the economically comfortable, Dix was demonstrating a value that was shared by many in Victorian America. The wartime philanthropic commissions also filled their most responsible positions with middle- and upper-class women. For example, Louisa Lee Schuyler, who helped establish the parent organization of the USSC, was from a prominent New York family. So were Georgeanna and Jane Woolsey, who had been turned down by Dix because of their youthfulness but who, through family connections, gained jobs on hospital transport ships operated by the USSC.

Dix herself enjoyed some economic advantages. Throughout the war she used her own money to finance her position. In addition to processing the applications of thousands of women, she rented two large houses in Washington, D.C., that doubled as supply depots and homes for soldiers in transit. She employed two secretaries, dispensed a myriad of needed supplies, operated her own ambulances, and distributed circulars—all while she traveled extensively.

Although her economic position proved an asset, Dix did not enjoy unlimited power because she did not appoint or supervise the army surgeons, and the nurses she placed in hospitals often struggled to work amid conflicting authorities. Moreover, some of her selection criteria destined her nurses to have difficulty with a number of local surgeons. For example, she preferred appointing Protestant women, but many surgeons wanted nuns, who were typically more experienced than Dix's nurses. In 1863, Dix lost what control she had managed to establish over nurses in hospitals, because the exigencies of the war convinced Union officials that surgeons should be able to select nurses at the local level. Dix, nevertheless, helped more than three thousand women gain nursing appointments in military hospitals during the war.

Dix's strict standards meant that she rejected a significant number of applicants. Several of those she turned away had enough personal initiative and wherewithal to create positions for themselves in local hospitals. For example, Esther Hill Hawks of New Hampshire, a trained physician who was a bit too young and probably too attractive to become one of Dix's nurses, found her way to the front line hospitals and served in the South Carolina Sea Islands. There she tended injured black soldiers and local residents who needed medical assistance. Helen Gilson, a native of Boston, found a job working under her prominent uncle, the Honorable Frank Fay, a former mayor of Chelsea, Massachusetts. Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell's application to be a nurse was turned down by Dix and her negotiations with the USSC came to naught. She went back to New York and established a school to train women who wanted to nurse in military settings.

Women in elite positions with the USSC, such as Mary Livermore in Chicago, adopted Dix's guidelines as they screened nursing applicants from the region in which they lived. Yet applying Dix's rigid standards was not always that easy and occasionally these women found they had to compromise. For example, they sometimes certified women as official nurses who were already working in army hospitals. Those who had proved their value as workers could, if they so chose, gain official appointments without going through Dix.

One of the most colorful of these was Mary Ann Bickerdyke, a widow in her forties who was at home with two young sons when the war began. She quickly placed her children under the care of another and headed to the battlefields in the West, where she worked diligently as nurse, cook, and mother extraordinaire. Her ability to connect with the common soldier endeared her to many and ensured that she would have a long, acclaimed role in the war. She was in the field as early as the conflicts at Fort Donelson in late 1861, and she stayed in the war until after William Tecumseh Sherman's march through Georgia. At some point in her army career, she agreed to become affiliated with the Sanitary Commission and its smaller counterpart, the Christian Commission, because they allowed her to do what she wanted to, and they promised her much needed resources.

Bickerdyke's experiences demonstrate that nurses could, and sometimes did, enjoy more authority in

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the hospitals than did Dix. Quickly earning the respect of the rank and file as well as that of Sherman, Mother Bickerdyke, as she became known, could and did arrange to get specific doctors dismissed. In one case, a disgruntled surgeon whom she had been instrumental in ousting complained to Sherman, but he refused to intervene. Moreover in 1864, when Sherman set off on his march through Georgia, Bickerdyke accompanied his troops.

Of course, Bickerdyke understood the limits of her authority. She enjoyed real influence in the hospitals, but she would not have retained her power had she attempted to impose her authority over things like battle plans. Moreover, if she had gone into the army hospitals imitating the behavior of a crusty general rather than using the mannerisms of a bighearted mother, she would not have enjoyed the success that she did. In short, when nurses held their own in military hospitals and in camp, it was because they were at least superficially upholding gender conventions, and they recognized when it was best to accede to the prevailing authorities. Bickerdyke's unblemished reputation with the soldiers and officials of the USSC allowed her to expand her own authority in the military hospital and camp. She created for herself a comfortable place within the confines of military discipline.

Even if one found a satisfactory place in the larger military hierarchy, there were times when a woman encountered and recognized real injustices that she could not get changed. Esther Hill Hawks found herself in this uncomfortable position when the Sea Islands fell under Union control in 1862. Enraged to find that some military personnel were molesting local women, she noted in her diary that she was treating several black women in her hospital for injuries they had received while resisting unwanted sexual advances. Since both officers and enlisted men were guilty of perpetuating this outrage, Hawks found no one who would address her concerns.

Besides having to live with things they preferred not to deal with, female medical personnel found themselves isolated in military hospitals. Unlike men who joined the army, the women who worked near the front lines often did so without the benefit of female companionship. Some nurses filled this void by establishing deep friendships with the men they worked with. But those who were seeking to avoid romantic involvement often had to distance themselves from everyone around them.

Economic, racial, and religious differences among hospital workers further divided them. Nuns, working-class whites, and blacks all found themselves pushed into menial jobs. For example, they were more likely to be assigned to caring for the soldiers with the most serious communicable diseases, such as smallpox and typhoid. Not surprisingly, the nurses who worked among the most ill patients were the most likely to contract communicable diseases, which could and did sometimes lead to their deaths.

In the South, racial prejudice kept slaves serving in the lowest tiers of hospital workers. Slaves might be pressed into work by their elite white owners. Others, who became cooks and laundresses, were referred to as camp followers. Even free blacks thought they were better than slaves and sometimes merited more elite jobs. Slaves, nevertheless, often worked in the same hospitals as elite nurses did, and thus they were likely to have the responsibilities associated with nursing, giving medicine to the sick and wounded when they were done with their primary responsibilities or when the demands of war prevailed over race and class divisions.

In the North, blacks and whites were less likely to work together. Black women did the heavy chamber work, worked as laundresses or cooks, and were confined to the most menial jobs. For example, black women employed by the Union navy were assigned to flush ship decks of blood and mud. However, when the soldiers being treated were black, African American women were appointed as their nurses.

If working in a military hospital required women to perform a delicate balancing act, it also required self-confidence and emotional fortitude. Women who might have fainted at the sight of blood only months earlier found that nursing in a military hospital demanded them to cultivate the strengths that were most often associated with masculinity. Physical stamina, personal initiative, and the ability to control their emotions were all necessary for nurses who needed to work among a never ending sea of

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sick and wounded men. If a woman could gather the strength to continue work in a military hospital for even a few months, she could easily marvel at the different person she had become.

Despite the real contributions that women were making to the war effort, both Union and Confederate officials had difficulty placing a monetary value on nurses. The Union government paid white women $12 a month and black women up to $10. The philanthropic commissions paid slightly more, but the pay was never more than just above subsistence levels. Women physicians got better paid, but often still received less than $500 annually, while their male counterparts got as much as $1,000 per year.

Elite Southern women, such as Phoebe Yates Pember, did not get paid for nursing. But the majority of workers in Southern hospitals, most of whom came from the working class, benefited in 1862 when Confederate officials standardized wages for nurses, paying chief matrons $40 per month. White women earned the same as free black women did. Slaves got paid nothing or had to turn over their small wages to their mistresses. Whatever Southern women received, the growing weakness of the Confederate dollar meant that their wages translated into minimal buying power.

The problem of paying female hospital workers was complicated by upper- and middle-class women's fears that receiving a paycheck would undermine their economic status. They believed that their labor must be offered with a sense of noblesse oblige, and thus their wartime service should not be motivated by the need for payment. For example, although she received a small monthly check for her work at the Patent Office, Clara Barton of Massachusetts boasted that she worked without need of reward. The independently wealthy Katharine Prescott Wormeley of New York disdained paychecks but joined the Sanitary Commission and landed the elite job of nursing aboard a transport ship. The prominent Southerner Sara Rice Pryor did not publicly discuss wages, but an incident during her first hospital experience demonstrated a similar sentiment. She struggled to prove herself worthy to nurse at a hospital in Richmond, until after she brought in a basket of fresh bandages that had been fashioned from her private stock of household linens.

Besides devaluing the work of paid nurses, the middle- and upper-class women's insistence that they not work for pay complicates estimating the numbers of women who served as nurses during the Civil War. Only those women who received paychecks had their names listed in official Union records. Thus, although twenty-one thousand hospital workers were listed in the official records, hundreds of additional women worked in Northern Civil War hospitals.

The women who sought payment fell into two groups. A relatively small number of women, like Hawks, who had been trained as physicians or other medical professionals, expected to be paid for the services they rendered. Many more simply needed the money to survive during the war. Just as men from the lower classes were likely to become rank-and-file soldiers, less economically advantaged women were likely to become hospital workers in the hopes of earning the money to support their families.

Estimating the numbers of Confederate women who nursed is even more difficult than determining the numbers of Union nurses. There was no official counterpart to Dorothea Dix in the South. At the same time, no organizations there matched the North's huge privately operated philanthropic commissions. Prominent Southern citizens, such as Juliet Opie Hopkins in Alabama, created state hospitals near battle sites in Virginia, North Carolina, Arkansas, and Florida.

Nevertheless, much about Southern nurses' hospital experiences mirrored the daily lives of their Northern counterparts, and they faced many of the same challenges. The physical and emotional needs of patients bore the distinct imprint of war, and the situation of the military camps and of the state of medical technology available at the time remained the same, regardless of region. These conditions made up the primary characteristics of the Civil War experience for nurses, defining the tasks they must do and creating similar conditions in many hospitals.

In addition, Southern nurses had to contend with conditions that were specific to the region. The task

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of garnering supplies for hospitals was more challenging in the South. Procuring the medicines and necessary food for patients became increasingly difficult as the war destroyed resources across the South. Even elite nurses felt the crunch of dwindling supplies. For example, in April 1862, when a man in Corinth, Tennessee, asked the Confederate nurse Kate Cumming for food, she gladly helped collect coffee, bread, and meat to take to some injured men who were at the depot awaiting transportation. By September 1864, however, she felt the strain of not having enough food to share. With Sherman's men cutting a bloody path through Georgia, she blamed Abraham Lincoln and the North for the horrendous conditions that she had witnessed at Andersonville Prison. Southerners, she asserted, could not be expected to feed prisoners of war when they could scarcely feed their own citizens. Wartime exigencies could render any hospital short of food supplies. In 1864 a Northerner, Harriet Eaton, complained that she could not keep patients healthy when all they had to eat was hard tack and salt pork.

Moreover, at sites throughout the Confederacy, the battle lines intersected the boundaries of private property. Nursing the wounded often meant creating a hospital in one's home or in the local courthouse. Cornelia McDonald found herself working as a nurse in her hometown of Winchester, Virginia, one day after she and her youngest children had crouched in the cellar listening to the sounds of battle that raged just over the hill from their farmhouse. And following the first Battle of Manassas, Sally Louisa Tompkins used her own wealth to transform a friend's home in Richmond into a hospital, creating an elite private institution that lasted for the war's duration. Perhaps more typical for Southern nurses was Fannie Beers' experience. She lived in New Orleans when the war began and nursed in Alabama, as well as in Newman, Ringgold, and Fort Valley, Georgia.

Because they lived in the region where most of the battles were fought, Southern nurses were more likely to care for the most critically wounded soldiers than their Northern counterparts. Occasionally Northern nurses worked within earshot of battles; for example, Mother Bickerdyke's reputation shone the most brightly while working near the front lines. But Southern women from many locations could have related to McDonald's experience. A resident of the Shenandoah Valley in 1862, she kept track of where the armies were stationed, by the different military personnel who were using her home and property for a base of operations.

At the end of the Civil War, female nurses found themselves more courageous, better in control of their emotions, and otherwise steeled to offer aid to their patients. Motivated by a mixture of patriotism, necessity, and self-interest, they created a movement that was larger than any one philanthropic commission or government agency. Women of all classes, regions, races, and religions had worked in hospitals, combining comforting feminine ways with masculine professional standards. Although few of them went on after the war in the medical field, their combined efforts set the stage for a movement in the late nineteenth century to professionalize nursing and rid it of gendered interpretation, creating a standard for nursing in twentieth-century America.

Nancy Driscol Engle

See also Barton, Clara (1821–1912); Bickerdyke, Mary Ann Ball "Mother" (1817–1901); Blackwell, Elizabeth (1821–1910); Camp Followers; Catholic Women; Civilian Life; Cumming, Kate (ca. 1836–1909); Confederate Homefront; Disease; Dix, Dorothea Lynde (1802–1887); Domesticity; Hawks, Esther Hill (1833–1906); Hoge, Jane Currie Blaikie (1811–1890); Hopkins, Juliet Opie (1818–1890); Hospitals; Hospital Ships; Letter Writing; Livermore, Mary Ashton Rice (1820–1905); McDonald, Cornelia Peake (1822–1909); Military Invasion and Occupation; Northern Women; Pember, Phoebe Yates Levy (1823–1913); Pryor, Sara Agnes Rice (1830–1912); Rape; Schuyler, Louisa Lee (1837–1926); Sherman, William Tecumseh (1820–1891); Sherman's Campaign (1864–1865); Shiloh, Battle of (April 6–7, 1862); Shortages; Southern Women; Tompkins, Sally Louisa (1833–1916); Union Homefront; United States Christian Commission; United States Sanitary Commission; Wartime Employment; Woolsey, Jane Stuart (1830–1891); Wormeley, Katherine Prescott (1830–1908); Wounded, Visits to.

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Politics

Party politics during the Civil War followed patterns and alignments from the antebellum years and in turn profoundly shaped the decades that followed. The war's immediate cause, secession, resulted from the election of a Republican president, the leader of a party that did not even exist in 1855. Throughout the war, United States President Abraham Lincoln and his party struggled to maintain political support for the military effort, threatened by some wavering Republicans but primarily a large body of Democrats who favored a negotiated peace. Confederate President Jefferson Davis faced no real partisan opposition because such organizations did not develop in the Confederacy. Instead, his critics focused on specific unpopular policies that tended to divide Southern voters along class lines. More broadly, the nation's political culture was participatory, and public spokesmen repeated endless paeans to white male democracy. Nearly all white men twenty-one and older were eligible to vote, and black men could vote only in several New England states. Voter turnout normally topped 80 percent in presidential elections. In each campaign season, the parties organized community events that fostered socialization and included women and other nonvoters. Politics, in short, was something of a national pastime, and, although voting was restricted by race and sex, it allowed women to participate in myriad ways short of casting a ballot.

The partisan realignment of the 1850s led directly to Southern secession in 1860 and 1861. From the mid-1830s Whigs and Democrats had competed as national parties. Whigs predominated in New England and the Northeast, evolving as the party of native-born white Anglo-Saxon Protestants and particularly of the evangelical middle class. Democrats usually held sway in the Southern states and in Northern cities, espousing a doctrine of personal liberty and independence that appealed to immigrants, particularly Catholics, and to Southerners who feared those they saw as moralizing New Englanders.

The leaders of both organizations tried to avoid slavery-related issues to preserve intersectional harmony and cooperation. Until the late 1840s, they largely succeeded, but the American war with Mexico reopened the question of slavery's expansion when a large tract of new territory was added to the country in 1848. After the tenuous Compromise of 1850, Democratic Senator Stephen A. Douglas (Illinois) pushed through the fateful Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854. This measure, strongly supported by Democrats and Southerners, repealed the Missouri Compromise (1821) and potentially allowed slavery to expand into the new territories of Kansas and Nebraska, both carved from the old Louisiana Purchase.

The Kansas-Nebraska Act outraged many Northern voters and led to formation of the free soil, Northern-only Republican Party in late 1855 and 1856. At about the same time, a growing fear of Catholic immigrants sparked the creation of the Nativist American, or Know-Nothing, Party that surged to prominence in Northern cities in late 1854 and early 1855. Thus, two powerful political forces—Nativism and Free Soil—operated simultaneously to disrupt the old Whig and Democratic Parties. In the Northern states both the Know Nothings and Republicans drew many native-born WASPs, weakening the Whigs beyond recovery.

In the 1856 presidential election Northern Know Nothings and Republicans came together, winning

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eleven states behind their candidate John C. Frémont. Throughout the rest of the 1850s, Republicans expanded the appeal of free soil and attracted more Northern voters. By 1860 it was the dominant party among native-born Northerners, and it was particularly powerful in the Northeast and upper North. Democrats remained strong in urban centers and in parts of the Midwest, especially southern Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana, as well as the border slave states: Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri.

In the future Confederate states, meanwhile, voters drifted to the Democrats, while both the Whigs and the Know Nothings died off as national organizations. By 1860 Democrats made up a sizable majority of voters in the lower South, while the upper South remained more divided as a mixture of Democrats, Know Nothings, and even surviving Whigs vied for power. Republican Abraham Lincoln's election in 1860 united men in the lower South, most of whom were unwilling to accept a free soil president; upper South voters waited for the attack at Fort Sumter and Lincoln's call for troops—presumably to invade the Confederate states—to leave the Union.

When the war began, Northern voters largely united behind Lincoln's insistence that the Union was perpetual and secession unconstitutional. Prominent Democrats, led by Stephen Douglas, supported Lincoln's call for troops and helped with recruiting. This bipartisan war effort lasted until August 1861, when Republicans in Congress passed the first Confiscation Act. The act allowed Union military commanders to seize runaway slaves as contraband of war, based on the logic that slave workers aided the Confederate war effort. Northern Democrats broke with Republicans, opposing any measure that seemed to threaten slavery and alter the war goal from simple reunification to something they saw as more radical. The Democrats' position drew from several sources: the party's profound racial conservatism and lack of reform tradition; historic ties to the South and Southerners; an ingrained suspicion that all Republicans secretly wanted abolition; and the economic fears of lower-class immigrant voters who did not want ex-slaves coming north in search of work. From this beginning and throughout the war, issues related to slavery and race united Democrats in seeking to maintain the antebellum status quo.

Most Republicans supported the Confiscation Act and anything else that weakened the Confederate war effort. While many issues, particularly those related to emancipation and racial equality, divided Lincoln's party, Republicans united behind the war effort. Essentially three factions emerged in the Republican ranks. First, the smallest in number were Conservatives, who dominated the party in border slave states and in some southern areas of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. Conservative Republicans, some of whom owned slaves, opposed emancipation when the war began, and many remained uncertain for much of the conflict; generally they did not support equality or civil rights for African Americans. Second, moderate Republicans controlled the party's agenda and platform in 1861. They claimed Lincoln as their leader and nearly perfect representative of their majority positions. Many hoped to restore the Union quickly with minimum destruction of Southern property and loss of life. Most did not expect that the war would lead to emancipation, and few believed in racial equality. Finally, Radical Republicans controlled many of the party's state organizations in New England, and most were abolitionists, although not all believed in equality or civil rights. Many Radicals perceived that the war offered a chance to strike at slavery. They argued consistently that slavery caused the war, and, as the war lengthened, they insisted that its primary cause must be addressed. These three Republican factions vied for party supremacy, with Radicals gaining strength as the conflict wore on.

Throughout the war, the overriding issue in the North remained the progress of Union forces and the prospects for victory. Military fortunes rose and fell, and thus did Republican political fortunes. The other important political issues—including emancipation, the enrollment of African American men in the army, conscription, civil liberties, and Reconstruction policy—arose directly from the one great issue of military conflict. Republicans advocated and enacted other legislation, including the Homestead Act (1862) to facilitate settlement in the West,

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Two years before the Emancipation Proclamation, political cartoons satirized Abraham Lincoln for his reluctance to include abolition as a Union war aim. (Library of Congress)

the Morrill Land Grant Act (1862) that supported agricultural colleges, a higher tariff on manufactured goods, and measures to help build a transcontinental railroad.

The war dominated Union politics. In 1862, the first full year of fighting, Union armies made no measurable progress in the Virginia theater but advanced significantly in Tennessee and along the Mississippi River. Victories in the West never captured public attention to the extent that defeats in the East sapped Northern morale. Both Union and Confederate leaders also recognized that 1862 was an election year. In September, Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia invaded Union territory for the first time, clearly hoping to influence the fall elections and encourage Democratic candidates. Union forces turned back Lee's Army at the Battle of Antietam Creek, giving Republicans a boost. More momentous and controversial was the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation that Lincoln issued on September 22, five days after the battle.

Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation changed the nature of the war, even though it did not take effect until January 1, 1863 and exempted the Border States and most occupied portions of the Confederacy. It built on Congress's Second Confiscation Act, passed in July 1862, which declared slaves who ran away from rebel masters "forever free." Lincoln rationalized the proclamation as a war measure to weaken the Southern war effort, not an end in itself. His justification could not hide its transforming power, though. Democrats, who had previously opposed the Confiscation Acts, protested and accused Lincoln of lying from the beginning and secretly working for abolition all along. Radical Republicans were overjoyed, while moderates and conservatives rallied to the proclamation as an effective war measure. Lincoln worried that Union soldiers would desert nearly en masse rather than fight to free slaves. From September 1862 to the end of the war, opposition to emancipation and all related race issues united Democrats, forming the core of their political strategy in all wartime elections.

The proclamation united a large group of Northern women—primarily abolitionists and women's rights activists—who determined to get a constitutional amendment that would end slavery in the United States forever. They created the National Women's Loyal League (NWLL) in May 1863 and began a campaign to collect signatures supporting the amendment. In August 1864, the NWLL presented a petition of approximately four hundred thousand signatures to Congress.

The fall 1862 elections provided voters their first chance to pass judgment on Lincoln's and the Republicans' war leadership. Democrats attacked Lincoln as incompetent and the Republicans as radical abolitionists determined to legislate racial equality and intermarriage. Republicans defended their war effort but downplayed the proclamation, emphasizing its conservative exemptions and the underlying motive to weaken the Confederate war effort, not to abolish slavery everywhere. Results were mixed. Republicans held their own in New England and in most of the upper North. Ironically they gained in the border states, where many Democrats had gone south to fight for the Confederacy. Democrats gained in the crucial, heavily populated states from New York west to Illinois, all of

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which voted for Lincoln in 1860 but two years later went narrowly Democratic. Democrat Horatio Seymour won the governor's office in New York, the largest and arguably most important Union state. Fortunately for Lincoln, Republican governors in Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio were not up for reelection in 1862, and they blunted the power of Democratic-controlled legislatures. Overall, Democrats added thirty-five seats in the House of Representatives.

In the Confederacy, as in the Union, the dominant political issue was military success or failure. From that came all related issues that ultimately divided Southerners. In 1862 Southern armies lost ground in the West; Nashville and Baton Rouge became the first state capitals retaken by the Union, and the largest port, New Orleans, fell in February. Victories in Virginia made Lee, J.E.B. Stuart, and Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson heroes, and, like Northerners, Confederate voters paid more attention to the Eastern theater than the Western.

Politically, conscription dominated public debate in 1862. The Confederacy enacted the first compulsory military service in American history in April, encompassing white men between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five. Conscription itself was unpopular, but most divisive were specific provisions that favored wealthy men over the yeomen farmers and poor whites. The "twenty-slave rule" allowed one white man exempted for every twenty slaves owned; substitution allowed any man who could afford it to hire someone else to take his place. More than any other single measure, conscription prompted nonslaveholding men and women to question Confederate leadership and the cause and slowly undermined support for Jefferson Davis and his administration. Southern women helped thousands of men evade conscription officials—their own form of political protest.

In the winter and spring of 1862 and 1863, the Union Peace Movement, led by a growing body of Peace Democrats, reached a new height. Typically, Union military failures provided the context for antiwar sentiment. Offensives in Tennessee and Mississippi stalled, and humiliating defeats in Virginia brought Northern morale to a new low by June 1863. A draft law passed on March 3 made men from twenty to forty-five liable for service. It went into effect only if or when a district did not meet its quota (the number of men it was obligated to furnish for the Union army). Democrats led the opposition. Their leading spokesman, Ohio Congressman Clement Vallandingham, openly encouraged men to ignore their draft notices. For these sentiments, Vallandingham was convicted of disloyalty and transported out of the United States. Anti-draft sentiment also mixed with opposition to the Emancipation Proclamation and to the enrollment of African American men into the Union army. The latter development worried some Northerners more than the proclamation because military service had always carried an implication of equality and certain obligations on the part of society at large. By late spring and summer of 1863, anti-draft violence was common across the Northern states.

In New York City, all of these anti-Republican elements came together in a critical mass. A Democratic stronghold, the city's immigrant population, particularly Irish Catholics, resented and feared emancipation and were outraged at the draft. The Union draft—like the Confederate one—afforded wealthier men ways to avoid service. Most odious to poor Northerners was commutation, a straightforward fee of $300 that satisfied a man's obligation. In the first draft calls during the summer of 1863, more than fifty-two thousand men paid the commutation fee, in effect a tax to support the army, and another twenty-six thousand provided substitutes. Nearly forty thousand men simply failed to report when their names were called. New Yorkers, encouraged by Democratic Governor Horatio Seymour, believed their own quota was set too high and that conscription itself was unconstitutional. Starting July 11, when the first names were drawn in the city, and for several days after, the city's poor men and women rioted, targeting African Americans in particular but also ransacking Republican homes and recruiting offices. Approximately a dozen black men and women were killed and hundreds wounded, thousands more simply left New York. Finally, on July 16 Union troops arrived, most of them from the battlefield at Gettysburg, and put down the mob, killing more than one hundred rioters.

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The New York City riots crippled the Peace Movement. They occurred just after the Union's two greatest victories—the Battle of Gettysburg (July 1–3) and the surrender of Vicksburg (July 4)—and were soon followed by the dramatic engagement of African American troops in the assault at Fort Wagner in South Carolina. Covered widely in the press, the service of black men in combat for the Union served as a natural and dramatic counterpoint to the mainly Democratic, immigrant rioters in New York City. Fall elections in several key states, particularly Ohio and Pennsylvania, provided another test of partisan strength. Still split into peace and war wings, Democrats united by attacking Republicans as radical race mixers. They also hammered Lincoln for his suspensions of the writ of habeas corpus, printing paper money, and higher taxes, all of which Democrats labeled as executive tyranny. Republicans, however, sounded a more confident note than they had in 1862, and African American military service seemed the key to their new approach. Lincoln blistered Democrats in a public letter written during the campaign, chastising them for their opposition to fight to free African Americans who were fighting themselves to save the Union.

The election results revealed that the Peace Movement had fizzled since June. Clement Vallandingham, who had returned to the United States, lost the Ohio gubernatorial race by one hundred thousand votes, and Republicans rolled up big victories elsewhere, winning every gubernatorial race contested that year. Union military victories in the summer and fall gave Northern voters great hope that victory was near. The Peace Movement seemed dead or at least irrelevant if the Union could complete a quick victory.

In the Confederacy, the fall 1863 elections for the Confederate Congress revealed growing opposition to Davis's administration. The effects of Union invasion, the naval blockade of Southern ports, the shortages and inflation, as well as heavy losses, led many Confederate men and women to question the war. Interpreting Confederate election returns are extremely difficult, considering that many areas were occupied by fall 1863 and that no party lines existed to make sense of the political landscape. By any measure, however, the opposition to Davis's leadership had grown considerably, and about 40 percent of the congressional representatives in Richmond were hostile to the president. In state elections as well, some strident secessionists were replaced by more moderate leadership. Mississippi's fire-eating Governor John Jones Pettus, for instance, declined to run for reelection and was succeeded by Whiggish planter Charles Clark. The new governor pledged that Mississippi's men should no longer be expected to lead invasions, but only repel them. Desertion from Confederate armies reached new heights in the depressing aftermath of Union victories. Because of the disorganized political climate across the Confederacy and the relatively few elections held, no organized peace movement developed. Instead, thousands of men and women registered their political opinions in the streets as they rioted for food or sheltered deserters from conscription agents. In 1863 thousands of Southern women participated in bread riots across the Confederacy, in cities that included Richmond, Atlanta, Mobile, and many other smaller cities.

The presidential election of 1864 was the political climax of the Civil War. Confederate strategists pinned their last hopes on a Democratic victory, and military events again revived the Northern Peace Movement. Union offensives in Virginia and Georgia faced stiff resistance, and the heavy casualties meant great disappointment among Northern voters. From the beginning of May through September 1, Union forces suffered one hundred thousand casualties. When Lincoln called for half a million more volunteers on July 18, Peace Democrats rejoiced. Thus, although the year started with great optimism, by midsummer Lincoln's chances for reelection looked bleak. Republican movements to replace Lincoln with Salmon Chase, John C. Frémont, or Ulysses Grant spoke to the uncertainty among party leaders. Lincoln controlled the convention, however, and was re-nominated easily on June 7 in Baltimore. Republicans replaced Vice President Hannibal Hamlin with Tennessee's Andrew Johnson, the only Confederate state senator to remain loyal to the Union when his state

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seceded. They intended his nomination to attract the votes of War Democrats, of which Johnson was the ultimate representative. Even after the Republican convention, New York's powerful editor Horace Greeley helped lead a movement for a second party meeting that he hoped would reconsider Lincoln's nomination. Despite these fears, however, most Republicans came together after the Democrats nominated former General George McClellan in their convention at the end of August.

McClellan was a War Democrat, although his running mate, George Pendleton, and the party's platform came from the Peace wing. The party's split personality, evident during the previous two years' elections, became even more problematic in 1864. Democrats presented McClellan as a sort of statesman-warrior, above party politics—posters and ballots often included him with George Washington and Andrew Jackson. Personally he favored winning the war first, then making peace, and he continued to oppose emancipation. The platform called for a quick end to the war and a restoration of peace. McClellan's reference to the war as a failure (a plank written by Peace Democrat Clement Vallandingham) cost him the votes of many soldiers, veterans, and their families. Other Democratic planks attacked Lincoln and the Republicans for suspending the writ of habeas corpus and for other violations of civil liberties. Finally, Democrats united behind their opposition to emancipation and racial equality. One manifestation of this was the prisoner of war issue. Prisoner exchange had broken down in 1863, in part because Lincoln insisted that African American prisoners be treated equally. Democrats therefore blamed the miserable state of Union prisoners on the Republicans' insistence on their own version of "radical racial equality."

Republicans defended their war effort, Lincoln's leadership, and the Emancipation Proclamation. Their platform demonstrated how far the party had come and included several strong planks that commended African American wartime contributions and that demanded equal treatment for black prisoners. Republicans blamed slavery for the war and stressed its inconsistency with the ideals of the nation. They also praised Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation and supported the proposed constitutional amendment to eliminate slavery from the United States. Separate planks praised Lincoln's decision to enroll African American men into the Union army and defended the party's position that all soldiers, regardless of color, deserved to be treated as such. Republicans also called for a railroad to the Pacific Ocean, a liberal policy to encourage immigration, and the redemption of the public debt to maintain national credit.

Both parties knew the campaign turned largely on Union military fortunes. The other issues, most importantly emancipation and African American troops, were tied to the war and had been debated during the previous two years. By late August, Lincoln expected to lose the election. Grant's army, weakened daily by disease, was stuck in a seemingly endless siege outside Richmond and Petersburg; William T. Sherman's army was stuck outside Atlanta; and Union forces in southern Mississippi and the trans-Mississippi West made no progress against smaller but stubborn Confederate forces. On August 23, Lincoln urged his cabinet members to cooperate with the incoming administration and to pledge to work for military victory before the new president was sworn in. Mary Todd Lincoln packed many of their personal belongings for the anticipated move back to Springfield. The president even sketched out a peace offer to Jefferson Davis that would have required reunion but not necessarily complete abolition of slavery; Lincoln reconsidered, however, and never sent the letter. Democrats staked their fortunes on the Peace Movement, despite McClellan's contrary stance. Confederates watched the campaign closely and hoped for a Republican defeat.

Lincoln finally got good news from the battlefield. On August 23 the last fort guarding the entrance to Mobile Bay and the port of Mobile was taken by the U.S. navy, closing the city to blockade runners. More important, Union forces captured and occupied Atlanta on September 3. Besieged for over a month, the Confederates finally evacuated the city rather than risk starving, surrendering, and being captured. A grateful Lincoln thanked Sherman in a personal telegram. It was the breakthrough that Lincoln and the Republicans needed.

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Early voting in Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Ohio on October 11 foretold a Republican victory, although balloting was very close. Lincoln carried all three of these important states. The vote was close in Pennsylvania and Indiana, and soldiers probably gave Lincoln his small margin of victory in the latter state. The soldier vote was decisive in several places, and Republicans owed much to new provisions that allowed for absentee balloting. Most states had passed legislation that allowed troops to vote in the field, although several Democratic-controlled legislatures—including Indiana's—refused to allow it. In those states Lincoln and Secretary of War Edwin Stanton gave furloughs to thousands of soldiers so that they could vote in their home towns. Eventually Lincoln and the Republicans garnered over 85 percent of the soldier vote, which provided the edge in several states, including New York and Connecticut. Lincoln won two hundred twelve electoral votes to McClellan's twenty-one; the popular vote was closer, about 55 to 45 percent. Even more impressive for the Republicans was their new dominance in Congress: forty-two to ten in the Senate and one hundred forty-five to forty in the House of Representatives.

Lincoln's victory in 1864 ensured that the war would be fought to its conclusion. The Republican landslide also meant that Republicans could impose whatever version of Reconstruction they wanted. In particular, radicals gained momentum for the Constitutional amendment to guarantee emancipation and to further legislation for civil rights. The elections in 1864 confirmed Republicans as the dominant party in the North and completed the partisan realignment that began in the mid-1850s. Democrats needed to wait for the end of Reconstruction and the return to politics of former Confederates before they could compete nationally.

Christopher J. Olsen

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; African American Women; Bread Riots; Confederate Homefront; Conscription; Davis, Jefferson (1808–1889); Desertion; Draft Riots and Resistance; Emancipation Proclamation (January 1, 1863); Enlistment; Fort Sumter (April 12–14, 1861); Gettysburg, Battle of (July 1–3, 1863); Lincoln, Abraham (1809–1865); Lincoln, Mary Todd (1818–1882); Military Invasion and Occupation; National Women's Loyal League [Women's National Loyal League]; Northern Women; Reconstruction (1865–1877); Secession; Sherman, William Tecumseh (1820–1891); Southern Women; Thirteenth Amendment; Union Homefront; Union Soldiers, Motives; Vicksburg, Siege of.

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Religion

Religion played significant roles in the lives of American women during the Civil War. Engagement in their faith and worship helped women sustain themselves in a time of severe emotional and physical strain and offered them opportunities to engage in activity to support the war effort. At the same time, the war profoundly altered religion in both the North and South.

Protestant Christianity, especially evangelical denominations, had become increasingly visible in

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American society during the antebellum years, as well as extremely important in the lives of many American women. By 1860, the Baptist and Methodist denominations, considered marginal sects by many at the beginning of the century, had become socially and spiritually powerful bodies, ministering to a significant minority of the nation's population and claiming many prominent Americans as members and ministers. At the same time, Catholicism was also growing, fueled by the massive influx of Irish and German immigrants in the 1840s and 1850s.

Although barred from the clergy in nearly every denomination, women made up the bulk of antebellum American congregations and sustained both the churches and the religious revivals of the Second Great Awakening. Women were active participants in church services, and they often drew their families to religious practice as well. Many antebellum women, especially in the Northern states, also looked beyond the church and home worship in their religious observance. In the decades before the Civil War, numerous women engaged in benevolent work that grew out of their religious commitment. They involved themselves with activities that ranged from the church's sewing, tract, or missionary society to orphanages and antislavery organizations. The reforming spirit of Northern women during the antebellum period grew out of the religious revivals of the Second Great Awakening, which drew thousands of women to the evangelical churches and preached about the need to create a godly society on earth. Many Southern women, too, became involved in religiously motivated benevolent activities, though not at the same level as their Northern sisters.

Religion, like other aspects of American society, was not immune from the growing sectionalism of the antebellum period. Religious justifications were prominent in both proslavery and antislavery arguments. Ministers such as Henry Ward Beecher of Brooklyn's Plymouth Church and Benjamin Palmer of New Orleans's First Presbyterian Church played prominent parts both in the religious lives of their congregants and in the broader social discourse of their towns, states, and nation. In the North, a small but vocal number of Protestant ministers reached the conclusion that Christianity and slavery were fundamentally incompatible. Building on the theological arguments of the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Baptists and Methodists, the Quakers, and the Second Great Awakening, men like Beecher preached against slavery from their pulpits. Many ministers also became actively involved in the antislavery movement, where they worked and debated alongside some of their congregants. Although abolitionists represented a small minority of Northerners even by 1860, they were extremely vocal and laid persuasive claim to the egalitarian message of Northern evangelical Protestantism. Many, though by no means most, Northern women found these arguments persuasive and became themselves involved in the antislavery movement.

Southern ministers, too, addressed slavery in their sermons. While some early Southern evangelicals, the numbers and influence of whom are still a matter of debate among historians, questioned slavery, by the 1830s Southern religion had made its peace with the peculiar institution. Ministers across the South, like Palmer, provided proslavery advocates with powerful arguments in favor of slavery, pointing to the existence of slavery in biblical societies, Jesus's failure to condemn slavery, and Paul's treatment of the slave Onesimus. Hearing these views aired at Sunday services, Southern women could take comfort, knowing that their church upheld the institution that served as their region's economic and social cornerstone.

These arguments often threatened the denominations themselves. In the Presbyterian Church, sectional animosity over the institution of slavery exacerbated disagreements over theology and led to the 1837 split between Old School and New School groups. The arguments in the Methodist and Baptist Churches were even more explicit about slavery. In 1844, the Methodist Episcopal Church divided into Northern and Southern institutions in an argument about the election of a slaveholding bishop, and the Baptist denomination split a year later. With secession and the beginning of the war, religion became even more closely intertwined with political questions. Denominations, like the Episcopal Church,

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that had resisted the sectional pressures of the prewar years found that they could not remain whole as the nation ripped itself apart, and they too split as the Southern states left the union.

At the same time, clergy in both the North and South preached about the political situation, calling on their congregations to take a stand in the national crisis. Women in the pews were no less moved by what they heard than their male kin. Although some women criticized the political uses of the pulpit and feared that preachers were inflaming dangerous political passions, many others were reassured by and took comfort from the support that their ministers and their religion gave to their cause, whether Union or Confederate, that was consuming so much of their lives.

Politically themed sermons also served to increase feelings of nationalism among the civilian populations of both North and South. On both sides of the conflict, nationalism on the part of homefront civilians was a vital component of the war effort. Northern and Southern leaders alike couched their war aims in nationalistic terms: restore the Union or establish Confederate independence. Women were just as concerned with the course of events as were their male kin, and the sermons that they heard in church helped them come to terms with what was happening and reinforce their support of the national cause.

This nationalist function of religion was especially important in the South, where many women felt torn pledging allegiance to a new Confederate nation while retaining their established identity as Americans. Many Southern women did not know what to think in the chaotic winter and spring of 1861–1862. The nation that had been theirs was disintegrating, and they now found themselves embarking on the process of building a new state. Women across the South turned to their faith for answers and support during this troubling and confusing time. Religion had another role to play as well, and, through the sermons of Southern ministers, many women recognized that their new allegiance should be to the Confederacy. It was vital that Southern civilians, no less than the military, support the Confederacy and turn away from old associations and love for the United States. The sermons that upheld the Confederate nation as blessed by God and following in the glorious footsteps of the Revolutionary generation helped many women make that transition, as their old national identity was destroyed and a new one created.

Religion also played a part in the early months of the war, as companies formed and prepared to leave for the front. Here, too, women occupied an important place in the preparations. Churches in both the Union and the Confederacy held special services in which they asked God's blessing for the troops and their cause. Female members of the congregations sewed the regimental banners that decorated the church sanctuaries, and they prayed alongside their male kin for a quick and glorious end to the war. Union and Confederate soldiers took both banners and prayers with them as they headed to the front and to the battles that would follow, powerful reminders that the women of their society stood behind them.

With many men gone into the armed forces, women became the primary recipients of the nationalistic sermons that had begun during the secession crisis. Northern ministers generally kept to this nationalist message throughout the war, continuing to see God's plan in the conflict. Union losses on the battlefield and war weariness might test their optimism and patience, but they could also see that the United States was in little danger of collapse and that much of the nation had the will to keep going until victory was secured. They could therefore cleave to their message, which was a vital part of ensuring that the national will would hold. In the later years of the war, some Northern ministers expanded on this message as the Union's war aims evolved, adding the eradication of slavery to their interpretation of God's plan for the American nation. After the 1863 Emancipation Proclamation, it was clear that a Federal victory would destroy slavery at the same time that it saved the Union. For those ministers who had embraced the antislavery cause before the war, the prospect of emancipation was the fulfillment of the promise of evangelical Protestantism, the hand of God working with man to purify the American nation of the sin of slav-

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ery, and they preached this message joyfully from the pulpits.

As the war stretched on and conditions in the Confederacy grew worse, Southern ministers found that they had to alter the message they presented in sermons. While they, like their Northern counterparts, viewed the war as part of God's plan for the American people, they had fewer and fewer Confederate victories to interpret as proof of God's support for their cause. They also had to come to terms with the increasing hardships of shortages, inflation, and destruction that Southern women faced on the homefront. Thus, in sermons across the South, the benevolent God of the war's early years, who would safeguard and bolster the fledgling nation, gave way to a severe, chastising deity who was punishing Southerners. In the words of Southern ministers, however, the punishment was not for slavery, as their Northern brethren claimed, but for arrogance, materialism, and lack of piety. The congregations listening to these sermons, almost exclusively female by the later years of the war, took these words to heart as they lamented the fate befalling their society.

For many American women, religion became a means of support, helping them deal with the absence, injury, and death of their loved ones as well as with the strains of living on the homefront. Religious faith, bolstered by the sermons they heard in church, also sustained women as the war stretched into its second, third, and fourth years. In church and in their prayers at home, women could ask God to aid their cause and to bring their husbands, sons, brothers, and sweethearts home safely. They could mourn those who had died and receive sympathy and help from both clergy and fellow worshipers. They could also celebrate victories, hoping for God's blessing and an end to the war.

In addition to regular Sunday worship, prayer services and fast days were special times that helped women during the war years. Churches and communities often held special services to pray for the war and the troops. At the same time, both Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis appointed days of fasting and prayer, on which women abstained from food and attended church. These occasions brought women together in common cause as they prayed fervently for the end of the war and victory for their nation. The value of these services was even greater, however, because they also provided time and space for women to commiserate with each other and to worship as part of a community of believers who were experiencing similar absences, losses, fears, and struggles to support their families.

Confederate women found themselves in an even more precarious position than their Northern sisters. In addition to the danger facing their husbands, sons, brothers, and sweethearts, Southern women had to deal with the privations caused by the Union blockade, marauding armies from both sides of the conflict, and the disintegration of the institution upon which their society had been built. As conditions in the Confederacy worsened with each passing year and Confederate victories came less and less frequently, women found solace in their faith.

Many American women, however, were not content merely to pray for victory and relief. They wanted to help their cause in more concrete ways, and religion offered them a means to do so. Women who had been active in church-sponsored benevolent work before the war, such as the church sewing circle or missionary society, turned their skills and contacts to the support of the war effort. Beginning during the secession crisis and extending through the war years, women and their churches organized fundraising and relief efforts.

Northern women, who had a more extensive history of organized benevolent activity, were especially vigorous. Almost as soon as the war began, women gathered in churches, homes, and civic buildings to roll bandages, knit, sew, and collect supplies for Union troops. They also mounted bazaars and other fundraisers. As organizations like the United States Christian Commission and the United States Sanitary Commission were founded to tend the spiritual and physical needs of the troops, Northern women stepped in to help. Whereas both groups were run primarily by men, women were extremely active in their daily operations. The Sanitary Commission, though founded

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by Unitarian minister Henry Bellows and connected to influential liberal denominations like the Episcopal and Unitarian Churches, remained the more secular of the two organizations, focusing on meeting the physical needs of Union soldiers. Women played important roles in the organization of local chapters and in the collection of supplies, and many women also served as nurses in the army and in convalescent homes.

The Sanitary Commission involved the clergy and congregants from liberal denominations, but the Christian Commission was founded by the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) and maintained ties to the North's evangelical denominations, especially the Baptist and Methodist Churches. The Christian Commission also retained a more religious outlook, focusing primarily on the spiritual needs of Union soldiers. In many ways, the functions of the Christian Commission resembled those of the Sanitary Commission. Women organized to raise money, serve as nurses, and collect much needed supplies like bandages and blankets. The women of the Christian Commission, however, also concerned themselves with fostering religious feeling among the troops. They worked tirelessly to send Bibles and other religious literature to soldiers, and they sponsored missionaries who worked among the Northern armies. The Sanitary and Christian Commissions both received widespread recognition and government support for their efforts, and they represented the largest aid organizations in the United States. Northern women, however, could also become involved in countless smaller, church- or community-based groups that allowed them to channel their religious impulses into help for the Union cause.

Some Northern women also traveled South as church-sponsored missionaries, part of the Northern churches' attempts to reform and remake Southern society. They converged on the occupied territories and began their work almost as soon as Federal forces had established control. The Baptist and Methodist denominations were especially prominent in this activity, and the African Methodist Episcopal Church and African Methodist Episcopal Church Zion also sent male and female missionaries to help former slaves build churches. Male missionaries came to occupied territories as ministers and chaplains, and female missionaries often worked as teachers, especially in schools and Sunday schools for the freedpeople. Although missions to white Southerners found little success, freedmen and freedwomen were often more receptive. Northern evangelicals saw in the acquisition of Confederate territory an opportunity to replicate their society, and women were often active participants in this endeavor.

In the Southern states, relief activity occurred on a more local level than in the North. The Confederacy did not have large, organized groups like the Sanitary Commission or the Christian Commission to coordinate efforts. In addition, antebellum Southern women had not been as active in benevolent causes as their Northern sisters. They were determined, however, to aid their troops, and they worked tirelessly through local churches and community groups to raise money, gather supplies, and nurse the wounded and convalescing.

The Civil War also brought significant changes in how American women approached and experienced religion, influencing how women, both Northern and Southern, participated in their chosen religions. They were accustomed to making up the majority of antebellum congregations, but the war exacerbated the imbalance, especially in the Confederacy where almost all able-bodied men entered the service. Men were notably absent in the pews and in the running of the church. Offices that men had often filled, like Sunday school teacher, became the province of female members, many of whom delighted in their newfound responsibility and took seriously their new task of helping the church continue to function.

Wartime changes were perhaps more significant in the South, where the effects of the war were more immediate and severe than in the North. The vast majority of Civil War battles were fought in Southern states, and a passing army—whether Union or Confederate—could wreak considerable destruction on a farm in its quest for food, firewood, or revenge. Thousands of Southern women and their families became refugees, fleeing the relentless march of Union forces across the Confederacy, and

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Group in front of Christian Commission storehouse in Washington, D.C., April 1865. (Library of Congress)

Southern women were also more likely to suffer the loss or injury of a loved one, since a much larger proportion of the Southern male population served in the armed forces. In their day-to-day living, Southern women found themselves faced with the privations wrought by inflation, blockade-induced shortages, and the collapse of the cotton economy. All these factors affected the relationship that Southern women had with religion and their ability to engage in frequent worship.

Many churches across the South struggled to remain open during the war years, and a large number could not survive once most of their male members—and in many cases their ministers—had joined Confederate service. Church had been one of the central points in the lives of numerous Southern women, and the suspension of services due to the lack of funds, of a congregation, or of a minister served to underscore how much the Civil War had changed their lives for the worse. The closing of a church also pushed women to take on increased responsibility for their religious lives. Many Southern women had no intention of giving up the expression of their faith because they could no longer attend services, and so they began to worship at home with their families and neighbors, guided by such aids as the Episcopal *Book of Common Prayer* or by their own souls.

For many Northern and Southern women, the increased sphere of activity, whether in one of the large relief organizations, in a church-sponsored charitable group, in Sunday school teaching, or in

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missionary work, gave them an outlet for religious expression and work that they would continue after the close of hostilities.

Religion was no less important to enslaved women during the war. Slaves recognized the significance of the war, and many determined to help the Union war effort in any way they could. A number of slave women rendered aid through the secret religious services that mushroomed across the Confederacy, giving them a place to speak freely about their hopes for a future without slavery and to add their prayers to countless others for a Union victory. Enslaved women also used clandestine religious services to pass along any information they might have about the course of the war, the approach of Union troops, or the fate of those who had left home for freedom and Union service.

Religion played an equally important role in the lives of slave women who lived in areas of Union occupation or who left their homes for the Union lines. Once safely in Union territory, slave women found themselves able to engage in religious activities with unprecedented openness and freedom. They no longer had to ask permission to attend worship services or sneak off to secret prayer meetings. Women who had lived for decades in extralegal marriages could now have their weddings performed in churches—often by Union chaplains—and recorded by the government. These women, though in many cases still caught in a legal limbo that recognized their autonomy but did not yet declare them free, relished the ability to control their religious lives and express their faith more openly than in the past.

Once the end of slavery became official, freedwomen often couched their celebrations in religious terms. Many freedwomen saw the hand of God in Union victory and in the end of slavery, and they flocked to churches and prayer services to give thanks for the long-awaited answer to their prayers. Emancipation also brought new religious opportunities as freedmen and freedwomen gathered to form their independent churches. Finally, freedwomen could worship openly, on their own terms, and they could celebrate the significant events of their lives—weddings, baptisms, funerals, holidays—in churches that were legal and free from white control.

Many white women also found that they experienced the end of the war from a religious perspective. For Northern women, Confederate surrender was a vindication of the message that they had heard preached for four long years: God blessed their endeavor and safeguarded the Union. Northern women, whatever their personal losses and sacrifices, could take solace in the belief that their society was both godly and victorious.

Southern women had no such consolations. They, too, saw God's hand in the outcome of the war, but that hand was punishing and severe. The Confederate nation had been defeated, and slavery, the defining economic and social institution of the Southern states, had been eliminated. Southern women looked around themselves and saw little but destruction. Religion became for them the comfort that was missing in so many other aspects of their lives.

At the end of the war, American women found that their experience of religion and worship had changed. The denominations that had splintered during the sectional crisis rejoined slowly. While the Episcopal, Catholic, and Lutheran Churches reformed at the end of hostilities, the major evangelical denominations did not reconcile until the twentieth century, if at all, and many women continued to worship in an atmosphere of sectional conflict. A large number of Northern women also continued or joined the church-sponsored missionary work begun during the war, coming to teach in schools and Sunday schools and to remake the South in the North's godly image.

In the postwar period, religion became closely intertwined with the memory of the war, and church became a place to venerate the past. Women on both sides of the conflict commemorated the struggles and sacrifices of the war years in distinctly religious ways. Women often took the lead in decorating graves, organizing memorial services, and raising money for monuments. They embarked on campaigns to enshrine the memories of the war, its veterans, and especially its dead. This impulse was especially strong in the Southern

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states, where honoring the Confederate cause became a moral imperative for white women.

Julia Huston Nguyen

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; African American Women; Aid Societies; Baptist Women; Catholic Women; Churches; Civilian Life; Confederate Homefront; Congregationalist Women; Emancipation Proclamation (January 1, 1863); Enlistment; Fairs and Bazaars; Family Life, Confederate; Family Life, Union; Flags, Regimental; Foraging, Effects on Women; Free Blacks; Fundraising; Jewish Women; Ladies' Memorial Associations; Methodist Women; Military Invasion and Occupation; Monuments; Morale; Mourning; Nationalism, Confederate; Nationalism, United States; Northern Women; Nurses; Politics; Presbyterian Women; Quaker Women; Refugees; Secession; Sewing Bees; Shortages; Southern Women; Union Homefront; Unitarian Women; United States Christian Commission; United States Sanitary Commission.

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Southern Women

Women living in the southern region of the United States encompassed a variety of social, economic, and cultural backgrounds. From the bayous of Louisiana to the hills of Tennessee, Southern women experienced life in the nineteenth century as active participants in their households, in their communities, and in the overall framework of the South. During the Civil War, the lives of these women dramatically changed as their families and homes were torn apart by invasive and unforgiving warfare. For women across the South, the war would offer new opportunities, new experiences, and new challenges as they faced the horrors of a national crisis.

The imagery associated with nineteenth-century Southern women often shapes modern descriptions and interpretations of them. Idyllic stories of belles at balls with handsome gentlemen skew the reality of Southern life. However, women of the pre-war South also fell victim to the power of imagery and the creation of the ideal woman. Women across the South were brought up with a strict notion of their place in antebellum culture. A woman of the South was expected to be a combination of submission, piety, compassion, purity, and domesticity. The ideal image was of a good mother, wife, and daughter, whose purpose in life was to submissively care for her husband and to manage the household and children with little outward expression of effort. The reality of Southern life was far less picturesque; very few women lived in an environment that allowed them to fulfill this perfect ideal. In reality, many women lived in busy homes that required hard work and dedication for the success of the family. The actuality of life for the majority of Southern women was therefore much less pleasant than the ideal.

The defining characteristic of Southern culture, and therefore the lives of women, was the household. The household was the center of both public and private interaction, the medium through which Southerners addressed the outside world. Southern culture functioned through a complex system of hierarchy that involved race, class, gender, and even age. The household functioned as the basis for this hierarchy, the most basic of structures through which a community of family members and laborers

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was organized. At the top of the structure was the patriarch or head male, usually the father or husband. The patriarch was the head of household, managing the private world of the home, and also interacting with the public world of economics or politics. Underneath the patriarch were his dependents, who included his wife, children, and perhaps even slaves. The wealthier families were able to afford slaves to help with the economic success of the household. Plantation owners, Southern farmers with twenty or more slaves, managed the largest and most complex households. Women were often left to negotiate the relationships among themselves, their children, and their slaves as part of their household responsibilities. White yeoman farmers who did not own slaves presided primarily over their wives and children. Like the plantation household, the yeoman household focused on the relationship between the patriarch and his "laborers" and was still the means of interaction in Southern society. While class separated the two groups, the hierarchy of the household and the dominance of the patriarch allied them in their culture. More important, their whiteness placed Southerners of any class above slaves.

The strict hierarchy in the South placed white women in a restrictive environment. Women were expected to fulfill specific tasks in the home, from normal household drudgery to the management of the domestic slaves. Part of their position as women dictated that they accept their roles without complaint as obedient wives and mothers. Upper-class Southern women might be exposed to greater freedom in the home because of the privileges of wealth and the slave system. Some young women were able to attend female academies that offered them a basic education. Many planters felt that the education of a young woman helped to create a well-behaved wife as well as a better mother. Consequently, many female academies focused their educational efforts not only on subjects such as mathematics or science, but also on skills that would be useful in the home, such as needlework. However, even the wealthiest farmer might not allow his daughters to be educated, considering formal education an unnecessary expense. Yeoman farmers often lacked the income and labor to let daughters attend school. Not only were their hands needed to help ensure a productive farm, but also most small farmers could not afford the tuition of an academy.

Whether or not Southern women received a formal education, their participation in the workings of the household was fully expected. Although the type and amount of work that women participated in varied according to class and location, all women performed vital tasks. The wives of yeoman farmers often worked alongside their husbands, laboring in the fields or performing household tasks. Unlike elite women, these women worked with their hands, cooking, cleaning, and farming. Women privileged enough to have slave labor still took part in the management of their homes. It was their job to maintain order in the home and to direct the work of domestic slaves. Additionally, elite women were often responsible for their own sewing, mending, and weaving. Other tasks included caring for the sick, making household goods such as soap or butter, and overseeing the cooking for the day. Although slave ownership often relieved elite women from the burdens of field work, they were still active in the home.

One of the most challenging tasks that elite women faced was the management of slaves, whose supervision required constant attention to ensure that work was completed correctly. Women were also responsible for the care of slaves, rationing food and clothing. Slaveholding women cared for sick slaves, birthed their children, and generally managed human relations. These tasks alone kept a woman busy all day long. Additionally, women had to negotiate the relationships between themselves and the slave community, maintain authority, but not overstep their boundaries as wives, mothers, and dependents. Although elite women worked to preserve this balance during the Civil War, many struggled with the increased difficulty of managing slaves without male authority figures around.

Although marriage played an important role in the lives of most women, some did not marry or were widowed. To be single in the South placed a woman in a precarious role. Because the South was a rigid

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structure of patriarchy, these women often fell outside the system, living on their own. Widowed women were often left with little or no opportunity to earn a living for their family. Although husbands left estates to their wives, they also frequently left large amounts of debt or assigned the estate to an executor, leaving little financial control to their widow. Most widows faced a steadily declining income, with little hope for upward social mobility. Single women lacked even the promise of an entailed estate and many depended on the aid of family members. Finding employment could lessen a woman's dependence on her male kin, but employment opportunities for Southern women were scarce. Most jobs available to women were domestic positions, such as those as seamstresses or washerwomen. Few single women from elite families would willingly take on these types of jobs. Teaching was also available, but it did not guarantee constant wages or permanent posts. These positions therefore left women precariously dependent on men.

The Civil War shattered the long-standing notions of place, class, and hierarchy. As the war impacted the region, women and men faced the devastation of their society and the need to adapt to the trials of battle. Being at home did not expose Southern women any less to the conflict. In fact, Southern women faced the Civil War head-on both at home and on the front lines. Their efforts became critical to the success or failure of the Confederate war effort.

As husbands and fathers left home to fight for the Confederacy, women confronted a variety of emotional, physical, economic, and political issues alone. Emotionally, women felt torn between their love for family members and their devotion to the Confederate States. Their dedication to the newfound nation often was demonstrated through the stoic acceptance of a son's or a father's departure. In many cases, Southern women encouraged male loved ones to enlist in the Confederate army and provided them with supplies to do so. They saw the soldiers off with celebrations and community-made flags. At other times, women rushed into marriage to support a departing beau before war.

Despite their initial enthusiasm, anxiety plagued Southern women, as it did people across the nation. Many women turned to religion to guide them through the war years. Religion served as a source of comfort and also provided consolation as more military defeats guaranteed the death of family and community members. Others simply begged military and political leaders for their husbands' return. Some women's dedication to the Confederacy did not outlast the trials of the Southern homefront during the war.

Women left on the Confederate homefront experienced the impact of warfare not only emotionally, but economically as well. The wartime economy of the South created immediate shortages of goods and the inflation of prices. Many women, previously unaware of financial issues, became acutely aware of the cost of clothes and fabric. To substitute for the expensive goods that could not be purchased, women began to make their own cloth and sew their own clothing. Homespun became a staple of dress across the region. Clothing was not the only item to increase in cost. By 1862, food shortages were widespread across the South, and by 1863 many families were on the brink of starvation. Often small farms that were financially strapped before the war faced extreme poverty, causing women to beg and depend on wealthy neighbors for food. Although class privilege protected women and their families from starvation, scarcity affected every home, causing misery and despair.

Whereas life on the homefront was often challenging, women of the South did not sit by idly. The war served as a catalyst for change in the South, offering women new opportunities and responsibilities that were previously left to men. The management of farms and plantations fell to the hands of women who were frequently inexperienced in this area. Early in the war, women depended heavily on the advice of their husbands or sons through letters, but soon they learned that decisions needed to be made without advice. The economic success of the farm depended on bookkeeping and management, which meant figuring ledgers and tallying accounts. In the years before the war, women rarely had the

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opportunity to perform these tasks, but they grew in experience and confidence during the war, becoming adept at running their homes.

While the management of a home or business often became more familiar during the war years, women faced the growing crisis of slavery as well. The absence of men deteriorated the complex system of patriarchy and paternalism in the South. Additionally, the chaos of war allowed more opportunities for slave resistance and freedom. Slavery gradually fell apart, not through the failure in management of women but through the decay of the entire system. As Northern troops rolled through the South, slaves left farms and homes for the promise of freedom. In addition to the growing economic crises, women felt increasingly threatened by the unruliness of their slaves. Rebellion became a fear for many women living alone. However, the larger problem was the disruption of labor. With husbands and sons away, plantations depended on slave labor more than ever to keep functioning. Without slaves, elite women who previously avoided manual labor were forced to labor in the fields, clean the home, or slaughter animals. While class differences were not erased during the war, labor and hardship brought the experiences of women of the South closer together.

The labor of Southern women was not limited to the plantation or farm; to support their families and themselves, many women worked as paid laborers during the war. Although jobs were limited in the antebellum years, the necessities of war provided new employment opportunities. Southern women, like their Northern counterparts, often filled in at posts previously held by men in peacetime. Women were needed to work in the Confederacy's few factories to help produce materiél for the war. Additionally, women turned to teaching in even greater numbers than they had prior to the war; these positions had greater consistency and longevity than they had before. Women were needed to continue education if men could not. One of the most significant opportunities for women was the availability of jobs for them in the Confederate government. The creation of a new government, combined with the exodus of men to the military, required women to work for the Treasury, Post Office, and even War Departments. Women spent time printing and signing banknotes, delivering mail, and sewing uniforms. Single and widowed women found increased acceptance during wartime because of the value of their labor. Wartime moved domestic women into expanded roles outside the home and, more important, led to social acceptance, even if temporary, of the changes.

War had a drastic impact on the homefront. However, Southern women also experienced the war on the front lines. Because the Civil War was fought primarily in the South, many Southern women could not escape its direct impact. The war was fought in their backyards and fields. Cornfields became battlefields, and homes became command centers. Consequently, Southern women became part of the internal actions of war. They served as spies, soldiers, couriers, nurses, letter writers, cooks, and laundresses for the army. Southern women took an active role in their communities by feeding and clothing local soldiers, warning their husbands of danger, and facing the threat of assault by opposing forces. Left at home, women were open to attack to by anyone, from deserters to military officers. The devotion that women felt toward their families and friends led them to defy typically accepted behavior and actively involve themselves in the war effort.

The line between friend and foe blurred in the local communities and even on battle lines as civilians became soldiers and friends became enemies. Raiding and robbing homes was commonplace during the war. Fighting during the Civil War took place not only between large numbers of troops, but also in localized skirmishes. Lacking in numbers, small bands of men were often more effective for the South than larger corps, but Confederate guerrilla fighters were not regular troops and therefore depended heavily on their wives and other female kin to support them during the war. Such tactics led to harsh responses from the Union military, and, knowing of the close ties between guerillas and civilian supporters, Union officials responded by engaging the entire population, including women and children, in efforts to root out the enemy aggressors. Women were often caught in the middle. Many felt

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defenseless in their homes because of the fear of constant invasion by soldiers, sometimes Southern and sometimes Union. Ultimately, women of all classes and backgrounds struggled to defend themselves on the homefront and to deal with all the change and pressure.

Remaining at home as their men went off to join the Confederate army or to live in the bush as guerrilla fighters, women came face to face with many difficulties. To protect their families, some women tried to separate themselves from the war, but localized conflict brought the war home and made it unavoidable. The aggressive nature of guerrilla conflict forced women to become full participants in the war because it pervaded their homes and personal lives. In response to their involvement in the war, women were also treated harshly and became subject to interrogation and punishment. In Union-occupied areas across the South, banishment became a common punishment for women supporting the Confederacy. For example, Union officials banished women whose male family members were discovered to be guerrillas. Banished women were forced to leave their homes and communities and travel to a new location, where they would pose less of a threat to the Union army. Female-headed households became particular targets of banishment, because the Union suspected, often correctly, that the men of these families were most likely aiding the Confederate cause. Union officials recognized that women aided their husbands simply out of loyalty and love for their family, if not their devotion to the Southern cause. Banishment was a harsh reprisal to the actions of women in the war effort, but, Union officials rationalized, Southern women's importance to the Confederate war effort justified the action.

Southern women also faced invading Union troops, who often terrorized them, destroyed their crops and homes, and left with many personal treasures. For example, women in Virginia's Shenandoah Valley dealt with an ever changing landscape, as Union and Confederate forces traded control of the area. In addition, elite women in Georgia and the Carolinas personally dealt with William Tecumseh Sherman's invading force. Union soldiers in the 1864 campaigns invaded not only Southern territory, but also Southern homes, taking women's letters, diaries, clothes, and other personal treasures as souvenirs.

In Union-occupied areas such as New Orleans and Vicksburg, Southern women had to find ways to coexist with the enemy troops or to escape to Confederate territory. Many women took loyalty oaths as a means to survive. Others, especially those who had conflicting loyalties at the outset of the war, were relieved upon the arrival of Union troops.

Many Southern women enthusiastically volunteered in service jobs during the war, aiding the Confederacy as hospital employees. The proximity of Civil War battles to Southern communities and homes also impacted women's roles as nurses and caregivers. From the outset of the war, Southern women opened their homes to injured soldiers, creating makeshift hospitals and offering as much care as they could provide. Frequently schools and churches also served as field hospitals, where local women cared for the wounded. Although it was not until 1862 that the Confederacy authorized female employment in hospitals, women often found opportunities to aid wounded men even in the early days of the war. Elite Southern women often found jobs as nurse managers, organizing the volunteers in the hospital, while working-class and slave women were left to menial and laborious tasks. Army regulations and gender conventions prohibited women from nursing on the front lines, so most women were active off the battlefield.

For many Southern women, hospital work consisted of more than health care duties. These women, like their Northern counterparts, brought food and water to soldiers in bed, wrote letters for soldiers, and helped them stay cool in the heat. Many women also raised funds for hospitals or volunteered their services making bandages or food. Some women, seeing themselves as unfit for medical service because of their class and gender, did not want help in the direct care of the injured. Other women volunteered to care for wounded soldiers despite issues of respectability.

While some women of the South set limits on their interaction with soldiers and the front lines,

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Hospital laundry yard in Nashville, Tennessee, ca. 1861–1865. (Corbis)

others sacrificed themselves completely to the war effort. Women served as spies for the South, and some dressed as soldiers to join the men on the battlefields. Women participated in these ways for a variety of reasons, including their dedication to their nation and their need to remain close to their husbands. Problems arose when women became injured and their sex was discovered. Local militias presented a better opportunity for Southern women to involve themselves in the war. Women banded together to protect themselves and their community, and they acquired skills such as marksmanship and drills to enable them to act if necessary.

Women also served as able participants in espionage and smuggling for the Confederacy. Letting their gender act as a form of protection, many women used their femininity to get information or to procure needed goods. Although gender allowed many women to succeed in their goals, they still were susceptible to capture and jail. Some women spent time incarcerated, but very often well cared for by their captors. Southern women were able to transform their domestic and submissive position in Southern society to one of strength that allowed them to break away from their roles and involve themselves directly in the war effort.

Although not all women took up arms against the enemy, many Southern women asserted themselves in ways that demonstrated their new power and independence. Women's use of community networks to create wartime organizations revealed Southern women's ability not only to work within the confines of antebellum gender expectations but also to stretch them as necessary. These tasks did

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not necessarily challenge traditional responsibilities, but they revealed the importance of women to the Confederate war effort. A new self-awareness developed for these women, who understood the importance of their sacrifices and contributions to their nation and to the soldiers.

As the military hostilities ended, women had to deal with the consequences of a war that had torn apart their families, communities, way of living, and culture. The end of Southern slavery required a new economic system and a new source of labor. It also created an upheaval in the South's traditional hierarchy. Southerners were forced to deal with the end of the plantation system and freedom for their slaves. For many the war brought about financial disaster and the need to rebuild their farm, homes, and families.

After the Civil War, many Southern women had lost husbands, brothers, and sons. Soldiers who returned often needed their wives' support—physically, economically, and emotionally—and the war provided Southern women with experiences that allowed them to face postwar challenges. Although some women longed for their antebellum lives, others embraced their new roles as businesswomen, managers, and leaders in the community. Some Southern women began memorializing the Confederacy and its fallen soldiers. In addition, many continued their work in voluntary organizations and sought out new opportunities to involve themselves in activities outside the home. Although the Civil War challenged many Southern women, it also created the opportunity for change. Many Southern women redefined themselves after the war.

Megan Boccardi

See also African American Women; Aid Societies; Bread Riots; Camp Followers; Civilian Life; Columbia Bazaar (January 17–21, 1865); Confederate Homefront; Confederate Surrender (1865); Courtship and Marriage; Destruction of Homes; Destruction of Personal Property; Diaries and Journals; Disease; Domesticity; Education, Southern; Enlistment; Fairs and Bazaars; Family Life, Confederate; Farm Work; Female Combatants; Female Spies; Flags, Regimental; Food; Foraging, Effects on Women; Fundraising; Girlhood and Adolescence; Guerrilla Warfare; Gunboat Societies; Homespun; Honor; Hospital Ships; Impressment; Imprisonment of Women; Ladies' Memorial Associations; Letter Writing; Loyalty Oaths; Military Invasion and Occupation; Monuments; Morale; Mourning; Nationalism, Confederate; Nonslaveholding Southerners; Northern Women; Nurses; Pensions, Confederate Widows; Plantation Life; Poets, Southern; Politics; Prostitution; Rape; Reconstruction (1865–1877); Refugees; Religion; Rural Women; Secession; Separate Spheres; Sewing Bees; Sheridan's Shenandoah Valley Campaign (1864); Sherman's Campaign (1864–1865); Shortages; Slaveholding Women; Southern Unionists; Teachers, Southern; Treasury Girls; United Daughters of the Confederacy; Urban Women, Southern; Wartime Employment; Wartime Literature; Widows, Confederate; Woman Order (General Order Number 28); Wounded, Visits to.

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Union Homefront

The Union homefront, much like the Confederate homefront, was first and foremost a society caught in the exigencies of war. Generally, most Northerners were touched by the war in one way or another. Certainly those who volunteered to fight felt a direct effect, as did their relatives. Very few citizens remained completely untouched by the war because most had relatives enlisted in the army or working for the government. In addition, everyone felt the effects of increased prices, lower wages, patriotic pressures, and restricted freedom to travel. After the surrender of Fort Sumter, members of Northern communities felt the effects of war ideologically, physically, and financially.

With President Abraham Lincoln's call for troops on April 15, 1861, Northern citizens had to decide which cause to side with. Some Northerners, usually Democrats, sympathized with the Confederacy. Even though they took no action, they were seen as traitors by Unionists and by the Lincoln administration, and they were labeled Copperheads, after the snake of the same name. Other Northern citizens chose not just to sympathize, but actually to side with the Confederates. These Northerners usually left for the South to help the cause there. However, some, like the antebellum hostess Rose O'Neal Greenhow, stayed in Washington, D.C., and became a spy for the Confederates. Greenhow in particular took advantage of her political connections.

For most Northern women, like their Southern sisters, the decision of which side to support was an easy one. They followed their hearts, usually siding with their families and their home state. But the war also tore families apart. In some instances, one son, cousin, or uncle fought for the North while other close relatives fought in the Confederate armies. Despite the fact that these decisions were often out of women's control, they were often blamed for their relatives' choices. Some women from families with divided loyalties were seen as traitors. For them, the war was spent trying to cope from day to day in a hostile environment. Perceived traitors, male and female, became targets of physical and verbal abuse as well as property destruction.

Northern civilians did not experience the war in the same way as did their Southern counterparts for several reasons. First, with the exception of Northern communities like Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, Sharpsburg, Maryland, and Border State communities, few Northern women saw war firsthand. The majority of Civil War battles took place in the South, so Northerners were rarely touched by the hard hand of war. The people on the Union homefront rarely experienced the disruption of armies camping near their homes and "requisitioning" their livestock or crops. Also, few Northern women had to fear a wayward cannonball crashing into their home or a stray bullet coming through their windows. In addition, they never had to endure enemy occupation, and few had to cope with the difficulties that a large wartime refugee population, troops marching through towns, or a scarcity of supplies brought to the Confederate homefront.

However, some people on the Union homefront faced constant disruptions throughout the war. In the Border States of Missouri and Kentucky, citizens endured frequent raids by both armies as well as by guerrillas. In addition, those who lived near army camps had to endure the antics of drunken soldiers let loose in town with a day's pass. The civilians also lost chickens and crops to the troops. In addition, because prostitution thrived in the large cities during the Civil War, citizens in these areas encountered more of these "loose" women on their streets.

The types of products available to Northern civilians changed during the war. Less cotton and tobacco were available to them than had been in the antebellum years. However, they did not have to deal with a blockade that restricted imports. While the Southern economy strained under the Union blockade, the Northern economy thrived. With less cotton coming their way, Northern textile owners had to make a decision. Some, like those in Connecticut, chose to convert their textiles mills to

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arsenals to make bullets and explosives for the War Department.

Other businesses thrived through government contracts. Quartermaster General Montgomery C. Meigs cleverly devised a system that allowed civilian companies to bid on supplying the Union's armed forces. Despite some corruption, the government contracts worked well and stimulated all parts of the Northern economy. Farmers benefited by providing grain, vegetables, and livestock to the army. Factory owners sold wool uniforms and blankets as well as tenting and camping equipment. Wagon manufacturers, harness makers, and barrel makers all saw increased profits by providing for an army whose voracious appetite seemed to have no end.

Northern women also benefited from this strong homefront economy. Jobs previously closed to them opened up during the war. Women took the places left empty by the men who had gone off to fight. Women were hired by the Treasury and War Departments as clerks. In these government jobs, women made more money than they could in most other jobs open to them. In addition, some women became lighthouse keepers, teamsters, steamboat captains, bankers, brokers, and morticians. They worked as saleswomen in department stores and shops.

Many of the jobs open to women during the Civil War were in factories, especially those that manufactured war materiél. Women who worked in arsenals took on a hazardous job. Explosions due to dangerous work conditions and accidents killed and injured female munitions workers during the war.

Northern women also continued to work in traditional jobs. They remained as keepers of saloons and boarding houses. They also continued their work in the needle trades. The need for seamstresses increased during the war, and so did the competition among seamstresses. Because the War Department contracted this work to the lowest bidder, the company that gained the contract in turn hired the cheapest seamstresses it could find. Consequently, any seamstress who tried to hold out for higher pay usually found herself unemployed. Ironically, seamstresses actually earned less during the war than they had in 1860. This put tremendous financial pressures on women during a time when their husbands' pay did not arrive regularly or the war widowed them. Although the thriving economy benefited many people, war inflation often offset the increased pay.

The Northern homefront experienced wartime inflation of 80 percent. Although this was little compared to the 9,000 percent increase in the Confederacy, the rise in wartime prices affected the lives of all Union civilians. In Washington, D.C., the prices were so high that higher wages barely met the basic needs of government workers. Despite these problems, the Northern economy remained relatively stable throughout the war as a result of the greenback, the National Bank Act, an income tax, and a diversified economy. To control wartime inflation, the United States Congress made the greenback national legal tender and used it to finance the war. Congress also began standardizing the banking system, ensuring that individual banks could not print their own money. The passage of an income tax on incomes over $600 helped supplement government revenue and put the burden on those who could most afford it.

Even though inflation in the Union seemed under control, wartime prices kept many civilians from adequately supporting their families. Poor white women and black women suffered the most from these economic circumstances. Without the resources to supplement their meager wages and those of their soldier husbands, these women struggled to keep their families fed and clothed. Many moved in with relatives to ease their financial burdens, but in doing so they gave up their privacy. Women economized by feeding their families simple meals and by growing supplemental vegetables in corner gardens. They mended, refitted, and reused clothes to keep themselves warm and presentable. Keeping their children clothed, however, presented a continual problem. Growing children's need for clothes and shoes put a strain on family finances and women's ingenuity.

As the lowest-paid members of Northern society, black families suffered the most during this economic constriction. Hopes that economic woes would be alleviated by a soldier's pay were crushed. When the Union army enlisted black men in 1863,

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many black families suffered even more than they had before. The government tended to be six months behind on soldiers' pay and, adding to this hardship, the Union refused to pay African American soldiers the full pay of soldiers. Consequently, soldiers' families suffered without their male loved ones and without the benefits of a regular and sufficient paycheck.

Many needy civilian families were too proud to ask for help. However, when the situation became dire, women could turn to benevolent societies in their towns. Antebellum Northern communities had instituted benevolent work to help the poor, but wartime needs and increasing difficulties pressured an already strapped system. Civilians were torn between donating their time and money to benevolent groups that worked for the less fortunate in their towns and giving to soldiers' aid societies. Devoting time to charitable work and taking care of their families pushed some women beyond their capacities and they usually minimized the stress by quitting one of the groups. Other women were able to meet all their commitments, despite the exhaustion.

Work for soldiers' aid societies on the homefront became a common experience for most Northern women. Although some women offered only a couple of hours a week for the society or only helped by selling things at a booth during a sanitary fair, most women did some kind of work for these societies during the war. Work in soldiers' aid societies exhibited women's response to their nation's call to arms. They saw that they, too, had a duty to do something for the cause. Early in the war, it became apparent that the government would not be able to meet the troops' supply needs. Consequently, women helped to equip the men of their families and communities with blankets, food, and toiletries to get them to camp. Although they assumed that the government would take over the task of supplying the troops once they arrived in camp, women eventually helped outfit the soldiers at all stages of their service. The enormous army quickly tapped the skeletonlike governmental infrastructure, and supply needs could not be met.

In response to the soldiers' ongoing need for supplies, Northern women organized aid societies and pledged their commitment until the cessation of hostilities. Generally, the upper-class women of the community began the societies and provided the much needed funds, while middle-class women ran the day-to-day business of the societies. Poorer women of the communities also worked to help the soldiers' aid societies, giving as much time as they could, making a small cash donation, or giving a small portion of their garden harvest to enliven the meals of the soldiers. Society managers loved to advertise the participation of the community's poor citizens in the hopes of making the wealthy citizens feel guilty about their lack of financial support.

In April 1861, women in New York City gathered to create the Women's Central Association of Relief (WCAR). They hoped to organize women's efforts around the New England area and have them channel their goods to their New York office. From there the New York women would use their communication with army officials to decide what supplies were needed where. In this way, the New York volunteers hoped to organize women's war efforts, make the system more efficient, and bring about a feeling of nationalism among Northern women.

Men often took charge of women's efforts to aid Union soldiers. They created larger organizations to direct the collection and distribution of supplies to the troops. A group of New York physicians and ministers headed to Washington, D.C., for a meeting with President Abraham Lincoln about the need for a national benevolent organization that would aid the army's Medical Department. As this group of prominent men recognized, the small and understaffed Medical Department was in no shape to meet the medical needs of the growing armed forces. Although the head of the department and Lincoln viewed the civilian group as both meddlesome and unnecessary, the president gave it government sanction in June 1861. The United States Sanitary Commission (USSC), as it was named, became the liaison between the army and the Union homefront. Sanitary agents would travel to army camps, give army officials advice about sanitation in the camps and personal hygiene among the soldiers, and learn about the supply needs of the individual regiments. The USSC would also pro-

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vide supplies for military hospitals, furnish transportation and temporary medical care for wounded soldiers, and assist soldiers in numerous other ways.

The New England soldiers' aid societies, fostered by the WCAR, eventually merged with the USSC when the WCAR became a branch of the USSC. Although the USSC established branches, it never fully gained the confidence of many Northern women. Consequently, hundreds of aid societies remained independent, donating their supplies to their local and state regiments as well as to national groups like the USSC and its rival, the United States Christian Commission.

The United States Christian Commission (USCC) similarly worked to supply Union troops. This organization was established by men from the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) in November 1861. Although they claimed that they were concerned only with the spiritual well-being of the soldiers, it quickly became clear that the USCC was distributing more than religious pamphlets to the young recruits. This organization, too, offered desperately needed supplies on the battlefield, in camp, and at the hospitals. To meet their demands, the USCC, like the USSC, depended on supplies made and sent by soldiers' aid societies across the North. Men may have been the officers of national organizations, like the USSC and the USCC, but women served as the backbone of their success. Without the work of hundreds of thousands of women across the North, the USSC and USCC would have failed in their primary goals.

The aid societies that sent their goods to the USSC and the USCC shared similar structures. The typical Union aid society had a dozen primary members and several women who occasionally offered their services. Societies had elected officers, dues, constitutions, and regular meetings. Members might meet on a weekly or monthly basis, depending on the size of the society and the amount of work to be done. The society's work was divided among the women in committees, which usually included a cutting committee, a packing committee, a sewing committee, and a purchasing committee. Children of society members also contributed by scraping lint for packing into wounds and starting their own Juvenile Societies to raise money. The ladies planned their work as they responded to requests for supplies from their local regiments, state agencies, the USSC, and the USCC. They donated their goods to each group depending on need and on the organization's desire to help the particular group.

Black women also participated in and formed soldiers' aid societies. Before the Union army enlisted African American men, some black women worked in the offices of their communities' white soldiers' aid society. Once the Union army began enlisting black men into colored regiments in 1863, many black women established their own soldiers' aid societies to help their husbands, sons, and fathers in the military. As did the white societies, these "colored" groups elected officers, established work committees, collected dues, met weekly or monthly, and sent supplies to their local regiments. Black societies, however, did not usually have as much money or supplies available to them as did white soldiers' aid societies. Nor did their members have as much free time to devote to the society. Instead of funneling their handiwork through the USSC and the USCC, members of African American soldiers' aid societies often reserved the supplies they made for individual regiments. The USSC and USCC claimed that they gave supplies to all Union soldiers regardless of class, race, or region. However, although they provided for black soldiers, it was not completely without discrimination.

Regardless of race or organization, all soldiers' aid societies relied on their own funds to help supply and aid Union troops. Some members dedicated themselves to making goods, others helped raise money through donations and or fundraisers. To do so, many organizations held fundraisers. Society fundraisers served a dual purpose. First and foremost, the events generated desperately needed money and helped subsidize a society's efforts with activities that included concerts, oyster dinners, tableaux, and dances. Their success helped fund relief efforts and allowed women to continue their work for the troops. Second, fundraisers became a source of entertainment for citizens at war. Wartime Northern society ran more

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smoothly than Southern society, but there were still vivid reminders that the country was at war. Most notably, the absence of male loved ones not only gave women increased duties at home, but it also curbed their social activities. Victorian etiquette placed restrictions on women's public interactions and required that single women be chaperoned at times. Although war loosened society's morals, proper women still did not engage in certain activities without being accompanied by male relatives or friends. This meant fewer social engagements for Northern women during the war. Society fundraisers were not only patriotic; they also were within women's proper sphere of influence and so women got to participate without jeopardizing their propriety.

Perhaps the most financially successful Union fundraiser was the USSC's Chicago Sanitary Fair in October 1863. The Sanitary Fair was the brainchild of a group of Milwaukee and Chicago women determined to get everyone involved in raising money for Union soldiers. Local businesses and schools closed so that citizens could attend the grand opening of the fair. During the fair, visitors browsed among booths that included flower arrangements, art collections, historic artifacts, military equipment, and a trophy room filled with captured Confederate battle flags, muskets, and cannon balls. Visitors dined in the fair's restaurant, posted letters at the fair's post office, and played in the Children's Department. The overwhelming success of the Chicago Sanitary Fair in terms of communal response and money raised prompted women in other cities to begin plans for their own sanitary fairs. Even children began holding their own "fairs" in their backyards. The most financially successful of the later fairs was the Metropolitan Fair in New York City, whose organizers raised more than $1 million for the benefit of Union troops.

As financially successful as these fairs were, some contemporaries believed that they had detrimental aftershocks that aid societies felt long after the fair ended. Some women argued that precisely because of the enormous amounts of money raised in these large-scale events, the Northern public got the wrong impression about the ongoing needs of the USSC and other aid societies. Critics argued that some citizens presumed that no more money or individual help was needed by the societies on a regular basis. However, the opposite was true. The costly battles of 1864 required more hospital supplies and taxed the USSC storehouses. Likewise, the preparation and execution of the Sanitary Fair was so time-consuming and physically taxing that the ladies of the host communities were too exhausted to contribute any more of their time to the society after the end of the event. Aid society officers eventually convinced their communities that the fairs served a valuable and necessary purpose in the continued work of the USSC. However, sanitary fairs may have been most successful in

Home workers for Sanitary Commission, photographed for souvenir sales to secure money for the cause in connection with the New York Sanitary Fair. (Miller, Francis Trevelyan and Robert Sampson Lanier, *The Photographic History of the Civil War*, vol. 7, 1911)

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releasing tension for a society at war and giving citizens tangible evidence that they were doing something for the cause.

Fundraising fairs and bazaars offered Northern civilians one way to attach themselves directly to the war and to their loved ones at the front. Yet, at times, Northerners felt disconnected from the war, or at least from the pageantry of the battles, encampments, and soldiers. To overcome this feeling, some women visited military hospitals in and around their communities. Most towns with military camps had hospitals. However, there were also several general military hospitals in Jeffersonville, Indiana, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, New York City, and Washington, D.C. Local aid societies had a close relationship with these hospitals, their members providing supplies, sometimes appointing matrons and nurses, and regularly visiting the sick and wounded soldiers.

Women who visited wounded Union soldiers often brought with them flowers, jams, pies, reading material, and wholesome games. Visitors helped to break up the dull hours of recuperation by talking and listening to the patients and by engaging the men in singing and praying. These visits usually brightened the soldiers' days and helped the aid society ladies feel more connected to the war and to their loved ones at the front.

Other Northern women worked as nurses at military hospitals. Most lived on site, were expected to be available around the clock, and had to endure the nauseating smells, the sight of horrid wounds, and the soldiers' incessant moaning. Their personal sacrifices in enduring exhausting work that ruined the health of many women and their willingness to expose themselves to contagious diseases without a care for their own well-being led the soldiers to feel a special tie to these women, whom they saw as sister comrades.

African American women also made sacrifices for Union soldiers. Not allowed to work as nurses to white soldiers, black women often worked as laundresses and cooks. Their opportunities to dispense medicine and change dressings came with the enlistment of African American soldiers. Black soldiers did not usually receive immediate medical attention, and the medical corps segregated hospital transports. Some white nurses and doctors treated black soldiers, who often received very little care. However, African American women were allowed to nurse black soldiers and took up the medical aid of their men.

Northern civilians—white and black, men, women, and children—experienced the war through enlisted loved ones, national economic shifts, and the ideological choices they made. The Northern homefront may have undergone fewer disruptions caused by battles and marauding armies than its Southern counterpart, but Northern citizens nevertheless sacrificed, endured, and suffered as a result of the war. They found ways to support their families and their nation.

Patricia Richard

See also Aid Societies; Border States; Civilian Life; Confederate Homefront; Confederate Sympathizers, Northern; Domesticity; Draft Riots and Resistance; Factory Workers, Northern; Fairs and Bazaars; Family Life, Union; Female Spies; Food; Foraging, Effects on Women; Free Blacks; Fundraising; Government Girls; Greenhow, Rose O'Neal (ca. 1814–1864); Hospitals; Letter Writing; Military Invasion and Occupation; Morale; Nationalism, United States; Northern Women; Nurses; Politics; Prostitution; Refugees; Rural Women; Separate Spheres; Sewing Bees; Shortages; United States Christian Commission; United States Sanitary Commission; Urban Women, Northern; Wartime Employment; Widows, Union; Women's Central Association of Relief; Wounded, Visits to.

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Wartime Employment

The Civil War coincided with a radical change in the role of American women in the economy and in the work force. How much of a coincidence this was remains an unresolved area of Civil War history, women's history, and labor history. In addition, scholars' understanding of female employment in the Civil War period reflects the innate constraints of the historical sources' bias by gender, section, race, and class. Historians' grasp of what women were doing in these years becomes more tenuous as they move from white, relatively privileged urban women in the North to the wage-earning, nonwhite, rural, and Southern women.

In an age before household appliances, much of the day's women's work centered on the home. Household duties like cooking, cleaning, and laundry were time-consuming and arduous in the best of circumstances. Yet the standards and strains of doing these chores in the families of the poor, of the workingmen, or of the farmers remained limited, making them all the more laborious.

Middle-class homes required more than what the females of the family could provide single-handedly. Such households either hired vast numbers of women who boarded with their employers, or they made do if they were not able to afford help. With the prosperity of the growing number of middle-class households, the demand for servants became even greater. Most servants were younger women who could be spared from their own families, but domestic service increasingly became a relatively permanent kind of work.

Urbanization transformed employed housework, even before labor-saving devices mechanized it. In the generation before the Civil War, the explosive growth of American cities proportionately surpassed the already unprecedented increase of the population as a whole. According to the 1860 U.S. Federal Census, at least 6,217,000 Americans lived in 392 "urban places" with populations of 2,500 or more. Of those places, thirty-five communities had more than 25,000 residents, eight had populations of more than 160,000, and metropolitan New York's population reached a total of nearly a million and a half.

The commensurate increase in wealth raised middle-class domestic aspirations, increasing the need for household labor. It also provided the workers who made it easier for employers to meet the demand. Meeting the demand for domestic service in slaveholding communities was quite straightforward. Elsewhere, the chores in the cities were much less arduous than farmwork, reducing the roles of family relations and friendships in providing the labor. The anonymity of wage labor placed it directly at the center of domestic servitude.

Moreover, the ethnically stratified realities of nineteenth-century American life meant that domestic labor would disproportionately become the lot of female immigrants and African Americans. Respectable middle-class families who used domestic servants functioned with these hired women and girls going about their duties entirely in the background.

Many women may have begun their working lives in, and certainly always participated in, farmwork, although the demand for this kind of labor fluctuated widely and seasonally. At the most basic level, enslaved women of color participated alongside males from a very young age in the backbreaking field labor on the plantations. Conditions for slave women doing fieldwork were never easy, because their work was always ruthlessly driven by demand. In addition, slave women's work often involved simultaneously preparing food and managing the master's children as well as their own. The scale and intensity of plantation labor changed with the growing importance of cotton production, fueled by the demands of the new textile industries in England and the North. Unlike hemp, tobacco, and other crops grown by slaves, cotton fostered massive new plantations with hundreds of slaves on the lucrative estates of the Mississippi delta. The paternalist ideology of the slave owners necessarily meant less in practice, as the scale of work grew, driven increasingly by unrelenting exploitation.

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Women work in the laundry room of the Philadelphia Citizens Volunteer Hospital, which was established during the Civil War to alleviate the other local hospitals of wounded, 1862. (Library of Congress)

Farm labor in nonslaveholding states rarely, if ever, implied the absolute ownership and power of mastery that it did in a slaveholding system. Nevertheless, the physical work was intense and arduous drudgery. Women participated fully in the work—the oldest division of labor.

The expansion and unprecedented prosperity of agriculture became contingent on its increasing scale and responsiveness to the market economy, which was rapidly expanding through steam technology over waterways, roads, and railroads. Because this technology had only begun to transform agricultural labor itself, the work on the expanding farms came to rely increasingly on poorly paid workers who were disproportionately women and children. With the notable exceptions of Native peoples and African slaves in the slaveholding states, land ownership and farming tended to reflect the duration of the family's presence in the New World.

The numbers of women involved in non-agricultural labor in the Civil War era remained subject to annual fluctuations that were less dramatic than, but often mirrored, the seasonal nature of farm labor. The 1860 U.S. Federal Census counted 270,357 women nationally in non-agricultural labor. This represented 20.7 percent of all workers in this field. The proportions of women remained much higher in places and consistently ran near a third of all non-agricultural workers across New England, except Vermont. In more rural areas, men clearly preferred agricultural pursuits, and women actually constituted the majority of non-agricultural employees in Androscoggin (51.1 percent) and York (55.7 percent) counties, Maine. Notwithstanding the proportions, the absolute numbers of women workers in urban areas was very impressive. The counties of Philadelphia had 30,633, and those of New York had 24,721, while Boston and the neighboring counties of Essex, Middlesex, and Worcester contained nearly 48,000 working women.

The mothers, wives, and sisters of some artisans had been learning craft skills and performing artisan work for years. However, their general exclusion from the formal process of apprenticeship, the

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accepted means of attaining the required skills, caused the workingmen of most trades to see this simply as a further degradation of craft labor. Still, although women rarely performed artisan work, a growing number had begun to do so, particularly in the domestic and less prestigious crafts.

The needle trades epitomized how the industrialization of artisan labor eroded its status and blurred the lines not only between the traditional crafts and sweated labor, but also between traditional women's work and the labor that was vital to modern industrial life. Through subcontracts and piecework, middlemen contracted for the production of a set amount of product, purchased the raw material, and then subcontracted the labor to as many as could perform the work. This arrangement not only allowed for the expansion and contraction of the workforce to meet demand, but it also offered a seemingly unlimited level of profit through the ongoing erosion of wages and living conditions. The industries that mechanized the factory system achieved the same effect by radically increasing production through the use of machinery and a reorganized division of labor. Work in such places reduced all workers, regardless of gender, to the status of hands.

Industrialization had been under way in the New England textile industry for decades by the time of the Civil War, but the factory system expanded in an uneven way throughout the economy. Still, some workplaces, heavily dependent on female labor, employed thousands of workers, enough by 1860 to raise the average numbers of workers per workplace in New Haven County to nearly thirty.

The Civil War had an immediate and transformative impact on every aspect of American life, including the position of women in society and in the workplace. Military needs ultimately took about 5 million men out of the American workforce, even as it created or increased the demand for just about everything. Women and children disproportionately met the labor demands for this radical expansion of demand for products.

Agricultural demands increased as those left on the Union and Confederate homefronts had to provide food for soldiers in the field. Food production strained at the traditional production techniques, and mechanization began to change life on the farm. However, the war also stripped rural America of much of its livestock. The production of horses and mules increased in the Midwest but still resulted in a net loss. In the rural South, the direct devastation of the war destroyed the antebellum stability of this productive capacity. All these changes bore most heavily on women. In the case of farm work, the demand for hired labor, which usually tends to increase wages, did not have nearly such an impact because of the gender and age difference in the new workforce.

The Civil War also increased the need for industrial production. The war immediately produced an unprecedented demand for uniforms, foodstuffs, weapons, and equipage of all sorts. The demand fell on the shoulders of a workforce deprived of its traditional male breadwinners. Almost overnight, the exodus of men to the battlefields created the need for and the development of a massive new female workforce. At Philadelphia, the workforce at the Schuylkill Arsenal included over five thousand women, most laboring on uniform production, with more laboring out of the Girard House. Wages rose over the course of the war, but never enough to meet household needs. Compared to the North, the production of wartime goods in the less industrialized South entailed even greater problems. White Southern men were disproportionately in the ranks, and the women left at home faced less technologically experienced employers who were generally unwilling and unable to reward labor amply. Certainly, insofar as the war imposed a rapid and forced industrialization on the region, Southern women bore an even greater portion of the burden than did their Northern sisters.

In addition, the disruption of working life in the South proved particularly extreme and dramatic, ranging from the perpetual shortage of raw materials to the arrival of invading Union armies. As the conflict intensified, strategic planners came to understand that industrial labor represented an enemy asset and began to treat it accordingly. For example, when the troops in Union General William T. Sherman's army seized the Roswell Mills in Geor-

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gia, they not only burned the establishment but also took hundreds of the female employees and their children into custody. They exported the workers to Kentucky to keep them out of the Confederate workforce.

Aside from the rare artisan women, female self-employment remained marginal throughout the nineteenth century. However, the Civil War period marked the arrival of a few pioneering women doctors and clergy. In that conflict, a Congressional Medal of Honor was awarded to Dr. Mary Edwards Walker, although her labors probably attained less fame than her fearless adoption of masculine dress. Furthermore, President Abraham Lincoln's personal intervention gained a chaplaincy for Ella Gibson Hobart.

The emergence of spiritualism as a mass movement during the 1850s allowed women to assume a great leadership role. Although spirit communication was rare in the South and banned in several states, the numbers of Americans who dabbled in it is estimated in the millions. The prevailing means for reaching the spirits was to create a psychologically suggestive atmosphere through a séance, under the direction of a particularly sensitive medium, usually a woman. More than almost any other antebellum social movement, spiritualism represented the cultural response of women to the new imperatives of the secular market economy. It refined traditional religious assumptions into vehicles for major social change. Most abolitionist women drew inspiration from it, as did advocates of women's equality in general.

Almost from its onset, the war was a conflict of peoples in which the lines between civilian and soldier blurred. Both sides experienced serious political change. The North sought to follow a political party that had not been a majority party, and the political elite of the South attempted to transform the nature and identity of the nation itself. Tens of thousands of white Southerners were driven from their homes, the first of many who would be displaced by the the war. By 1862, some Southern counties had become virtually depopulated. The newspapers of the time attest to the fact that almost all cities or towns had informal refugee encampments in their parks, along the rivers or railroads, or just beyond the cities themselves. The refugee population depended almost entirely on the resourcefulness of women in finding sources of income. In such circumstances, the adult male population almost always entered the army, leaving the women and children to make their own arrangements. As was the norm in American society, as the populations grew, these communities became increasingly segregated by race.

The Federal expansion of its war goals to include slave liberation effectively invited African Americans to run away to these floating communities. They did so. Many of the Federal volunteers of "African Descent" were recruited from runaways, which left women to fend for themselves and to negotiate arrangements with the local military and civilian authorities. Many of these floating communities moved with the armies. Employment with the military provided an important alternative to a sedentary refugee life. Cooks, laundresses, clerical workers, teachers, and other women provided the Civil War armies and their floating communities with vital functions. In addition, some women—nobody knows exactly how many—actually cross-dressed and joined the military, often being discovered only when being medically treated.

The Civil War also saw the growth of the sex industry. The postwar hegemony of Victorian values among the respectable middle and upper classes later obscured the extent to which the sex industry provided an essential alternative for many women. An evening of prostitution could earn more than a week of factory or domestic labor. Estimates suggest that about 5 to 10 percent of young females in large cities engaged in prostitution at some point. Sources indicate that most of these were single, native-born, and recently arrived in the city. For most, prostitution represented a temporary expedient, to which they resorted until they could maintain themselves and any dependents through more socially acceptable employment or marriage. Clearly, many poor and working-class people, not yet overwhelmed by middle-class aspirations and values, tended to accept prostitution as a pragmatic measure. Among them, it did not permanently mar

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a woman or exclude her as a proper subject for courtship, marriage, and motherhood.

In the generation before the war, the unregulated boardinghouse subculture of young men created a market among "sporting males." By the time of the war, New York had over five hundred brothels catering to the high end of this market, advertising in guidebooks and the newspapers. Proportionate numbers appeared in cities and towns across the country, in the North and South. Wartime conditions created an immensely expanded market for prostitution by removing millions of men from their families and depriving millions of women of the support of male breadwinners. The problem became particularly acute in the devastated border and Southern communities, with their large populations of displaced persons. On the most pragmatic level, the Union army sought to protect the health of its troops through well regulated and medically serviced prostitution, notably in Nashville and Memphis, but also in Washington where General Joseph Hooker concentrated the industry in "Hooker's division" at the nation's capital.

Not all women turned to prostitution to support themselves. Many middle-class women had pursued a series of philanthropic projects in the generation leading up to the Civil War. These women focused their energies on causes such as the relief and moral elevation of the poor and "fallen women." With the war, philanthropic women extended their efforts to aid the soldiery, the families of soldiers, and refugees. Organizations like the United States Sanitary Commission and the United States Christian Commission took form in the Northern states to aid Union troops. While clergy and other prominent men associated their names with such efforts, women performed almost all of the associations' work, including their management. Southern women engaged in similar aid work, albeit without creating such overarching organizations.

The war largely subsumed the efforts of women's rights advocates like Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who had long been ardent abolitionists. With the start of 1863, Federal war goals expanded to include slave emancipation. On May 14, Anthony, Stanton, and others formed the National Women's Loyal League, which eventually claimed five thousand members and organized the "Mammoth Petition" to Congress, with some four hundred thousand signatures advocating an amendment to the Constitution to abolish slavery. The petition process contributed to the permanent transformation of the labor of African Americans and raised the question of equal rights. The experience and its ideological dynamic shaped the postwar emergence of the woman suffrage movement in the North.

However clear the impact of the Civil War was on race, gender, and labor, the limits of that impact remained uncertain. Emancipation became national and extended to formal civic equality for African Americans, but equality did not apply to African American women, who found their position no more equal in relation to men than that of free women of all races before the war. The elimination of slavery refocused the labor question on wage labor. Yet the extent to which formal citizenship and voting could address the problems of labor remained uncertain. After all, voting had proved inadequate to resolving the question of slavery.

Working women had participated in strikes and short-lived labor organizations since the 1820s, but the Civil War coincided with the explosive appearance of women in the labor movement. Under the protection of paternalistic expectations, working-class women had long participated in some of the most militant strike activities, events that would have brought the law down on the strikers themselves, like the efforts to prevent strikebreaking. For example, faced with an escalating wartime cost of living, coal miners near Kewanee, Illinois, went on strike in 1863, only to find that the employers were recruiting scabs and trying to keep the mines operating. At that point, the miners' wives and female family members threatened the strikebreakers with stones and other objects. They successfully chased off the strikebreakers and attacked one of the owners.

However, the war years also saw massive numbers of working women striking for themselves. Some two to three thousand women dramatically made their appearance as participants in the shoe strike of fifteen to eighteen thousand workers in

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New England. Starting in February 1860, the strike lasted for weeks and spread across the region, though it centered in Lynn, Massachusetts, where a large contingent of women marched through the streets under banners demanding their rights as women as well as workers.

In addition, the local press of Philadelphia, New York, Washington, and other Northern cities recorded accounts of activism among women workers throughout the war. The government reduction of wages for women employed at Philadelphia's Schuylkill Arsenal inspired a protest meeting at Temperance Hall in September 1861. However, their protest was aimed not at a wartime wage reduction for those employed at government workshops, but at the expanding reliance on private contractors. Similar concerns inspired the 1863 formation of the New York Working Women's Protective Union. Led by middle-class women and clergymen, the organization sought to address the problems of the lowest-paid contract working women. They functioned as something of a benevolent society and also as an employment agency to encourage the better-paying contractors. The organization continued for decades.

Such efforts had a positive impact. In November 1863, about three hundred young women producing haircloth went on strike at some of the New York City shops for an additional 5¢ per yard. The *New York Times* noted that some of them were making as little as $1.50 per week and urged support not only for the women workers but for the underpaid females generally in the workforce. Nowhere in the Union was the cost of living more devastating than in Washington. Also in late 1863, employees at the Government Printing Office and on various construction projects demanded a wage increase to keep up with growing expenses. Among the former were about six hundred bookbinders, male and female.

The similar desire to adjust wages because of the increasing cost of living swept the country the following spring. The March and April 1864 strike movement in St. Louis, Missouri, involved tailors, shoemakers, machinists, and blacksmiths, and it led to military intervention against the strikers by the local authorities. A key issue among the tailors was the new wartime practices of hiring girls as apprentices. Largely led by socialists, the St. Louis tailors objected not to the introduction of female labor into the shops, but to their being paid less than men. However, after a month, the employers offered a pay increase but refused to recognize the union or change the practice of paying women less than men. The Typographical Union at Chicago proved to be less enlightened. In an effort to undercut the union, the "Copperhead" Democratic *Chicago Times* trained women as typesetters and then provoked a strike. When the union went on strike, the *Times* discharged the strikers and hired forty women. The presence of women in the printing trades would only grow; the postwar Typographical Union's decision to establish separate women's locals proved inadequate, but it represented a logical extension of the paternalism among male trade unionists that would take time to fade.

One of the features of the wartime American labor movement was that some women from privileged backgrounds with adequate leisure time began taking an active interest in the questions of social class and poverty. They did so not merely as philanthropists but as active labor reformers in their own right, ready to encourage workers to elevate their own condition through collective action. In so doing, these activists also planted the seeds of division within the women's movement.

The Civil War resolved on the battlefield sectional rivalries that reflected pervasive social tensions. Although the changing status of women in society and its economy was part of the process, the conflict centered on the political survival of the United States and on the enslavement of African Americans. However, the necessities of war accelerated these changes, alternately coaxing and forcing women into new roles, although the nature and pace of the changes varied with sectional, community, racial, and ethnic considerations. At the same time, the abolition of slavery opened the opportunity for an egalitarian rethinking of gender and labor, as well as of race. The Civil War also established a common national set of white, Christian, and middle-class values that idealized womanhood in a way that left the concerns of most women in continued obscurity.

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See also African American Women; Aid Societies; Anthony, Susan B. (1820–1906); Bread Riots; Camp Followers; Confederate Homefront; Contrabands; Domesticity; Factory Workers, Northern; Factory Workers, Southern; Family Life, Confederate; Family Life, Union; Farm Work; Female Combatants; Immigrant Women; Military Invasion and Occupation; National Women's Loyal League [Women's National Loyal League]; Nonslaveholding Southerners; Northern Women; Nurses; Politics; Prostitution; Refugees; Roswell Women; Rural Women; Separate Spheres; Sherman, William Tecumseh (1820–1891); Slaveholding Women; Southern Women; Stanton, Elizabeth Cady (1815–1902); Teachers, Northern; Teachers, Southern; Thirteenth Amendment; Treasury Girls; Union Homefront; United States Christian Commission; United States Sanitary Commission; Urban Women, Northern; Urban Women, Southern; Walker, Mary Edwards (1832–1919).

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Wartime Literature

The Civil War inspired authors in the North and South. Literally thousands of works of Civil War literature have been published since the war erupted in 1861. In 1986 Albert Menendez identified no less than 1,028 works of "patriotic gore," as Edmund Wilson fittingly called them. In the twenty years since Menendez's catalogue emerged, the numbers have only grown. Moreover, many works of Civil War literature are nonfictional accounts, excluding them by definition from Menendez's tally.

Though the Civil War spawned a distinct genre of literature written by both Northern and Southern authors in relatively equal numbers, the tone and tenor of such literature depended greatly on the region from which the author emerged. Even among authors from the same region, there were many variations. For example, two distinct patterns can be seen among white Southern authors. Some treat the Civil War as a starting point from which to look forward to the future with hope and excitement; for others, a nostalgic but prolific minority, the Civil War was the tragic end of an era. The latter authors' writings were dominated by a romanticized view of the past that was "gone with the wind." By contrast, among African American Southerners and many white Northern authors, wartime literature, especially that written during and immediately after the war, was characterized by a focus on the institution of slavery and its ills, and African American authors often included the continued condemnation of the situation of African Americans in America or looked with excitement to a future of equality.

Regardless of the author's place of residence, Civil War literature can be categorized according to three criteria: form, date of publication, and theme. At times the categories coincide; at other times they do not. For example, one can find many works that deal with the battles of the war and that are based on personal reminiscences in the works appearing in the

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first wave of publication. Yet it cannot be said that all battle-themed works or even all works based on personal reminiscences were published in the 1860s. Mary Johnston's *Long Roll* (1911) and *Cease Firing* (1912) are examples of battle-themed works that appeared during the second phase of publication.

Civil War literature can also take two forms. The first includes novels or works of nonfiction in which the author writes based on his or her own recollections of war or on the collective recollections of his or her family or community. Mary Johnston's works are examples of this form of Civil War literature. She based her novels on the battlefield experiences of her father, Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston. Mary Chesnut's nonfiction writings, *Diary from Dixie* (1904), also belongs to the first form of Civil War literature.

The second form of Civil War literature includes works in which the author uses the war to provide the background for developing the novel's characters. Most of the works that comprise this form of Civil War literature are by definition fiction. The war in these works is secondary to the other details of the novel. Writing much later than Johnston, Caroline Gordon's *None Shall Look Back* (1937) is an example. She uses the war only as background material for the development of her characters, and the war does not figure into the plot of the novel. Grace King's *The Pleasant Ways of St. Médard* (1916) is another example of work that epitomizes this form.

Civil War literature can also be categorized according to the wave of publication. Although Civil War literature has emerged in every decade since the 1860s, there are three distinct waves of publication. The first includes works published during and immediately after the war. Very often, the authors of this period were women who wrote in the sentimental tradition, justifying the actions of their armies and celebrating the Christian sacrifice and pride of the citizens and armies of their section. Among many Northern writers, specific focus was often placed on the persecution of Unionists in the South and the rightness of the goal of abolition, as demonstrated in Louisa May Alcott's "The Brothers." Among many Southern authors, honoring the heroism of Confederate troops in the midst of defeat was common.

The second phase of Civil War literature includes works published during the years after the close of Reconstruction through the turn of the century. Though not the longest, the second phase was the most prolific in terms of works published in proportion to the length of the publication period. Although not all the authors of this period were Southern, the Southern point of view dominated it. Not coincidentally, the second phase coincided with the emergence of Jim Crow laws, the rise of Confederate patriotic groups like the United Daughters of the Confederacy, and the New South Movement. Multitudes of novels and short stories, along with numerous diaries, memoirs, and personal reminiscences, were published during this phase, especially just before the turn of the century. Many female authors, both professional and amateur, wrote during this phase. Although published authors of this period often had a tenuous connection to the actual experiences of the war, their writings were still tinged by the viewpoints, traditions, and lore of their hometowns, counties, states, or regions.

The third phase of publication is the modern period. It began just after World War I and it continues today. Because of the temporal distance from the war era, most works published by modern authors use the war merely as a background to develop characters, although numerous memoirs, diaries, journals, and reminiscences were published during this period by historians or descendants of the original authors.

In addition to categorizing works by their form or their phase of publication, one can also categorize Civil War literature by the themes explored. Among the numerous themes, subthemes, and variations of themes in Civil War literature, there are at least eight prominent themes or subjects. The first three themes, all of which emerged during and in the immediate aftermath of the war, are interconnected. The first theme includes unabashedly partisan reactions to the war. Literature with this theme emanated primarily from female authors writing in the sentimental tradition. The works often sprang up almost immediately after the start of the war,

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and Southern women were especially talented at utilizing the theme. The second and third themes, abolitionism and Southern Unionism, also emerged during and immediately after the war. Works employing these themes came almost exclusively from Northern authors.

Wartime literature was not always confrontational or explicitly political. The reunion of the country through North–South love is the fourth theme. Works using this theme promoted a peaceful national reunion through the romantic reunion of a Northern man and a Southern woman. Judged by the frequency of its occurrence, it was the most popular theme during the second phase of publication, when there was a wave of interest in works dominated by ideas of sectional reconciliation. This theme became especially popular in stories published after the war by Southern authors or in Southern literary journals. Southern author Thomas Nelson Page especially excelled at this theme, though the theme of North–South love appeared in the works of Northern authors as well. Such works most often used the symbolism of marriages between Southern female characters and Northern male characters to promote the idea that sectional reconciliation was possible and even desirable. Within works dominated by the symbolism of reconciliation was embedded the assumption that there was glory enough to go around to all soldiers regardless of which side they supported.

The fifth and sixth themes are closely linked: costume fiction, or the casting of ordinary male and female characters into incredible situations of bravery and daring, and the recounting of military campaigns or battles to highlight characters' heroism. As these themes grew in popularity, especially during the second phase of publication, the exploits of heroes and heroines often became more and more incredible. Modern authors have also utilized these themes in works published during the third phase of publication.

The seventh theme, sentimental romanticism about the prewar era, generally appeared in conjunction with another theme, usually that of reconciliation through North–South love. It was especially popular among Southern authors during the second phase of publication. Through works invoking sentimental romanticism, the history of the antebellum South was virtually rewritten, primarily because the Old South had indeed passed away. Whether authors portrayed it realistically became irrelevant to readers. The land of beautiful Southern belles, gallant Southern gentlemen, and happy slaves, as often portrayed by Southern authors, did not need to have actually existed. It needed only to have existed in the authors' minds and thus in the reading public's minds. As such romanticism thrived among Southern authors, interestingly, among many white Northern authors, African American characters and any mention of slavery or abolition as the major accomplishment of the war all but disappeared. Indeed, after the first phase of publication ended, African American characters were rarely the focus of any Civil War literature, save works written by African American authors, until the civil rights movement. When white authors employed African American characters, they were generally auxiliary and too often fell into the "happy darky" stereotype. These images were effectively utilized during the second phase of publication by Thomas Nelson Page and Joel Chandler Harris.

The eighth theme of wartime literature is that of divided loyalties within families and among kin, friends, and communities. Similar to the conflicts highlighted in the theme of reconciliation, familial divisions were often healed as the characters were reunited in the aftermath of the war. The image of the family was perhaps the most often employed literary device in Civil War fiction. How the family, defined not only as the nuclear unit but also as the extended family of ancestors and future generations, was affected by the war serves as the focal point for many war novels. Furthermore, this theme can be found in all three phases of publication.

In fact, the characters' sense of family is persistently the key to both Southern and Northern authors' group portrayals of their societies. For many of these writers, the family served as a symbol of the Union. When the Union entered a crisis, the family unit did so as well, both in practice and in prose. The previously entrenched roles of male breadwinner and female domestic goddess faced a

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critical test as men marched off to war and women found themselves alone to provide for themselves and their children. Among Northern authors, stories of home and family portrayed the house—both individual homes and the metaphorical national one—as divided. Southern novelists had a different take: In their depictions, by contrast, the North invaded the peaceful Southern "home," and individual families were invaded by the loss and eventual death of husbands and sweethearts. In this portrayal of the Southern wartime family, the experiences of women almost always involved bereavement and loss. There is a constant concern with the death, in fact or symbol, of loved ones and how it will affect women's lives. For Southern authors, the defeat of the Confederacy in the war parallels the end of the familial tradition as Southerners knew it, or at least as they imagined they knew it.

Whether well-known or unknown, both professional and amateur writers can be found among the authors of Civil War literature. While many of the United States's major literary figures writing during the war's era paid little attention to the conflict in their works, for others the war was a central motif. Even so, while some authors may have written Civil War literature at one time or another in their careers, very few of them dedicated their entire literary efforts to the genre. Walt Whitman, for example, is best known for his poetry collected and published in *Leaves of Grass* (1855), but he also wrote about the Civil War. The prose work *Memoranda during the War* (1875) and the poems published under the title of *Drum Taps* (1865), *Sequel to Drum Taps* (1865–1866), and *Specimen Days and Collect* (1882) all document his experience of the Civil War in which he served as a clerk and a nurse. Louisa May Alcott also published work on the Civil War, chronicling her war experiences as a nurse for the Union army in Washington, D.C., in *Hospital Sketches* (1863). Although less known than her novels *Little Women* and *Little Men,* which had very little to do with the war, her descriptions in *Hospital Sketches* remain one of the most insightful looks at women's experience in this wartime experience.

Although one might assume that most authors of Civil War literature are male, since battlefields are very often the exclusive arena of men, many women can be found among any comprehensive list of Civil War authors. Women were especially prolific at writing war-themed poetry, and they can be found among the authors of Civil War fiction and nonfiction. Some of the most representative Civil War novels written by women include Louisa May Alcott's *Hospital Sketches* (1863) and *Work, a Story of Experience, 1861–73* (1873); Rita Mae Brown's *High Hearts* (1986); Willa Cather's *Sapphira and the Slave Girl* (1940); Ellen Glasgow's *The Battleground* (1902); Caroline Gordon's *None Shall Look Back* (1937); Frances Ellen Watkins Harper's *Iola Leroy, or Shadows Uplifted* (1892); Mary Johnston's *The Long Roll* (1911) and *Cease Firing* (1912); Margaret Mitchell's *Gone with the Wind* (1934); Mary Noailles Murfree's *The Storm Center* (1905); Evelyn Scott's *The Wave* (1929); Molly Elliott Seawell's *The Victory* (1906); Margaret Walker's *Jubilee* (1967); Augusta Jane Evans Wilson's *Macaria; Or, Altars of Sacrifice* (1864); and Lydia Collins Wood's *The Haydock's Testimony: A Tale of the American Civil War* (1907).

Regardless of whether women are the authors of Civil War fiction, they can be found among the main characters in many works of Civil War literature: John Peale Bishop's *Many Thousands Gone* (1931); George Washington Cable's *Dr. Sevier* (1885), *Kincaid's Battery* (1908) and *The Cavalier* (1901); Winston Churchill's *The Crisis* (1901); John William De Forest's *Miss Ravenel's Conversion from Secession to Loyalty* (1867) and *The Bloody Chasm* (1881); Thomas Cooper De Leon's *John Holden, Unionist: A Romance of the Days of Destruction and Reconstruction* (1893); Clifford Dowdey's *Where My Love Sleeps* (1945); William Faulkner's *The Unvanquished* (1938); Colonel William C. Faulkner's *The White Rose of Memphis* (1881); F. Scott Fitzgerald's "The Night before Chancellorsville" (1935); Harold Frederic's *The Copperhead* (1892); Allen Gurganus's *The Oldest Living Confederate Widow Tells All* (1989); Bret Harte's *Clarence* (1896); DuBose Heyward's *Peter Ashley* (1932); John Jakes's *North and South* (1982); Henry James's "The Story of a Year" (1865), "Poor Richard" (1865), and "A Most Extraordinary Case"

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Frances Ellen Watkins Harper (1825–1911) was an African American abolitionist, suffragist, and poet. (Library of Congress)

(1868); Sydney Lanier's *Tiger-Lilies; A Novel* (1867); Thomas Nelson Page's *Meh Lady: A Story of the War* (1893), *Red Rock* (1898), and *Two Little Confederates* (1923); Joseph Stanley Pennell's *The History of Rome Hanks and Kindred Matters* (1944); Allen Tate's *The Fathers* (1938); Albion Winegar Tourgée's *Toinette: A Novel* (1864); Robert Penn Warren's *Band of Angels* (1955); and Stark Young's *So Red the Rose* (1934). The female characters in these works all belie the notion that war is men's domain.

Although some major American literary figures wrote about the war, many more works of Civil War literature were written by amateur authors, most of whom experienced the war firsthand and told their stories in short stories or nonfiction vignettes published during and after the war to a welcoming reading public. These stories and vignettes often told the story of a home invaded by the realities of war—death and destruction—although most sought to reassure Americans that reunion and restoration were possible. There were ample serial publication opportunities for amateur authors of this type of Civil War literature. During the 1860s and 1870s alone, some three hundred such stories appeared in seventeen different literary magazines. Even *Godey's Lady's Book* published a Civil War story, "Thanksgiving," which appeared in 1863. Writers actively pursued the publication of their war stories in literary outlets that ranged from the Southern-oriented *Scott's Monthly* (Atlanta), *Land We Love* (Charlotte), *The Southern Literary Messenger, Eclectic* (and *New Eclectic*), and *Southern Illustrated News, Southern Opinion* (Richmond), *Southern Magazine, Southern Review* (Baltimore), *The Southern Bivouac* (Louisville), *The South-Atlantic* (Wilmington), *Southern Monthly* (Memphis), *Home Monthly* (Nashville), and later *The Confederate Veteran* (Nashville) to the Northern-based and nationally distributed *Atlantic Monthly* and *Continental Monthly* (Boston), *Old Guard, Appleton's, Round Table, Scribner's Monthly* (which became *Century Magazine* in 1881), *Harper's Weekly, Harper's Monthly, The Knickerbocker, Putnam's, The Galaxy,* (New York), and *Lippincott's* (Philadelphia).

Additionally, Southern as well as Northern publishers, especially after the close of Reconstruction, eagerly sought out book-length memoirs, journals, and reminiscences. Just as there were innumerable editions of war-centered fiction by professional and amateur authors, there was also a seemingly insatiable public appetite for published war reminiscences throughout the nation. Although Mary Boykin Chesnut's memoir, *Diary from Dixie* (1904, reissued in 1981 as *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*) is perhaps the best known of women's wartime remembrances, other female diarists also published their journals in the years after the war. Some of the better-known such works include *Belle Boyd in Camp and Prison* (1865) by Confederate spy Belle Boyd; Eliza Frances "Fanny" Andrews' *The Wartime Journal of a Georgia Girl* (1908); Union spy Pauline Cushman's *An Inside View of the Army Police: Thrilling Adventures of Pauline Cushman, the Distinguished American Actress and Famous Federal*

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Spy of the Department of the Cumberland (1864) and *The Romance of the Great Rebellion: The Mysteries of the Secret Service: Pauline Cushman, the Famous Federal Scout and Spy, in the Department of the Cumberland* (1864); Rachel A. Stewart Cline's *1861–1862 Diary* (1862); Pauline DeCaradeuc Heyward's *Journals of Pauline DeCaradeuc (Mrs. J. Gerard Heyward) 1863–1867, 1875–1888* (1928); Lizzie Welcker's *Diary* (1865); Judith W. McGuire's *Diary of a Southern Refugee during the War, by a Lady of Virginia* (1867); Mary Ann Loughborough's *My Cave Life in Vicksburg, with Letters of Trial and Travel* (1864); Kate Cumming's *The Journal of Hospital Life in the Confederate Army in Tennessee* (1866); and Cornelia Phillips Spencer's *The Last Ninety Days of the War in North Carolina* (1866). Additionally, Confederate first lady Varina Howell Davis wrote and published a two-volume biography of her husband, *Jefferson Davis, Ex-President of the Confederate States of America; a Memoir* (1890), whereas Katherine Sherwood McDowell (Sherwood Bonner) published the loosely autobiographical novel, *Like unto Like* (1878).

Many more such diaries have been edited and published by historians or descendants of the diarists in the past few decades, making them available to a still welcoming public. These journals allow scholars and others an inside look at daily life inside the Confederacy and Union both in the battles and on the homefronts. Diaries by spies, nurses, and female soldiers offer details of the warfront by those who experienced it. For example, *A Yankee Spy in Richmond: The Civil War Diary of "Crazy Bet" Van Lew* (1996) offers an inside look at Union espionage in the Confederate capital. *A Woman Doctor's Civil War: Esther Hill Hawk's Diary* (1984) highlights the author's role as both a medical professional and a teacher to freedpeople. Published primary sources also allow an exploration of women's experiences in reconstructing the South during and after the Civil War. In *The Journals of Charlotte Forten Grimké* (1988) and *Sarah Jane Foster, Teacher of the Freedmen: The Diary and Letters of a Maine Woman in the South after the Civil War* (2001), the diarists detail their experiences teaching freedpeople. In addition, many other Northern and Southern women left accounts of their lives on the homefront. These journals illuminate the difficulties faced by women throughout the war, including shortages, invasion, and the loss of loved ones. Many also wrote about their work on behalf of their nation. Some of the better-known of these recently published works include *The Secret Eye: The Journal of Ella Gertrude Clanton Thomas 1848–1889* (1990); *The Civil War Diary of Sarah Morgan* (1991); Cornelia Peake McDonald's *A Woman's Civil War: A Diary with Reminiscences of the War from March 1862* (1992); *A Plantation Mistress on the Eve of the Civil War: The Diary of Keziah Goodwyn Hopkins Brevard, 1860–1861* (1993); *A Confederate Lady Comes of Age: The Journal of Pauline DeCaradeuc Heyward, 1863–1888* (1992); *A Heritage of Woe: The Civil War Diary of Grace Brown Elmore, 1861–1868* (1997); *Sanctified Trial: The Diary of Eliza Rhea Anderson Fain, a Confederate Woman in East Tennessee* (2004). Almost a century and a half after the Civil War, firsthand accounts of the conflict fascinate readers.

Despite the differences in form, the phase of publication, or the theme, what most works of Civil War literature have in common is an emphasis, implicit or explicit, on the experiences of women during the Civil War. Because the Civil War disrupted the homefront, it had the potential to change women's expectations and their roles. During the war, women found themselves facing new choices in terms of their behavior and attitudes. Many of the books, stories, diaries, and memoirs reveal the options that opened up to women because of the war and the life choices that they made as a result.

Jennifer Lynn Gross

See also Abernathy, Martha Stockard (1832–1878); African American Women; Aid Societies; Alcott, Louisa May (1832–1888); Andrews, Eliza Frances ["Elzey Hay"] (1840–1931); Blalock, Malinda [Sam Blalock] (ca. 1842–1901); Boyd, Belle (1844–1900); Breckenridge, Lucy Gilmer (1843–1865); Brevard, Keziah Goodwyn Hopkins (1803–1886); Buck, Lucy Rebecca (1842–1918); Burge, Dolly Sumner Lunt (1817–1891); Chesnut, Mary Boykin (1823–1886); Civilian Life; Confederate Homefront; Cumming, Kate (ca. 1836–1909); Cushman, Pauline [Harriet

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Wood] (1833–1893); Davis, Varina Banks Howell (1826–1906); Diaries and Journals; Dickinson, Emily (1830–1886); Domesticity; Elmore, Grace Brown (1839–1912); Evans, Augusta Jane (1835–1909); Family Life, Confederate; Family Life, Union; Female Combatants; Female Spies; Fiction Writers, Northern; Fiction Writers, Southern; Forten (Grimké), Charlotte L. (1837–1914); Foster, Sarah Jane (1839–1868); Gilman, Caroline Howard (1794–1888); Harper, Frances Ellen Watkins (1825–1911); Holmes, Emma Edwards (1838–1910); Hospitals; House (Fletcher), Ellen Renshaw (1843–1907); Kemble (Butler), Frances "Fanny" Anne (1809–1893); Letter Writing; McDonald, Cornelia Peake (1822–1909); McGuire, Judith White Brockenbrough (1813–1897); Military Invasion and Occupation; Morgan, Sarah Ida Fowler (1842–1909); Northern Women; Nurses; Pickett, LaSalle Corbell (ca. 1843–1931); Plantation Life; Poets, Northern; Poets, Southern; Politics; Religion; Separate Spheres; Slaveholding Women; Southern Women; Southworth, Emma Dorothy Eliza Nevitte (1819–1899); Stone, Sarah Katherine (Kate) (1841–1907); Teachers, Northern; Thomas, Ella Gertrude Clanton (1834–1907); Union Homefront; Van Lew, Elizabeth (1818–1900); Wartime Employment.

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Entries

A

Abernathy, Martha Stockard (1832–1878)

Martha Stockard Abernathy's Civil War diaries offer a contemporaneous depiction of the everyday life of a Southern woman whose husband fought in the war. The diaries portray an intimate Southern perspective of the events in a small Tennessee town, give detailed descriptions of military camps, and provide transcripts of sermons and letters of the time.

Martha James Stockard was born September 18, 1832, in Maury County, Tennessee. She was the daughter of James R. Stockard and Euphence Gilmer Stockard. Her father died when she was young, after which she lived with her aunt, Mary Gilmer, for several years. During this time she received a primary education at the Pulaski Female Academy.

In June 1850, Martha graduated from Columbia Institute with honors. On August 18, 1851, she married Dr. Charles Clayton Abernathy, who had courted her for three years. The couple had three children, two of whom survived into adulthood. Their first child, Charles, born October 7, 1856, died at five weeks of age. Mary Gilmer, or Mollie, was born on October 13, 1857, and Elizabeth Lee (Lizzie) was born January 28, 1860.

When the war broke out, Martha was a twenty-nine-year-old mother of two. The published diary begins on May 7, 1861, with an entry in which she bitterly writes about the North praying for divine help to defeat the South. In her mind, the South was defending its rights and the North had no right to divine intervention. Her strong allegiance to the South is apparent throughout the diaries, but the tone changes as the war progresses. At first optimistic that the South will prevail, her words reveal her growing discouragement and sadness. By August 1862 her journal reflects hopelessness, except for the hope that divine intervention will keep the South from destruction.

A devoutly religious woman, having been converted in 1858 at a revival meeting, Abernathy includes in her diaries prayers, transcribed sermons, and Bible verses that are meaningful to her. Her conviction that God would help the South win the war comes across in an April 1862 entry, written after the Battle of Shiloh. In this and other entries, she asserts her knowledge that God would see to it that the "good" South overcomes the "evil" North.

Two months later, on June 17, 1862, she bid her husband good-bye as he departed to join the Confederate army. Dr. Abernathy's service in the war included a December 3, 1862 appointment to surgeon in the Provisional Army of the Confederate States. He was held as a prisoner of war three times over the course of his tour of service.

Martha Abernathy discontinued her journal sometime in 1862 because of a physical ailment that lasted until her May 14, 1878 death.

Sigrid Kelsey

See also Diaries and Journals; Religion; Shiloh, Battle of (April 6–7, 1862); Southern Women.

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Aid Societies

The American Civil War forever changed Northern and Southern women's lives. Any prewar activities in which women may have engaged—temperance, suffrage, abolition, and religious—were quickly altered by the wartime needs of society. Women formed and joined soldiers' aid societies to provide relief to soldiers and their communities. In the North, many of these local groups supported the United States Sanitary Commission, raising money through a variety of efforts, including sanitary fairs, to help the families, widows, and orphans of soldiers, as well as injured veterans.

Southern women's lives were particularly affected by the war in ways unique to their region. In addition to the fact that the war was primarily fought in the South, the region lacked the industry needed to produce the material for sustaining soldiers and thereby forced women to assume new public roles in the larger war effort. Women offered assistance in large part through the formation of soldiers' aid societies, also known as ladies' aid societies, in communities throughout the South. Southern women immediately went to work for their soldiers, organizing aid societies as the men organized and marched off to war.

Numerous women joined soldiers' aid societies in their locales. These women and their organizations proved critical in sustaining the Confederacy throughout the war. The aid societies' membership included white women from the middle and upper classes who rarely suffered deprivation of any kind. They were women who, in less trying times, complained about having to wear a dress from last season. However, during the war, these women recognized the need to curtail such extravagances, although they managed to maintain the appearance of their class and status in Southern society.

The contributions of soldiers' aid societies were numerous. Members sewed and knitted articles of clothing for soldiers, provided food for them, made cartridges for firearms, assisted with hospital work, and wrote letters for soldiers. They also wrote letters for the illiterate wives of men who had gone to war and read to them letters from the front.

Throughout the war, women's most important role was to "cheer and encourage" soldiers and to do their best to sustain men's morale. When Confederate troops marched through their towns, women lined the road to strew flowers and cheer them on. Their work to provide clothing, sew flags, knit socks, and send food was not simply about supplying troops with materials; it also served to boost soldiers' morale.

As the war neared an end and the social and economic landscape of the South was devastated, soldiers' aid societies continued to tend to the needs of the wounded and dying in their towns. Indeed, before the war had officially ended, women had begun the grisly task of burying the Confederate dead—raising money to build coffins and selecting property in town cemeteries. And it was there, in those cemeteries, that the first monuments to Confederate soldiers were erected.

The Civil War ended in April 1865, but the activity of women did not. North and South, women were irrevocably changed by their wartime efforts. Their work as homemakers and nurturers of children remained important, but women had entered the public arena during the war in an unprecedented way, and they were cognizant of their ability to accomplish good in their communities. Moreover, in the wake of Confederate defeat, the need for women's participation in the rebuilding of the South, especially the morale of white men, took on added importance. Soldiers' and ladies' aid societies did not fold at war's end but were reinvented as memorial associations. Thus began women's new public role as keepers of the faith of Southern nationalism and as preservers of Confederate memory—a role that continued well into the twentieth century.

Karen L. Cox

See also Civilian Life; Columbia Bazaar (January 17–21, 1865); Confederate Homefront; Fairs and Bazaars; Food; Fundraising; Ladies' Memorial Associations; Monuments; Morale; Northern Women; Nurses; Sewing Bees; Shortages; Southern Women; Union Homefront; United Daughters of the Confederacy; United States Sanitary Commission; Wounded, Visits to.

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Alcott, Louisa May (1832–1888)

Abolitionist author Louisa May Alcott recounted her experiences as a wartime nurse in a Georgetown hospital in *Hospital Sketches* (1863). She later published *Little Women* (1868), a novel of four New England sisters coping with the absence of their father during the Civil War.

Born in Germantown, Pennsylvania, on November 29, 1832, Louisa was one of Bronson and Abigail May Alcott's four daughters. The family moved to Boston, where Bronson set up the Temple School. In 1840 they moved to Concord, near friend Ralph Waldo Emerson, but returned to Boston in 1849. Growing up in a progressive abolitionist household greatly influenced the course of Louisa's life.

Alcott began writing at a young age and published her first poem in 1852. Her first book, *Flower Fables,* was published in 1855.

Alcott's frustration with sitting on the sidelines during the war led her to become a nurse for Union soldiers in Washington, D.C. In November 1862, she applied for a nursing position to support the war effort. She accepted a position at Georgetown's Union Hotel Hospital in December. Alcott arrived soon after the Battle of Fredericksburg and served for six weeks as a nurse at the Union Hotel, an early general hospital established during the Civil War to care for soldiers stationed in the vicinity and those wounded on Virginia's battlefields. The hospital could accommodate only two hundred and twenty-five patients at a time. The conditions at the three-story hospital, or Hurly-burly House as Alcott called it, were deplorable. Cold, damp, and dirty, the hospital was filled with odors from wounds, kitchens, washrooms, and stables. Alcott complained that there was no competent leadership to improve conditions and that the indifference of hospital staff only complicated matters. A July 1861 United States Sanitary Commission report on hospital conditions concurred with Alcott's assessment. The Commission found that the building was old and out of repair. In addition, there were no provisions for bathing, the bathrooms were insufficient and defective, and there was no proper morgue.

Louisa May Alcott, Civil War nurse and author, well known for *Little Women*, her novel about four New England sisters coping with the war (1832–1888). (Library of Congress)

Dorothea Dix, the Superintendent of Women Nurses in the Union army, assigned Alcott to work with hospital matron Hannah Ropes at the Union Hotel Hospital. Each nurse was assigned ten patients and worked a day or night shift. Alcott's regular duties included administering medicines and dressing wounds as instructed; cleaning and mending linens; singing lullabies to patients, as well as reading and writing letters for them; and making other preparations for the night.

As the war continued, death from disease grew, and typhoid, malaria, and dysentery became major threats to soldiers and civilians. Typhoid fever, which accounted for 17 percent of patients' deaths in 1861, would cause 56 percent of patients' deaths in 1865. Furthermore, working conditions in

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military hospitals compromised the health of many nurses. On January 7, 1863, Alcott contracted typhoid fever, and she returned to her family in Concord, Massachusetts. Typhoid ended Alcott's hospital career and killed her mentor Ropes. To cure Alcott of typhoid, doctors prescribed heavy doses of a mercurous chloride laxative, called calomel. She recovered but felt the poisoning effects of mercury for the rest of her life. The drug also caused Alcott to have dramatic dreams and visions.

Alcott's bout with typhoid may have ended her nursing career, but it allowed her the opportunity to reflect on hospital conditions and wartime life. Her experiences in Washington proved to be pivotal in shaping her life and writing. The harsh realities of nursing broadened Alcott's views and gave her new insights to the human condition. Unable to pursue a nursing career, Alcott was confined to her hospital room, where she sewed, sitting near a window. Her impressions were recorded in her letters and journals, and she formed the foundation for *Hospital Sketches,* the first public account of hospital conditions during the Civil War. The volume contained a provocative and insightful description of the unprecedented work of Northern women as wartime nurses, and it highlighted hospital practices during the war. First serialized in *The Commonwealth* in May and June 1863, *Hospital Sketches* was published in book form in August 1863. The public's outcry about the conditions revealed in the book led to hospital reform.

The timely publication and positive reception of *Hospital Sketches* created a demand for some of her other short stories written during the war. Alcott further documented her impressions as a nurse in "The Brother, or, My Contraband" (*The Atlantic Monthly,* November 1863) and in "The Hospital Lamp" (*Drum the Beat,* February 24–25, 1864). A collection of her stories was published in 1863 as *On Picket Duty.* In addition, Alcott published *Moods* in 1864.

After the war, Alcott enjoyed huge literary successes. When her publisher asked her to write a "girls story," she fictionalized her experiences growing up with her sisters in Civil War America. Published in 1868, *Little Women,* also published as *Good Wives* in England, delighted readers and became an immediate hit. It became the first enduring classic in American children's literature. Audiences clamored for more, and Alcott continued the story of the fictional March sisters in future volumes. In all, Alcott published more than thirty books and collections of stories.

In the 1870s, Alcott became involved in the woman's suffrage movement. She went from door to door to get women to register to vote. She also contributed articles on the subject to *The Woman's Journal.*

Louisa May Alcott died in Boston on March 6, 1888, two days after her father's death.

Meredith Eliassen

See also Abolitionists and Northern Reformers; Disease; Dix, Dorothea Lynde (1802–1887); Domesticity; Family Life, Union; Fiction Writers, Northern; Northern Women; Nurses; Separate Spheres; Union Homefront; Wartime Literature.

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Alexander, Charles Wesley [Wesley Bradshaw] (1837–1927)

Under the pseudonym Wesley Bradshaw, Charles Wesley Alexander wrote and published romantic and melodramatic Civil War stories of women spies. His mostly Northern heroines are beautiful, brave, and charming.

Born in 1837, little is known about Bradshaw other than his writing. During the war, he lived in Philadelphia, whose city records show his career development: In 1861 he worked as a clerk, in 1862

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as an advertising agent, in 1863 as a reporter, in 1864 as an author, and in 1865 as a publisher. His wartime literary work focused on war-related fiction, history, and biography. His wartime books include *Pauline of the Potomac, or General McClellan's Spy* (1862), *Maud of the Mississippi, a Companion to Pauline of the Potomac* (1863), *The Volunteer's Roll of Honor* (1863), *The Picket Slayer* (1863), *General Sherman's Indian Spy* (1865), and *Angel of the Battle-field: A Tale of the Rebellion* (1865). He also published several broadsides and in 1865 a periodical, *Soldier's Casket.*

There is little evidence that the author's Civil War characters were based on real people. However, at the beginning of *Pauline of the Potomac* (1862), Bradshaw hinted at a basis in fact, asserting that in the tale he had merged stories from real wartime incidents. Some believe that Civil War spy Pauline Cushman served as inspiration for Bradshaw's Pauline D'Estraye, but the two share little in common other than their first names and service as Union spies.

All of Bradshaw's female characters are fearless. They can ride horses and handle guns, and they are athletic as well as beautiful. *General Sherman's Indian Spy* tells the story of Wenonah, a young Indian maiden who assists General William T. Sherman in his 1865 march from Atlanta to Raleigh. In *The Picket Slayer,* Bradshaw introduced one of his few Confederate characters, Mary Murdock. Unlike his glorification of his Northern female characters, Alexander painted Mary as a villain, who displays supernatural powers of evil. Although courageous, she is a "beautiful demon."

Bradshaw's fictional characters display brave devotion to their national causes and patriotic motivations for their spy work. Melodramatic and didactic, the stories never lack high adventure with a moral purpose. Bradshaw's strong female characters served as nurses and spies, and they displayed little fear no matter what their situation. In the postwar era, Alexander continued to venerate women. For example, in *Mattie Stephenson, the Sweet Young Martyr of Memphis: An Account of the Devotion of Miss Martha Stephenson, of Towanda, Illinois* (1873), he told the story of a woman who traveled to Memphis to nurse yellow fever victims. She contracted the fever and died within a month.

Charles Wesley Alexander died in 1927.

Sigrid Kelsey

See also Female Spies; Wartime Literature.

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Allegheny Arsenal, Explosion at (September 17, 1862)

On September 17, 1862, an explosion at Allegheny Arsenal, one of the largest producers of Union munitions, killed seventy-eight workers, nearly all of them young women between the ages of sixteen and twenty.

Between 1861 and 1864, the Arsenal's workforce expanded and diversified. In the summer of 1861, administrators dismissed nearly two hundred boys who had repeatedly disregarded prohibitions against matches and smoking, replacing them with girls and young women, who administrators recognized could work as well as boys but were likely to be more compliant than the boys. Female cartridge makers were the lowest-paid workers in the Arsenal, earning 50¢ a day for their tedious and hazardous work. Most were employed in the main lab, the location of the industrial disaster.

Colonel of Ordnance John Symington and his lieutenants, John Edie and Jasper Myers, ran the Arsenal. Located in Pittsburgh's Lawrenceville community, the Arsenal included a number of buildings. The main laboratory building was separated from the other buildings by a cobblestone roadway that connected the buildings. However, the roadway was made of flinty stone that sparked when horses and wagons delivering materials drove on it. In addition, barrels of gunpowder could leak in the transportation process, and during munitions production gunpowder commonly rose in a fine dust that settled in the buildings and on the roadway. Under such conditions, the likelihood of an

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explosion was ever present, but administrators ignored the dangers in a drive to maintain a high level of production.

After a dry September in 1862, conditions were ripe for an explosion. On September 17, at approximately 2 p.m., a wagon caused sparks that ignited loose gunpowder on the roadway. The explosion set off the Arsenal's main supply of gunpowder. Blasts, which could be heard for miles, occurred in three parts of the building, causing the roof and walls to fall inward.

Employees in the main laboratory rushed the doors to exit the building after the first explosion. Tragically, the rush of people to the inward-opening doors prevented escape and trapped workers. Numerous employees were blown apart, parts of their clothes and bodies found in trees nearby. Many who escaped the building ran from it covered in blood and with their clothes aflame. Family members rushed to the scene to help sisters, mothers, daughters, and friends.

By the end of the afternoon, the explosion and the fire it caused had reduced the laboratory to a smoldering pile of rubble and killed or fatally wounded seventy-eight workers. Fifty-four bodies were so disfigured that they could not be identified. The community buried the unidentified remains in a mass grave in the nearby Allegheny Cemetery. Local newspapers lauded the dead young women as patriotic martyrs.

A coroner's hearing found Symington and his lieutenants guilty of gross negligence for allowing loose gunpowder to accumulate near and in the buildings, but a military investigation exonerated them.

Theresa R. McDevitt

See also Civilian Life; Immigrant Women; Northern Women; Union Homefront; Urban Women, Northern; Wartime Employment.

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Alleman, Matilda "Tillie" Pierce (1848–1914)

Born in 1848 in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, Matilda J. Pierce wrote the quintessential civilian account of the battle there.

The first daughter of butcher James Pierce and Margaret McCurdy Pierce, Tillie and her family lived a comfortable life above James's butcher shop in the town's commercial district. She grew up, as did many of her friends, surrounded by culture, education, and the lure of the outdoors. During her formative years, Tillie played in the gardens and hills surrounding the town with her two brothers, James and William, and her sister, Margaret.

After the Civil War began and Tillie's two brothers enlisted in Pennsylvania regiments, Tillie seemed little bothered by national events. She also had little concern about a possible invasion of Gettysburg, assuming that wartime rumors always proved false. Life in Gettysburg went on during the Civil War much as it had in the antebellum era. Tillie continued her education at the Young Ladies' Seminary until late June 1863.

As soldiers passed through town in late June and early July 1863, Tillie's excitement at the unexpected events grew. Simultaneously, concern for her safety lead Tillie's parents to move her to a more secure area. Ironically, they entrusted Tillie to the care of a neighbor who moved the child to the supposed safety of Jacob Weiker's farm. The Weiker farm lay close to the Roundtops, and as a result Tillie ended up dangerously close to the battle that raged around these hilltops. As the battle progressed and the wounded began to pour into the Weiker farm, Tillie's initial enthusiasm turned to horror. She busied herself bringing water to the men, including General George Meade, and with nursing and comforting the wounded and dying, including Generals Gouverneur K. Warren and Stephen Hinsdale Weed. When the shelling came dangerously close to the farm, Tillie, like many civilians, retired to the basement until it sounded safe to emerge. Tillie also could hear the end of the battle as cheers of joy replaced screaming shells.

Gettysburg was changed forever by the battle. Tillie found the landscape, the architecture, and the population scarred. The experience also scarred her

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psychologically. Following the battle, she busied herself caring for the remaining wounded. In 1871, she married attorney Horace P. Alleman and moved to the small town of Selinsgrove, Pennsylvania, where they raised a family. Despite her new domestic responsibilities, Tillie never forgot her experiences and in 1888 decided to share them by writing her memoirs *At Gettysburg or What a Girl Saw and Heard of Battle.* Tillie died in 1914 and is buried in Selinsgrove's Trinity Lutheran Cemetery.

Cheryl A. Wells

See also Diaries and Journals; Gettysburg, Battle of (July 1–3, 1863); Northern Women; Union Homefront.

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American Colonization Society

The American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Color of the United States, later known as the American Colonization Society (ACS), was formed in 1817, the culmination of more than forty years of debate among black and white intellectuals. The organization proposed sending free and enslaved African Americans to Africa as a way to gradually emancipate slaves and end slavery.

The colonization movement reflected white Americans' optimism about resolving racial problems in American society, their profound ambivalence about African Americans in their midst, and their confident religious convictions. Colonizationists believed that white prejudice against African Americans was so corrupting and absolute that African Americans could never attain equality unless they were removed from white society. Initially, most supporters were convinced that colonization would result in the safe, gradual, and voluntary abolition of slavery, and they argued that colonization would revolutionize African society by introducing republican government and Christian religion. Over the coming decades, however, the colonization movement lost its drive for slavery reform, instead seeking a moderate position between the extremes of immediate abolition and perpetual slavery.

Generally the most active colonization societies were in cities along the Atlantic seaboard. Although there were colonization organizations in rural communities, villages, and small towns, colonization thrived in areas with large or growing numbers of free African Americans and in cities with a close economic connection to the South.

Initially, colonization leaders gave little thought as to how women might contribute to the cause. Despite its posture as a religious and benevolent organization, the colonization society promoted itself as a political movement. The group, headquartered in the nation's capital, held annual meetings in the Hall of the House of Representatives and recruited the political elite as leaders and figureheads. For two decades, ACS members sought Federal support for colonization so aggressively and intently that they made only weak attempts to build local organizations and no appeals to women.

By 1825, with only limited assistance from the Federal government and in need of funds, the ACS finally turned to the public for support while continuing to press the Federal and state legislatures for endorsements and money. When leaders began to recast colonization as a national benevolent movement in the late 1820s, their first appeals were to ministers and women.

As early as 1819, scores of women in the Upper South and Mid-Atlantic states supported colonization with money and goods. Merging missionary convictions and colonization goals, female supporters interpreted their efforts as chiefly religious. Female involvement in colonization in the 1820s was relatively unorganized and confined to a few geographic areas, primarily in the Upper South. By the mid-1830s, however, women's colonization efforts had become more associational and had expanded into the North and West.

The most effective female colonization societies focused on the "feminine" project of education in Liberia. By the mid-1830s, the majority of women's groups looked to societies like the Philadelphia Ladies' Liberia Association as their model and

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focused their efforts on education. As a national association with auxiliaries around the country, the Philadelphia Association was the largest female colonization association. The exceptional organizational skills of several dozen women sustained two girls schools for African American colonists, a school for African children and adults, a manual labor school for boys, and a high school for young men.

Besides forming auxiliary groups, women banded together to raise money for colonization, most often through their churches. Individual women gave small and large sums of money to city and state colonization societies and directly to the ACS. Still others formed African educational societies. While female monetary contributions were mostly small, collectively their contributions provided important assistance to a movement that was often plagued by debt and controversy. Perhaps more importantly, female cooperation legitimized the colonization platform and reinforced the moral and religious claims of the society.

The mobilization of white women that began in the late 1820s culminated not in the formation of a widespread colonization movement among women, but in the active support of denominational missions to Africa. Over the 1830s, the enemies of colonization multiplied in the North and in the South, and internal strife plagued the society. The battle with abolition forces stripped away supporters and confused others. Beset by debt and mismanagement, the society limped through the 1840s. Some female groups continued to gather donations, but annual receipts fluctuated, and many groups dissolved. Even as the ACS declined as a dynamic movement, interest in Africa intensified. Ironically, the idea of colonization as a solution to the race question remained popular even though the society did not.

Karen Fisher Younger

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; African American Women; Aid Societies; Antislavery Societies; Free Blacks; Northern Women; Politics; Religion.

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Andrews, Eliza Frances [Elzey Hay] (1840–1931)

Eliza Frances "Fanny" Andrews, the daughter of a distinguished Georgia planter and jurist who opposed secession, kept a diary recording her experiences in an area increasingly disturbed near the end of the Civil War.

An enthusiastic Confederate, Andrews expressed her own shock and disappointment at the events transforming her world. Her lively narrative style and her involvement with conspicuous events and personalities make her story a particularly valuable account of the last days of Southern plantation society. The drama of her life was made even more complex by the ideological conflict between Eliza and her beloved Unionist father, as well as by her ongoing desire to retain a clear sense of her own identity as she perceived the disintegration of the universe in which she had enjoyed a privileged status.

As the Confederacy fought and lost its last battles, she was forced to make her way home from the southwestern part of the state to Washington, Georgia, across a region disorganized and disrupted by Union incursions and by breakdowns of authority on all levels. On her frenetic way home, she encountered the controversial governor of Georgia, Joseph Brown, the mother-in-law of Jefferson Davis, and a host of other people seeking refuge from the coming chaos. Upon her arrival in Washington, she soon endured the humiliation and danger of a hostile military occupation. In all of her diary entries, however, whether she gloomily lamented the demise of a society she loved or rejoiced in a successful evening with her friends, she was characteristically vigorous, impulsive, and eloquent.

Eliza Andrews was born in 1840 and reached adulthood during a turbulent period first of political conflict and then of outright war. Disturbed by what she and her friends saw as the tyranny of the United States government, she was caught up in the secessionist craze and rejoiced as the Southern states

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Eliza Frances Andrews (1840–1931) kept a diary during the Civil War, recording life in Georgia as the Confederacy collapsed. (Andrews, Eliza Frances, *The War-Time Journal of a Georgia Girl*, 1908)

formed their own government and went to war against the North. As the Confederacy's early military successes gave way to a war of attrition and it became clear that the North would prevail, Andrews remained ardently devoted to the values based on the old traditions of her plantation society. As the Confederacy messily collapsed, she raged against the Yankees and the newly freed slaves, but she also began making quiet but necessary adjustments. For example, she described an early effort to master the skill of housecleaning, an effort that brought her some good-natured ridicule from her aristocratic friends. She also recorded her father's suggestion that she offer for publication in the North an account of the ineptitude and misbehavior of the Federal troops who occupied their neighborhood. She followed his suggestion, and the success of "Romance of Robbery" no doubt confirmed her own sense of competence as a writer, a strength much needed in the postbellum days of disempowerment.

Andrews in fact published extensively during her life, including three novels written under the assumed name of Elzey Hay. Her first novel, *A Family Secret* (1876), was followed by *A Mere Adventurer* (1879) and *Prince Hal; or, The Romance of a Rich Young Man* (1882). During an illness that struck her in 1881, she found comfort in the study of botany, in which field she developed such expertise as to enable her to publish two books on the subject.

Having graduated from LaGrange College in western Georgia, Andrews was well qualified as a teacher, and she taught school in various locations during her life. In 1885, she joined the faculty of Wesleyan College, remaining there until 1896, after which she became a public lecturer, traveling widely both in the United States and abroad. She continued to publish articles well into her old age, and she died in 1931 and was buried with her family in Washington.

Robert W. Haynes

See also Diaries and Journals; Fiction Writers, Southern; Refugees; Sherman's Campaign (1864–1865); Southern Women.

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Andrews, Orianna Moon (1834–1883)

Dr. Orianna Moon Andrews, a Virginia native and 1857 graduate of the Female Medical College in Philadelphia, treated the wounded and supervised nurses in army hospitals in Virginia from 1861 to 1862. Dr. Andrews was the only Virginia woman to hold an M.D. and was likely the only Southern female physician who treated soldiers during the conflict.

A native of Albemarle County, Virginia, Orianna Moon was born into a prominent planter family in 1834. She received her earliest education from

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tutors and decided to study medicine. To prepare for entry into the Female Medical College in Philadelphia, which opened in 1850, she matriculated at the Troy Female Academy in Troy, New York, one of the few women's institutions that provided the necessary courses in mathematics and science. After spending a year at Troy, she returned to Virginia. At age seventeen, she was described as hostile to religion, an opponent of slavery, and a supporter of women's rights. The following year she entered the Medical College with its fourth group of students, becoming only the third Southern woman and the only Virginian to do so. She submitted her thesis in 1856 and graduated the following February. Her graduation made her part of an extremely small cohort of female physicians; only thirty-eight women (including Orianna) had received medical degrees by 1857.

After her graduation, Dr. Moon spent two years traveling abroad in the Middle East and Europe before returning home. In the spring of 1861 she saw a flyer recruiting doctors for the war effort. She began writing letters to Virginia's military commanders offering her services. In late spring, General J. H. Cocke met with her at her home and then spoke about her to Brigadier General P. G. T. Beauregard, commander of the Northeast Virginia Army. Soon afterward Dr. Moon became superintendent of a ward of nurses at a makeshift hospital on the grounds of the University of Virginia in Charlottesville.

Dr. Moon hoped to be closer to the battlefield and in July 1861 informed General Cocke that she was willing to forgo remuneration to follow the army and treat the wounded. Her sister—famous Southern Baptist missionary Charlotte "Lottie" Moon—also wrote to the general asking him to move Dr. Moon closer to the "action of the war." Dr. Moon was never sent to the front, but she continued working in Charlottesville. She left Charlottesville after marrying a hospital colleague, Dr. John Summerfield Andrews, in November 1861 and moving with him to Richmond. There they both worked in an army hospital. Orianna returned to Albemarle County in 1862 to give birth to her first son.

After the war, Orianna and her family moved to rural Tennessee, where she ran a school for the children of freed slaves. A nighttime visit from the local Ku Klux Klan soon prompted the family to relocate. In 1881, they moved back to Albemarle County, where she and her husband set up a joint medical office.

Orianna Moon Andrews died of cancer in 1883.

Regina D. Sullivan

See also Baptist Women; Nurses; Southern Women.

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Anthony, Susan B. (1820–1906)

Abolitionist, temperance, and women's rights reformer Susan B. Anthony was born in Adams, Massachusetts, to Daniel Anthony and Lucy Read.

As a child, Anthony attended home school and later became a student at Deborah Moulson's Female Seminary near Philadelphia. She worked as a teacher in New York until 1849, when she quit to run her father's farm in Rochester. Living at home, she became friends with the leading abolitionists who sometimes attended meetings at the Anthony farm, where they would often discuss women's rights and the abolition of slavery.

Anthony's interest in women's rights blossomed when she met Elizabeth Cady Stanton in the early 1850s. Together they fought for women's rights in New York. To secure married women's property rights, Anthony toured the state, circulated petitions, and gave lectures on the subject. Anthony's hard work paid off in 1860, when the New York State Legislature passed the Married Women's Property Act. Recognizing her organizing and speaking abilities, the American Anti-Slavery Society offered Anthony a position as the chief agent for New York State in 1856. She accepted.

The start of the Civil War halted Anthony's abolition and women's rights work. Abolitionists cancelled scheduled meetings, and she called off the 1861 National Woman's Rights Convention. The fol-

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lowing year Anthony and other abolitionists returned to their work, speaking in favor of the immediate emancipation of slaves, which stood in stark contrast to President Abraham Lincoln's gradual emancipation policy. On January 1, 1863, Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation, freeing slaves in the Confederate states but exempting these in the Union.

The proclamation did not satisfy Anthony or her abolitionist colleagues, who wanted freedom for all slaves. They believed that the United States Congress needed to secure the emancipation of slaves by amending the Constitution. Anthony and Stanton agreed to organize women to stir up interest for a constitutional amendment. They issued a call for a meeting of the women of the Republic, and they assembled in New York in May 1863.

Those who attended the convention formed the National Women's Loyal League; delegates elected Stanton president and Anthony secretary. The goal of the league was to distribute petitions and to obtain signatures of those in favor of a Federal amendment to the Constitution to abolish slavery. Anthony headed the league's effort by writing letters, raising the necessary funds to print and mail petitions, and sending out field-workers. Less than nine months later, the league submitted petitions to Congress bearing the signatures of one hundred thousand individuals. Convinced of the proposal's overwhelming public support, the United States Senate passed the Thirteenth Amendment in April 1864, but the issue went down to defeat in the House of Representatives that June. By August 1864, the league had gathered nearly four hundred thousand signatures, and Anthony closed the league's office. In 1865, the House voted in favor of the Thirteenth Amendment, which was ratified the same year.

In the spring of 1864, as Anthony was working for the league, the American public began to discuss the upcoming presidential election. Although she could not vote, Anthony had a strong interest in the campaign. She believed that the Civil War was a war for freedom, and she opposed the reelection of Lincoln, believing him too conciliatory toward the Confederates. Instead, Anthony favored John C. Frémont, a Union general who had, in 1861, issued

Hailed as "the Napoleon of the woman's rights movement," Susan B. Anthony helped lead the fight for women's suffrage for more than 50 years. (Library of Congress)

an edict freeing the slaves of those who supported the Confederacy in Missouri. She was enthusiastic about his presidential candidacy in 1856 and remained a loyal supporter in 1864. Her support of Frémont was not unusual; other abolitionists like Wendell Phillips and Stanton backed his campaign. Throughout the spring, Anthony and Stanton tried to drum up interest in a Frémont presidency, and, in May 1864, a small group of supporters nominated him. He withdrew from the presidential race in September, and Lincoln was reelected to a second term in 1864.

With the work of the league behind her and the presidential election over, Anthony traveled to Leavenworth, Kansas, where she worked on her brother's newspaper. She returned home when she learned about the Fourteenth Amendment, which would, for the first time, introduce the word "male" into the Constitution. Anthony and Stanton opposed the amendment, a decision that put both

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women at odds with their former allies who had previously supported women's enfranchisement. Abolitionists and many Republicans declared the postwar period the Negro's hour and refused to support universal suffrage, that is, voting rights for African Americans and women.

Daunted but not dismayed, Anthony and Stanton held the first women's rights convention since the start of the Civil War. Delegates to the convention agreed to form the American Equal Rights Association, linking the causes of African Americans' and women's suffrage. The group began a campaign to remove the racial and sex-related restrictions placed on voters in their state constitutions. Anthony began to circulate petitions to delete the word "male" from the New York State Constitution. The issue was defeated. Later she headed to Kansas with Stanton, where they battled to secure the passage of two amendments to the state constitution: one to enfranchise African Americans and another to enfranchise women. Kansas voters opposed both issues in 1867, and the Kansas campaign helped to divide suffragists. Anthony, Stanton, and their allies began to recognize that the abolitionists would not support woman suffrage, and, as a result, the Kansas campaign helped foster an independent feminist movement.

In spite of their opposition to the Fourteenth Amendment, it was ratified and became part of the Constitution in 1868. When the Fifteenth Amendment—providing that a citizen may not be excluded from voting because of race, color, or "previous condition of servitude"—was introduced in Congress, Anthony and Stanton denounced it, using racist and elitist arguments to oppose it. The issue of African American suffrage and the Fifteenth Amendment split suffragists into those who favored the Fifteenth Amendment and those who opposed it. In 1869, the split led to the creation of two separate suffrage associations: the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) and the American Woman Suffrage Association. Anthony and Stanton headed the NWSA, and they continued to work for woman suffrage. Anthony died in 1906.

Jennifer Ross-Nazzal

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; Fifteenth Amendment; Fourteenth Amendment; National Women's Loyal League [Women's National Loyal League]; Northern Women; Stanton, Elizabeth Cady (1815–1902); Thirteenth Amendment.

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Antietam/Sharpsburg, Battle of (September 17, 1862)

The bloodiest one-day battle in the American Civil War, the Battle of Antietam, also known as Sharpsburg, resulted in a standstill in Maryland. Several women fought in the battle, and in its aftermath civilian aid workers, including many women, rushed to the scene. Among them was Clara Barton, whose dedication to the wounded exemplified the work of hundreds of nurses.

General Robert E. Lee initiated the Antietam campaign, in part to spare Virginians from the ravages of a harvesttime campaign. Lee crossed the Potomac into Maryland on September 4, 1862. Realizing that his supply line with the Confederacy would be threatened by the Union garrison at Harpers Ferry, Lee detached a segment of his command under General Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson to capture the town along with its munitions and supplies. Union General George B. McClellan protected Washington and was ordered to eject Confederate invaders from Maryland.

On September 14, while the armies of Lee and McClellan met at South Mountain, Jackson's Con-

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federate troops completed their encirclement of Harpers Ferry. Surrounded on all sides and shelled by artillery, the garrison surrendered the next morning. Jackson left a division of troops at Harpers Ferry and rushed the remainder of his command to Sharpsburg, where Lee was concentrating his forces.

Situated between the Potomac River and Antietam Creek, Sharpsburg lay seventeen miles north of Harpers Ferry. As Jackson's troops arrived piecemeal, they were placed in battle line to await the Union advance. Lee took a defensive position on the west of the creek with his right flank in the woods north of Sharpsburg and his left one on bluffs overlooking the creek below the town.

At dawn on September 17, McClellan ordered his Union troops to attack Lee's left flank. Lee had approximately 35,000 men to McClellan's 71,500. Fighting swung back and forth, each side sustaining severe casualties. By midmorning, the fighting had shifted toward the middle of the Confederate line. Entrenched along an eroded farm road—called the Sunken Road—Lee's forces held off assaults from various Union divisions. When the Confederates were finally forced to withdraw from their position, dead defenders filled the road, earning the area the name the Bloody Lane.

The battle shifted to the southern end of the field, where Union General Ambrose E. Burnside attempted to cross Antietam Creek and assault Lee's right flank. Burnside sent his soldiers across a narrow stone bridge protected by Confederate defenders along a high bluff. Persevering soldiers suffered heavy casualties but finally took control of "Burnside's Bridge." By midafternoon, McClellan's troops were poised to drive toward Sharpsburg and cut off Lee's retreat when the last remnant of Confederate troops from Harpers Ferry under A. P. Hill arrived and clashed with Burnside's advancing command, forcing a Union withdrawal.

The battle concluded with Lee's army intact. By the end of the day almost all the buildings in the surrounding countryside had been turned into makeshift hospitals, with civilians and doctors doing their best to comfort the wounded. In the midst of the battle, having followed the sound of gunfire, Clara Barton had arrived on the scene and worked to aid the wounded. She put herself in harm's way, working to help the wounded even before the fighting had ended. As she nursed the troops, Barton braved and eluded flying projectiles and, in an especially close call, a bullet that clipped her sleeve.

During the fighting, Sarah Emma Edmonds (Frank Thompson) fought along with at least three other women. Like other female soldiers, their battlefront experiences typically went unnoticed until either years later or until tragedy occurred. The latter was the case for Mary Galloway, whose sexual identity was discovered when Barton tried to treat the dying soldier's wounds.

President Abraham Lincoln claimed victory after Lee crossed back into Virginia during the night of September 18, and he used the victory as the occasion to issue the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation.

Kanisorn Wongsrichanalai

See also Barton, Clara (1821–1912); Bull Run/Manassas, Second Battle of (August 29–30, 1862); Emancipation Proclamation (January 1, 1863).

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Antislavery Societies

Abolitionists formed antislavery societies because they believed collective action to be the most effective method of ending slavery. These societies brought abolitionists together to coordinate activities like fundraising events, petition drives, and public awareness campaigns. Eighteenth-century societies emphasized legislative action, gradual emancipation, and abolition of the slave trade. Those formed in the nineteenth century, the era most commonly associated with organized antislavery activity, varied in

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their goals and methods of emancipation, but all agreed that slavery needed to end. During the 1830s, large numbers of associations formed on local, state, and national levels. The antebellum abolitionist movement included women, black and white, as organizers of antislavery societies and fundraisers for the cause.

Early societies like the Pennsylvania Abolition Society (PAS), formed in 1775, and the New York Manumission Society (NYMS), organized in 1774, emphasized legislative action, gradual emancipation, and the abolition of the international slave trade. Their members were elite, white men who were often Quakers. Compared to the second-generation societies of the 1830s, the activities of these prominent organizations appear strikingly conservative. The NYMS and the PAS argued for the gradual abolition of slavery and fought to end the international slave trade, two issues abolitionists believed were intimately connected. Additionally, the societies established schools for free blacks and provided legal assistance to blacks in the courts.

In contrast with their antecedents, antebellum antislavery societies, recruited members across broad lines of race, class, and gender. Nineteenth-century antislavery societies differed in their methods and desired results of emancipation. Some pushed for gradual emancipation, and others stressed the need for immediate emancipation. In addition, some moderate abolitionists believed that the colonization of freed slaves was the only option. As a result, several prominent men met in December 1816 and founded the American Colonization Society (ACS) to establish an American colony in Africa for free blacks. These moderate abolitionists hoped that slaveholders would be encouraged to emancipate their slaves if the freed slaves left the United States for an African colony. This colonization plan would reduce the population of free blacks in the United States, thus addressing a fear held not only by Southerners, but also by many Northerners. The movement gained popularity with reformers, who hoped to end slavery but who did not necessarily support racial equality.

Colonization never gained the support of African American activists, who feared that blacks would be forced to emigrate. In addition, many antislavery activists—black and white—believed the ACS was antiblack, not antislavery. During the 1820s, black abolitionists were the primary opponents of the colonization movement, whose popularity forced them to organize into anticolonization groups. This organizational activity had a significant impact on the antislavery societies that formed in the 1830s. When the New England Anti-Slavery Society (NEASS), the first of the second-generation antislavery societies, organized in 1832, 25 percent of the initial signers were black.

Radical abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison condemned the ACS for its failure to condemn slaveholding as a sin. The racist spirit of the ACS, Garrison argued, assumed that whites and blacks could not live together. As evidence, Garrison quoted the society's own statements of horror at the prospect of a large black population resulting from abolition without colonization. In 1831, with the inaugural issue of his abolitionist newspaper, *The Liberator,* Garrison called for an immediate end to slavery. Influenced by the religious revivals of the 1820s, Garrison and other radical abolitionists called for the immediate and uncompromising end to the sin of slavery.

To these ends Garrison helped form the New England Anti-Slavery Society in 1832, the first of many antislavery organizations to take an uncompromising stand against slavery. In 1833, Garrison, Arthur and Lewis Tappan, and other abolitionists met in Philadelphia to organize the American Anti-Slavery Society (AASS). The AASS adopted a constitution and a Declaration of Sentiments written by Garrison, who would soon become the primary spokesperson for the organization. Like the NEASS, the AASS counted black abolitionists and women among its members; however, the role of women in the AASS as well as in the state societies would become a critical question as the 1830s drew to a close.

Women's involvement in the nineteenth-century antislavery movement built on established forms of female activism. White upper-class women had been involved in benevolent associations since the 1790s, performing community service for the bene-

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fit of women and children in particular. For example, women helped establish schools for the lower classes, and they supported the free produce movement, a boycott of slave-produced products, thus using their domestic role to strike an economic blow against slavery. From the beginning, Garrison and others actively recruited women into antislavery societies, employing gender-based tactics to invoke the sympathy of female abolitionists for female slaves. In 1832, Garrison established a women's department within the pages of *The Liberator* to encourage and recruit women for the antislavery movement. Garrison and other male abolitionists used images of female slaves beaten with whips and held in chains to gain the sympathy and support of women.

In addition to their participation in state and national societies, women often formed female antislavery societies as auxiliaries to the larger male-dominated societies. For example, women founded the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society in 1833 as an auxiliary to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. Prominent members included Helen Garrison, Maria Weston Chapman, Louisa Sewell, and Lydia Maria Child. The society's work followed the traditional pattern of women's antislavery societies: organizing antislavery fairs to raise funds for the state society, circulating petitions to collect the signatures that the male societies presented to Congress, aiding in the creation and distribution of antislavery literature, and establishing organizations like the Samaritan Asylum for indigent black children. Women, like their male counterparts, joined antislavery societies for a variety of reasons, including a sense of upper-class noblesse oblige, religious conviction, hatred of racism and slavery, or following the lead of friends and families who had joined similar organizations. Similarly, the membership of women's organizations might be biracial, segregated, or integrated. Antislavery societies, regardless of gender, varied in membership and convictions reflecting the diverse interests drawing people to the antislavery cause. Many women's antislavery societies, as the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society did in 1835, joined male societies to fight the American Colonization Society. But differences in tactics and views, especially as the tactics related to women's involvement in antislavery societies, led to deep divisions in the American antislavery movement.

Many people saw women's participation in the abolitionist movement as an extension of feminine domestic roles. Although initially women served supporting roles in organizations, they assumed a more active role in antislavery societies, lecturing to mixed gender audiences and holding leadership positions in the state and national organizations. Eventually, debates about the role of women and their tactics in general caused fractures in the movement.

In 1836, Garrison hired Angelina and Sarah Grimké as lecturers for the AASS. As members of a well-known South Carolina slaveholding family, the Grimké sisters were powerful spokespersons for the antislavery cause. Their lectures had an authenticity that made the pair favorites on the antislavery lecture circuit. Within a short time, the women attracted large "mixed" audiences, along with a rebuke from the Congregational clergy of Massachusetts for their "unladylike" behavior. The sisters, who believed they were doing God's work, refused to stop lecturing. However, the clerical denunciations brought the "woman question" into sharp relief, as other women joined the Grimké sisters in stepping beyond the boundaries of conventional female behavior through work in antislavery societies.

The Anti-Slavery Conventions of Women held in 1837, 1838, and 1839 signaled the growing involvement of women in the movement. The convention speeches encouraged traditional antislavery activism, and delegates passed resolutions to abolish slavery in Washington, D.C., and in the territories. Delegates also passed a resolution calling on women to play a more public role in the movement. The first convention, held in 1837, drew two hundred women. A year later, more than three hundred women attended the second convention; however, the success of the event was marred by mob violence. In an attempt to quell the controversy over the Grimké sisters' lectures, convention organizers had encouraged men to attend a public but not officially sponsored session. Historians attribute the riots at the second convention to protests over the Grimké sisters, the public

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role antislavery women were assuming, and the presence of proslavery apologists. The violence at the second convention made locating the third convention difficult, and a much smaller crowd attended in 1839. Splits in the American antislavery movement contributed to the demise of the women's conventions.

In May 1840 conservative members of the AASS left to form the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society (AFASS). The AASS, under the leadership of Garrison continued to recruit all abolitionists, regardless of their religious, social, and political views. Membership in the AASS required only a desire to abolish slavery. As a result, the society attracted not only antislavery activists, but also women's rights and peace activists, among others. The conservative AFASS, under the leadership of Lewis Tappan, argued that other reform movements threatened the antislavery cause and stressed that the antislavery movement needed to remain orthodox and compatible with traditional views of issues. Embracing causes like women's rights, they asserted, might alienate the general Northern public. The AFASS also emphasized political action and formed the first antislavery party, the Liberty Party.

In 1840, events in the worldwide abolition movement also proved pivotal to the "woman question." As early as 1839, members of the newly formed British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society (BFASS) discussed the possibility of hosting a World's Anti-Slavery Convention for the purpose of strengthening the international movement against slavery. The BFASS, particularly British abolitionist Joseph Sturge, organized the world gathering. Dubbed the London Committee, the organizers gathered information and statistics about slavery and the slave trade from throughout the world. Additionally, the London Committee provided tickets only to recognized members of antislavery organizations and made it clear that only male delegates would be seated. The AASS selected a pro-woman's rights delegation, including Lucretia Mott, Wendell Phillips, and Garrison. However, Garrison and many of his close associates delayed their departure for the convention because of the mid-May meeting of the AASS, which ultimately gave the more radical Garrison control of the society. Garrison arrived on the fifth day of the convention to find that the London Committee had refused to seat his organization's female delegates. In protest, Garrison sat in the balcony with the ladies rather than enter the convention and be seated with the other delegates.

The first World's Anti-Slavery Convention included discussions of free labor as a means of combating slavery. In addition, delegates decried the role of the churches in supporting slavery in the United States. Delegates issued admonitions, memorials, and addresses to the people of Great Britain and the United States, but ultimately the convention could do little more than continue the moral and political campaign against slavery where it existed. A second World's Anti-Slavery Convention was held in London in 1843, and Garrison and his followers were not invited. The American delegation, led by Tappan representing the AFASS, discussed the possible annexation of Texas by the United States and the ongoing failure of American churches to take a stand against slavery and slaveholders. However, by 1843, the heyday of antislavery societies had clearly waned. Despite the weakening of the movement in the 1840s as a result of the schism in the American antislavery movement, antislavery societies remained active throughout the Civil War, keeping the abolition of slavery ever present in civic and political debates.

Julie Holcomb

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; African American Women; Child, Lydia Maria Francis (1802–1880); Garrison, William Lloyd (1805–1879); Grimké (Weld), Angelina (1805–1879); Grimké, Sarah Moore (1792–1873); Mott, Lucretia Coffin (1793–1880); Northern Women.

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Atlanta, Evacuation of (Special Field Orders Number 67)

On September 8, 1864, United States Major General William T. Sherman issued Special Field Orders Number 67, evacuating the civilian population of Atlanta, Georgia. This evacuation order was one of several cases in which a military officer attempted to extend his control through the forced evacuation of an occupied area's civilian population.

On September 1, 1864, Confederate General John Bell Hood and his Army of Tennessee evacuated Atlanta, Georgia, after a long four-month campaign to defend the city and its valuable rail lines. As the Southern troops retreated, Mayor James M. Calhoun rode out beyond the battered entrenchments to find the nearest Federal unit. When he encountered a Union skirmish line belonging to the Twentieth Army Corps, he immediately surrendered the city. By nightfall, Union soldiers were in control of the Gate City of the South.

The city of Atlanta was an important rail center with the confluence of four railroads: the Georgia, Atlantic & West Point, Macon & Western, and Western & Atlantic. The war having turned the city into a major supply center for the Confederacy, Atlanta was home to an arsenal and to numerous businesses that catered both to the Confederate military and to a growing population. The city's population had grown from ten thousand in 1860 to nearly twenty-two thousand during the war.

Despite support for Unionist candidates in 1860, the city and county contributed approximately 2,660 soldiers to the Confederacy. The city also

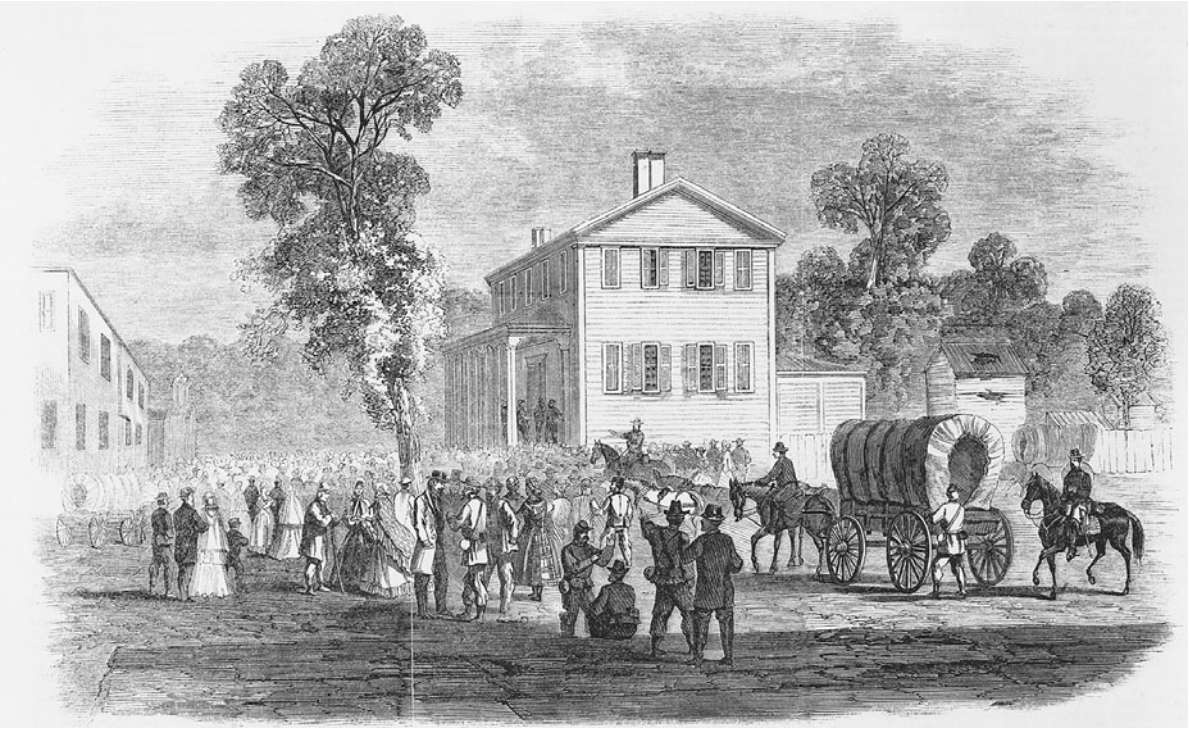

Illustration from October 29, 1864 issue of *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* of Atlanta citizens gathering to get travel passes after Sherman's order to clear the city. (Library of Congress)

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contained a strong Unionist base that provided information to Federal forces and comfort to Federal prisoners held in the city. By the time of the Federal occupation, approximately thirty-five hundred men, women, and children and their slaves lived within the confines of Atlanta.

Sherman was notified of the surrender of the city on September 2, 1864. He quickly ordered his three armies to consolidate around Atlanta. Sherman first proposed the removal of Atlanta's civilian population to Major General Henry Halleck in a letter dated September 4. Sherman wanted to use the city to regroup after the arduous military campaign to capture Atlanta. He also saw the possibility of turning the battered city into a giant fortified base, where supplies could be transported by rail from Chattanooga, Tennessee. These supplies would be gathered in the city and protected by a strong garrison. In effect, Sherman wanted to build a fortified railhead from which he could draw supplies for a possible fall campaign against Hood's Confederate Army of Tennessee.

Sherman saw the city's mostly female residents as a stumbling block to his military plans. He did not want the complications of dealing with and supporting a hostile civilian population while he concentrated his energies on his next military campaign. Sherman also worried that the flow of supplies could be hindered by civilians using the city's rail lines. As a result, Sherman sought the removal of the remaining families from the city so that his forces would have unfettered use of the rail line back to Tennessee. He remained so concerned about the flow of supplies that he ordered army sutlers not to clog up the military railroads with their goods, threatening them with automatic conscription into his regiments if they disobeyed. In addition, Sherman wanted his chief engineer to reinforce the battered entrenchments surrounding the city with materials from abandoned houses and businesses, and he did not want civilians to interfere.

Before he issued the evacuation order, Sherman sent a letter to Hood informing him of his plans and asking the Confederate general's assistance in the transportation of refugees to the South. In his dispatch, Sherman explained the evacuation to Hood and offered a method to move the civilians into Confederate lines. Sherman offered to transport the families either north or south according to their preference. For those wanting to go north, he would provide rail service to Tennessee or Northern cities. To civilians who wanted to return to the Confederacy, he offered transportation by wagon to a rail station known as Rough and Ready. In addition, these families would be allowed to take any slaves who desired to remain in servitude. At Rough and Ready, Sherman would establish a two-mile neutral zone policed by two one-hundred-man detachments from both armies. In this area, civilians could cross over into Confederate control and responsibility. The next day, Sherman issued Special Field Orders Number 67 to take effect in the now designated post of Atlanta, Department of the Cumberland, United States Army.

The evacuation order came as a surprise to Hood, Mayor Calhoun, and the residents of Atlanta. Mayor Calhoun posted notices throughout the city explaining the evacuation and the procedures necessary to obtain transportation. Many of the households consisted of groups of women, some who had been widowed and others who had husbands fighting in the army. Other families were members of the mercantile class in the city, who had to find a way to evacuate their businesses and property. Unfortunately, because much of the city's population had already fled south in advance of the Federal armies, there was no housing or transportation south of the front lines. The mayor explained these problems to Sherman, who responded with a long letter explaining that the evacuation was part of a war that the Confederates themselves had started. Sherman also stressed that Atlanta's hostile civilians, regardless of sex, deserved punishment for their role in the war.

In addition to his correspondence with Atlanta's mayor, Sherman found himself in a long correspondence with Hood over the legality of the evacuation. Like two lawyers, the generals traded points and counterpoints over the evacuation, the reasons for war, and the brutality of Union actions. In the end, Hood had no choice but to assist in the removal of the largely female civilian population. To counter any negative publicity generated by Northern news-

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papers for his evacuation of women and children, Sherman enclosed the letters written by the Mayor and Hood in a dispatch to General Halleck.

By September 10, the two armies were trading dispatches regarding the neutral area for the transfer of Confederate refugees. The truce was set to last from daylight on September 12 to daylight on September 22. A detachment of the Ninety-seventh Indiana and the Eighth Tennessee would monitor the two-mile zone, which was marked by a large white flag. Sherman ordered all of his brigades and divisions to provide wagons and ambulances to assist in the transportation of the families. Most evacuated families were forced to choose which items of their property could be transported with them. In several cases, women traded items with Union soldiers, so that they could bring valuable goods with them in the wagons. They hoped that they could later sell these valuables for hard currency, which would be used to purchase food and medicine.

A number of Atlanta's Unionists found ways to remain with their homes and businesses. Several Unionist families approached three Union army surgeons, who had been imprisoned in the city. They asked these surgeons to write Sherman to get an exception to their expulsion, as thanks for their provision of food and medicine to Union prisoners. Based on the testimony of the former prisoners, Sherman granted an exception for fifty families to stay in Atlanta, but he warned the families that their homes might still be destroyed as the Union army built new entrenchments. About fifteen hundred Unionists left Atlanta. The majority of these families traveled northward to states such as Connecticut, Iowa, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania. Some traveled to Washington, D.C., to join with other exiled Georgia families.

Sherman reported that 705 adults, 867 children, and 79 servants, with 1,651 pieces of baggage and furniture traveled southward to Rough and Ready. The Confederate officer in charge reported that roughly 1,600 persons with 8,842 parcels of baggage went through the neutral zone into the Confederacy. The Confederate truce officer complained about the delay in receiving the refugees at Rough and Ready. He believed that Union soldiers were robbing the refugees as they left the city. It was discovered that these delays occurred due to the shortage of wagons in Sherman's three field armies. The state of Georgia attempted to construct refugee camps for the southbound refugees. One camp was established on 47 acres in Terrell County, Georgia, and consisted of temporary tents. Another camp, named Fosterville after the state quartermaster general, was built to house three hundred refugees.

Sherman's evacuation of Atlanta's civilian population provoked criticism from men and women across the South. They lambasted the general for his callous treatment of the women and children of Atlanta. Sherman's actions met with approval from Northern soldiers and civilians, who applauded the general's willingness to deal sternly with the enemy population.

William H. Brown

See also Destruction of Homes; Refugees; Sherman's Campaign (1864–1865); Sherman, William Tecumseh (1820–1891); Southern Unionists; Southern Women; Urban Women, Southern.

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Bacot, Ada W. (1832–1911)

A wealthy South Carolina widow, Ada Bacot served as a nurse during the Civil War. Her diary of those years sheds light on the experiences and attitudes of upper-class Southern women of the time.

By the time the Civil War began, Bacot had lost her husband and both of her children. As a secessionist, Bacot longed to devote herself to the South's cause. Perhaps because there was no one at home depending on her, she felt useless remaining at home when she saw great need for her services elsewhere. Bacot saw nursing as an appropriate medium for expressing her patriotism.

In December 1861 Bacot answered Reverend Robert Woodward Barnwell's plea for nurses. Bacot traveled with Barnwell, the head of the South Carolina Hospital Aid Association, and several other female volunteers to Charlottesville, Virginia, where hospitals for South Carolinian soldiers had been set up. By the following year, hospitals were no longer state-based, and the Confederacy had taken upon itself the running of its hospitals.

As soon as Bacot began work in the Virginia hospitals, she felt imbued with purpose, serving her nation and her state. Initially, she and the other female nurses did not tend the wounded directly. Instead, she and others supervised meals for the patients and laundered the hospital's linens. They also visited with the men, wrote letters, and urged them to seek comfort in the Bible and Christianity. Yet it was impossible not to be aware of the terrible conditions under which the wounded sometimes arrived at the hospitals. At times the soldiers had lain outside for days without tents, beds, or food. Bacot felt great sympathy for the soldiers at times, but she also expressed her exhaustion with the endless job of caring for them.

Bacot embraced slavery, and, in her diary, she often discussed the relationships between owners and their slaves, as well as her own attitudes about the institution. Once, upon hearing how one owner was smothered by her servants, Bacot expressed the fear that the same thing could happen to her. When a neighbor's house caught fire, Bacot was certain that the slaves were responsible. When a teenage slave refused to clear the table at the house where Bacot and other medical staff boarded, Bacot hit the boy; when his mother defended him verbally, Bacot called in the white doctors, who whipped both mother and child.

Bacot's diary also provides insight into the relationship between the sexes in upper-class Southern society. Bacot had entered a profession that some saw as below her class and not suitable for women. At the beginning of the war, her family opposed her decision to become a nurse as a position not befitting a woman. After she had volunteered in Charlottesville for a year, Bacot was offered the matronship of Midway Hospital. She consulted a physician who had become her friend; he advised against her taking the position because it was below her station and she was unaccustomed to such labor. In addition, he thought it was unladylike to hold a paid position. Bacot took her friend's advice

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and turned down the offer, revealing her awareness of the patriarchal structure of Southern society.

Bacot embraced the male-dominated structure and operated within it, yet she also found opportunities to expand her life beyond its boundaries. Leaving home to volunteer as a nurse had opened new horizons for Bacot, and the war transformed her life in both positive and negative ways. She formed many lasting relationships with other staff members in the Virginia hospitals. She also found inner strengths and capabilities that had not been tested in her narrow existence before the war.

Bacot kept her diary until January 1863 and left the nursing profession shortly thereafter. It is not known why she relinquished either activity. By November 1863 she had returned to South Carolina, where she married Thomas A. G. Clarke, a fellow South Carolinian and a first lieutenant in the Confederate army.

Ellen H. Todras

See also Diaries and Journals; Nurses.

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Baker, Mrs. E. H. (n.d.–n.d.)

Very little is known about the life of Mrs. E. H. Baker. As an agent of Union detective Allan Pinkerton, Baker spied on Confederate submarine technology and delivered critical intelligence to Union officials.

Baker was employed by Pinkerton's Chicago detective agency prior to the war. During the war, Pinkerton served as secret service chief to General George McClellan, and he used his agency's resources accordingly. In the fall of 1861, Pinkerton learned that Confederates were developing torpedoes and submarine vessels to break the Union blockade, and he believed that Richmond's Tredegar Iron Works, which provided the iron plating for the CSS *Virginia* (also called the *Merrimack*), was the leading producer of this technology. He dispatched Baker to Richmond to investigate.

Baker had once lived in Richmond and was acquainted with Captain Atwater of the Confederate navy. Under the pretense of a friendly visit, Baker traveled to Richmond in November 1861 and stayed with Atwater and his wife. Baker discussed the war with Atwater and expressed her curiosity about the preparations under way in Richmond. When a prototype submarine vessel was to be tested on the James River, Atwater took both Baker and his wife to the demonstration.

The vessel being tested was intended to destroy Union ships blocking the mouth of the James River. Baker used Atwater's binoculars to watch from shore as the small submarine vessel approached a barge anchored midriver. A diver swam out from the submarine to attach a floating magazine to the side of the barge. The submarine then backed away and detonated the charge, sinking the barge in a large explosion. Later that day she made detailed notes of her observations and she secured them in her clothing.

Atwater gave Baker a tour of Tredegar Iron Works the next day, where she saw under production a larger version of the submarine used in the demonstration. Baker immediately traveled to Washington and handed over her notes to Pinkerton. Baker also made a sketch of the vessel, showing its position under the surface of the water and its operation. Pinkerton reported these findings to General McClellan and the Secretary of the Navy.

Pinkerton claimed that Baker's findings thwarted an attack on the USS *Minnesota,* which captured a Confederate submarine using grappling hooks in Hampton Roads. This took place in October 1861, one month prior to the time Pinkerton reported Baker as being in Richmond. It is possible that Pinkerton recorded the date of Baker's visit incorrectly. The submarine that Baker observed was most likely that designed by William Cheeney. The race to develop submarine technology was an important

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component of naval warfare, and Baker's intelligence came at a crucial moment early in the war.

Kristen L. Rouse

See also Female Spies.

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Banks, Nathaniel Prentiss (1816–1894)

A Civil War general and congressman, Nathaniel Prentiss Bank's career spanned much of the nineteenth century.

Born in Waltham, Massachusetts, on January 30, 1816, Banks grew up in a working-class family. He served as a representative to both the Massachusetts Legislature and the United States Congress, becoming Speaker of the House in both bodies. After being elected to three terms as governor of Massachusetts, Banks was appointed major general of volunteers during the Civil War. During the war, his lack of military skill marked him as a poor soldier. He accepted the surrender of the Confederate stronghold of Port Hudson and bungled the poorly conceived Red River Campaign in 1864. Following the war, Banks served again in Congress. During his political career, he had been a Democrat, a Know-Nothing, a Republican, and an Independent.

As a young man, Banks edited a small newspaper, clerked at the Boston Customs House, and gained acceptance to the bar. An effective public speaker, Banks soon became interested in politics. He joined the Democratic Party and successfully ran for the state legislature, serving from 1849 until 1852. As a moderate on the issue of slavery, Banks served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1853 until 1857. His opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska Act led Banks to leave the Democrats and join the Republican Party. As a Republican, he became Speaker of the House, and then, in 1858, he became governor of Massachusetts. He ran for the Republican presidential nomination in 1860. Losing to Abraham Lincoln, Banks accepted a position as a railroad director. After the sectional tension escalated into war, Banks accepted a commission as a major general in the Union army.

Gen. Nathaniel Banks of the Union army during the Civil War. Prior to the war Banks served as speaker of the House (1851–1852), and governor of Massachusetts (1858–1860). (National Archives and Records Administration)

Banks had no military knowledge or experience. As a political general, he would constantly incur the resentment of the professional soldiers he commanded. Given command of Union forces in western Maryland, Banks's orders in early 1862 were to clear the Shenandoah Valley of Confederate troops and to prevent Confederates in western Virginia from reinforcing Richmond. Confederate General Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson had a much smaller force than Banks had, but he outmaneuvered the Union general during the 1862 Shenandoah Valley campaign, driving the Union forces back across the Potomac.

Despite his poor showing as a battlefield commander, Banks retained considerable political

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power and was ordered to New Orleans. There, he faced a host of challenges, including an unruly civilian population displeased with the Union occupation. Local citizens, especially women, had harassed Union troops and Banks' predecessor, General Benjamin F. Butler, had earned the Confederacy's hatred by treating them harshly. Banks tried a different technique, hosting balls and concerts for locals. This effort worked to a certain extent, but he eventually had to use force to control unruly female citizens who flaunted their Confederate loyalties and threatened order in New Orleans. Banks also needed to deal with the increasing number of black refugees from the surrounding area and to implement President Lincoln's experimental reconstruction plan. Finally, he was ordered to help General Ulysses S. Grant open the Mississippi River to Union traffic. As Grant's army advanced toward Vicksburg, Banks was to move north to capture the smaller Confederate stronghold of Port Hudson.

Banks twice failed to capture Port Hudson. Not until the Confederate defenders learned of Vicksburg's fall did they surrender on July 9, 1863. At Port Hudson, Banks had overseen one of the first assaults by black troops in the war. Despite their courageous showing, Banks reduced the number of black officers, demoralizing his African American troops. In March 1864, Banks set out to occupy eastern Texas and to capture Southern cotton for the cotton-starved mills in the North. He led a combined force of army troops and naval vessels up the Red River, but the campaign failed due to a lack of coordination and poor leadership.

After the war, Banks returned to politics and served again in Congress. He opposed President Andrew Johnson's lenient policies for former Confederates and voted to impeach the chief executive. Banks served as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs where he championed the purchase of Alaska. Bribery and corruption charges against Banks provoked him to distance himself from President Grant's administration and led to the loss of his congressional seat in 1872. Banks spoke in support of women's suffrage and helped draft a Massachusetts state law limiting the number of hours in the workday. Banks died in Massachusetts on September 1, 1894, at the age of 78.

Kanisorn Wongsrichanalai

See also Butler, Benjamin F.; Politics; Reconstruction.

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Bannister, Christiana Babcock Carteaux (ca. 1820–1902)

Businesswoman and activist Christiana Babcock Carteaux Bannister was president of the Boston Colored Ladies' Sanitary Committee that supported members of the Massachusetts Fifty-fourth Infantry Regiment.

Born in Rhode Island in 1820, Christiana Babcock was of African American and Narragansett Indian parentage. She moved to Boston, probably in the 1840s, and, after an unsuccessful first marriage, she married Canadian-born artist Edward Bannister in 1857. By this time she was a hairdresser with a city center salon catering mainly to white clients. She advertised frequently in William Lloyd Garrison's abolitionist newspaper, *The Liberator.*

The Bannisters were part of Boston's black middle class, active in cultural and abolitionist activities. They lodged in the home of Lewis Hayden, one of the most militant leaders of the Underground Railroad.

In January 1863, Massachusetts Governor John A. Andrew began recruiting for the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Infantry Regiment, which he hoped would be a model for future black regiments. In May of that year, Christiana Bannister, president of the Colored Ladies' Relief Committee, traveled to Readville, south of Boston, to present the Fifty-fourth with its colors.

Members of the Fifty-fourth enlisted assuming they would receive the same pay as white soldiers,

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namely $13 a month plus a clothing allowance, but they were told in July 1863 that they would be paid only $10 a month with a clothing deduction. They refused to accept any pay. The order was reversed thirteen months later. In the meantime, the Fifty-fourth fought bravely at Fort Wagner, South Carolina. Led by Colonel Robert Gould Shaw, twenty-five-year-old son of a Boston Brahmin abolitionist family, they were heavily outnumbered and one-third of the officers, including Shaw, and almost half of the enlisted men were either killed or wounded.

Back in Boston, the Colored Ladies' Relief Organization had become the Colored Ladies' Sanitary Committee with Christiana Bannister as president. In October 1864, Bannister organized a five-day fundraising fair to aid disabled veterans and their families. In addition to the usual cake stalls and needlework, some valuable items were raffled, notably a piano, an organ, and a full-length portrait of Colonel Shaw painted by Edward Bannister. When abolitionist author Lydia Maria Child visited the fair, she was moved by the sign stretched across Summer Street advertising the Colored Soldiers' Fair and the inscription over the portrait of Shaw that read "our martyr."

After the Civil War, the Bannisters moved to Providence, Rhode Island, where he became a well-known painter, and she continued her hairdressing business. In 1890 she founded the Providence Shelter for Aged Colored Women. Christiana died in December 1902 and is buried in the North Burial Ground, Providence.

Jane Lancaster

See also African American Women; Aid Societies; Child, Lydia Maria Francis (1802–1880); Fairs and Bazaars; Native American Women; Northern Women.

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Baptist Women

The slavery controversy permanently divided Baptists into Northern and Southern conventions in 1845. This split was triggered by the opposition of Northern Baptists to slavery and in particular by the 1844 statement of the Home Mission Society declaring that a person could not be a missionary and still keep slaves as property. This action led churches in the South, who a generation before had decried slavery, to bring into existence the Southern Baptist Convention. Northern Baptists at first did not recognize the separation, but the Civil War effectively sealed the division.

Northern female Baptists played a vital role during the Civil War. Many Baptist women worked through organized philanthropy, such as the United States Sanitary Commission and the United States Christian Commission, to aid Union soldiers. These women also formed church aid societies that provided soldiers and freed people with necessary articles of clothing and food. In 1862 female auxiliaries of the American Baptist Home Mission Society (ABHMS) pledged to provide education for the emancipated slaves, especially the training of black men for the ministry.

After the war, the ABHMS broadened its goal to include the collegiate training of black women. In 1881, the Women's Baptist Home Missionary Society of New England founded the Atlanta Baptist Female Seminary, later Spelman College, in the basement of Friendship Baptist Church in Atlanta, Georgia. By 1880, white Northern Baptists owned and supported eight schools for African Americans: Atlanta Baptist College, Benedict Institute, Leland University, Nashville Institute, Natchez Seminary, Richmond Institute, Shaw University, and Wayland Seminary. All but Richmond Institute and Atlanta Baptist College were open to black women as well as men.

In the South, the Baptist church served as a focal point for Southern women's wartime activities. The women of First Baptist Church in LaGrange, Georgia, for example, formed a Soldier's Relief and Sewing Society in 1862. The women also organized a home guard called the Nancy Harts in honor of a

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Georgia Revolutionary heroine. When Union troops arrived, the group prepared for action but surrendered when they were assured the town would not be destroyed. The next year, the church became a temporary Confederate hospital.

The war intruded into church life in the South, often leaving women to carry on the church activities while their men were off at the battlefront. In Nashville, Tennessee, the pastor of the First Baptist Church was arrested and imprisoned with several other ministers when they refused to take an oath of loyalty to the United States government. Consequently, the women of the community carried on much of the work of the church in his absence.

The church could also serve as a meeting place for women to organize dissent. In April 1863 in Richmond, Virginia, approximately three hundred women met at Belvidere Baptist Church to demand food from the governor and to plan a protest to secure food for their families. The following day, April 2, approximately one thousand women, some carrying weapons, broke into stores and shops, taking food and clothing. They had to be subdued by local officials.

The end of the Civil War did not end the schism between white Baptists. After the war, the Southern Baptist Convention became one of the major institutional expressions of the South's cultural identity and emerged as the largest Protestant denomination in the reunited nation.

The end of the Civil War provided African American Baptists the opportunity to forge a religious identity of their own. During slavery, the independent polity and absence of formalism among Baptists had appealed to African Americans. Slave churches had appeared on Southern plantations as early as the mid-eighteenth century, and the first black Baptist church was organized near Augusta, Georgia, in 1773. In 1821, members of the Richmond African Baptist Missionary Society went to Liberia as missionaries. By the end of the Civil War, there were perhaps one million black Baptists in the South.

After the Civil War, black Baptists left white-dominated churches and formed the National Baptist Convention U.S.A. in 1895. The National Baptist Convention constituted the largest and most representative sample of African American church membership. In 1906 it had over 2 million members constituting more than 61 percent of all black church members in the United States. By 1916, the National Baptist Convention ranked as the third-largest religious body in the United States and as the largest denomination, black or white, in Atlanta, Memphis, Richmond, Birmingham, and Nashville.

Karen Fisher Younger

See also African American Women; Aid Societies; Bread Riots; Confederate Homefront; Education, Northern; Education, Southern; Hospitals; Northern Women; Religion; Sewing Bees; Southern Women; Union Homefront; United States Christian Commission; United States Sanitary Commission.

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Barton, Clara (1821–1912)

Civil War nurse Clara Barton treated Union soldiers on the battlefields and continued her dedication to soldiers in the postwar era. She helped find missing soldiers, locate the graves of soldiers killed in battle and in prison camps, and founded the American Red Cross.

Born Clarissa Harlowe Barton in North Oxford, Massachusetts, on December 25, 1821, Clara was the

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last of five children of Stephen and Sarah Stone Barton. Captain Barton, a prosperous farmer and sawmill operator, had served under General "Mad" Anthony Wayne in the Indian wars that were part of the settlement of the Northwest Territory. His stories of his wartime experiences enthralled his daughter and prompted her later interest in the military.

A bright child who pursued Latin, chemistry, and philosophy, Barton began teaching school in May 1839 at the age of eighteen. At a time when women were expected to be timid and dependent, she was strong-minded and self-reliant, although always sensitive to perceived offense. Quickly becoming a much sought-after teacher for her ability to maintain discipline, Barton eventually became bored with the classroom. Seeking new challenges and hoping to snap out of a depression, she attended Clinton Liberal Institute in New York in 1850. In 1851, she organized and briefly headed one of the first free schools in New Jersey, in Bordentown. The success of the school prompted the town fathers to demote Barton in favor of a male administrator. Offended and infuriated, Barton left after a year to become a clerk-copyist in the United States Patent Office in Washington, D.C. She may have been the first regularly appointed female civil servant.

At the outset of the Civil War, Barton provided both nursing care and supplies for men in the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment who were wounded during the Baltimore riot in April 1861. She also organized a parcel post service for soldiers, which was maintained throughout the war. Along with many others in Washington, D.C., Barton witnessed the almost total lack of first aid facilities at the first Battle of Bull Run in Manassas, Virginia in 1861. She responded by using her own money to place advertisements in Massachusetts' *The Worcester Spy* for provisions for the wounded.

Barton determined to serve the soldiers in the field, because, in her mind, it enabled her to become close to being a soldier herself, fulfilling her soldier father's expectations. In early June 1862, she approached Colonel Daniel Rucker of the Quartermaster Corps. She had been gathering items for months and had filled a warehouse with a variety of goods that the army could use, including food and medicine. Unable to persuade authorities to allow her to make deliveries, she had better luck with Rucker, who provided Barton with wagons and drivers as well as the necessary clearances from Washington, D.C.

Universally hailed as the "Angel of the Battlefield," Clara Barton spent a lifetime injecting a measure of humanity into the scourge of war by bringing medical supplies and comfort to soldiers on the battlefield. She also founded the American Chapter of the Red Cross. (National Archives and Records Administration)

As she moved throughout Virginia and Maryland, Barton and her supplies aided the wounded and dying at Cedar Mountain, Second Bull Run, Chantilly, South Mountain, Antietam, and Charleston, as well as in the Wilderness campaign. The Peninsula campaign was fully under way when Barton appeared at Fredericksburg, Virginia, in August 1862. Convention dictated that she wait until the wounded came to the rear to be treated. Refusing to wait for authorization, something that she was unlikely to receive, Barton moved onto the battlefield four days after the fighting had subsided. Accompanied by two civilian helpers, she saw men in the throes of death. The soldiers, lying helpless,

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were suffering from sunstroke, dehydration, and shock. Over the next two days, Barton cooked meals, washed wounds, applied dressings, assisted the surgeons in their gruesome tasks, distributed medicine, and offered kind words to the frightened soldiers. Her ministrations led to the nickname Angel of the Battlefield.

The 1862 Battle of Antietam may have been Barton's finest hour. It was certainly one of her most terrifying experiences. More men were killed, wounded, or declared missing on this day than on any other day in the Civil War, with total casualties of over twenty-five thousand. Ranging along the battlefield, Barton used a pocketknife to extract a bullet from the jaw of a young soldier, the procedure done without chloroform and with some trepidation on Barton's part. Shortly thereafter, as she gave a wounded man a drink of water, a bullet passed through the sleeve of her dress and struck the soldier dead. Barton continued to provide aid to the other wounded. At the Battle of Fort Wagner during the siege of Charleston, South Carolina, Barton waded ashore despite the danger of flying bullets and ministered to the men as they lay bleeding. To many soldiers, it seemed as if Barton's courage had no limits.

Barton increasingly won the respect and admiration of commanding officers and surgeons. However, she did not hesitate to voice complaints about army inefficiency. Her willingness to publicly berate army authorities for neglect of the wounded and her requests to draw stores from the quartermaster earned resentment. The army did not appreciate a freewheeling civilian—and a woman—in their midst.

As the press publicized Barton's actions and as soldiers wrote to their families about her, she received more fame and supplies. Yet Barton saw herself as one of hundreds of women providing aid to the wounded. In addition, she never hesitated to spend her own money to get materials for the soldiers. In June 1864, she became superintendent of nurses in General Benjamin Butler's Army of the James. No longer able to devote herself solely to providing succor on the battlefield, Barton cheerfully accepted her new duties as nurse, cook, and administrator at various corps hospitals in Virginia.

In March 1865, Barton received permission from President Abraham Lincoln and the limited cooperation from the War Department to search for missing prisoners of war, a difficult task in an era without dog tags or comprehensive prison camp records and when fellow soldiers typically identified the dead. Annapolis, Maryland, filled with many disoriented soldiers who needed advice and direction, had become an unofficial center for war refugees, and Barton took up her station there at the Office of Correspondence. Barton recruited a band of helpers to assist with both the missing and the disoriented soldiers.

When Barton received an inquiry about a missing man, the name of the soldier was listed by state. Lists were then circulated to local newspapers, displayed in post offices, and reviewed by various fraternal organizations. The hope was that veterans, seeing a particular name, might recall the fate of one or more of those cited and communicate the information to Barton, who would in turn write to the person making the initial inquiry. The army offered stationery, free postage, a tent, and some chairs. Barton covered most of the expenses herself, with later reimbursement by Congress. The Office of Correspondence reported on about fifteen thousand men, a fraction of the total number of the missing. With the aid of a man imprisoned at the notorious Confederate prison camp at Andersonville, Georgia, Barton traveled there to help mark graves on the site of the former camp and succeeded in identifying 90 percent of the graves.

From 1866 to 1868, while continuing her missing persons work on a reduced scale, Barton described her war experiences in about three hundred lectures throughout the North and West. The lecture tour substantially added to her fame and later helped her to persuade Congress to embrace American membership in the International Red Cross. In large part, Barton brought home to her listeners the reality of war. Of all the famous lecturers of the day, only she had seen action in the Civil War. Her accounts were definitely partisan, partly because the Southern side of the struggle was of little interest to her audience. When her voice gave

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out in 1868, she traveled to Europe to recover on the advice of a physician.

In Switzerland, Barton learned for the first time of the International Committee of the Red Cross, formed in 1863 at a convention in Geneva. The new organization aimed to reduce the horrors of war by bettering the wholly inadequate medical service typically provided to soldiers in the field. Learning that the U.S. State Department had refused to recommend ratification of the Red Cross agreement, Barton determined to get American backing.

In the meantime, Barton remained in Europe. Under the auspices of the International Red Cross, she served in military hospitals and distributed supplies during the 1870–1871 Franco-Prussian War. She also set up work systems in which needy French women war refugees could sew, producing necessary clothing in exchange for food.

In 1873, following another breakdown, Barton returned to the United States to live in semiretirement while recovering her health. With the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War in 1877, her interest in the Red Cross movement revived, and Barton began a five-year campaign to develop an American Red Cross. President Rutherford B. Hayes opposed American involvement with the Red Cross because he believed that the signing of the Geneva Treaty was an involvement in foreign affairs that violated the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine. However, Hayes was a one-term president, and Barton had both good political connections and an excellent reputation as a humanitarian. In 1882, Congress approved the Geneva Convention and joined the International Red Cross movement.

Not waiting for the government to act, Barton founded the American Red Cross in 1881. Three years later, in 1884, as American delegate to the Red Cross conference in Geneva, Barton secured the adoption of an amendment that authorized the provision of Red Cross relief during peacetime emergencies. As president of the American Red Cross from 1882 to 1904, she often led relief expeditions to areas devastated by natural disasters. She helped the people of Charleston, South Carolina, after an 1882 earthquake and traveled to Galveston, Texas, in 1900 after a hurricane nearly destroyed the city. Though the Red Cross typically provided clothing, food, medicine, and emergency shelter, it gave Galveston farmers a million and a half strawberry plants to enable them to resume their livelihoods.

When the United States entered the Spanish-American War in 1898, the Angel of the Battlefield leaped into action. Barton, now in her late seventies, rode mule wagons over primitive roads under a tropical sun to deliver provisions to Cuban civilians and American soldiers. Many in the Red Cross believed that she should have remained in Washington, D.C., to lead the organization. Although the organization had grown, communication between national headquarters and the branches was so poor that much of the local work was completely independent of the national Red Cross. Local chapters typically trained nurses without any national guidance.

Barton was indefatigable in promoting the Red Cross, seeing it as her child. Her domination of the organization also proved a weakness, because it led to methods of administration that alienated important people whose support would have bolstered its reputation and allowed it to better carry out its mission. Dealing with others, men or women, in any capacity but one of an authority did not come easily to Barton. Too often she took suggestions for criticism as threats and the critics themselves as enemies. Absolutely vital to its early successes of the Red Cross, Barton, with her singular proprietary style, stood in the path of continued growth. In December 1902, confronted by an open rebellion among the Red Cross board of directors, Barton had declared herself lifetime president of the American Red Cross. Nevertheless, she was eased out in 1904.

After resigning from the Red Cross, Barton spent her final years in Glen Echo, Maryland. In 1906, Barton founded the National First Aid Association and served as its president until her death. A feminist, she also supported efforts to get women the vote and to obtain equal pay for equal work. An advocate of Christian Science and a believer in spiritualism, she remained physically active and mentally alert to the end.

Clara Barton died on April 12, 1912, and is buried in North Oxford, Massachusetts.

Caryn E. Neumann

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See also Aid Societies; Antietam/Sharpsburg, Battle of (September 17, 1862); Bull Run/Manassas, First Battle of (July 21, 1861); Bull Run/Manassas, Second Battle of (August 29–30, 1862); Domesticity; Education, Northern; Fredericksburg, Battle of (December 13, 1862); Hospitals; Northern Women; Nurses; Politics; Separate Spheres; Teachers, Northern; Wartime Employment.

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Battle, Mary Frances "Fanny" ("Fannie") (1842–1924)

A Nashville, Tennessee spy and smuggler for the Confederacy, who funneled goods and information to General Braxton Bragg's Coleman Scouts, Battle occasionally dressed as a boy when she ventured into Union-occupied Nashville, viewing fortifications and drawing maps from memory. Because she left no known diaries and refused to discuss her experiences, details of her espionage role remain murky. When taken into custody on April 7, 1863, she was carrying letters and messages for Confederates. Charged with spying, smuggling, and obtaining a forged pass, she was sent to Camp Chase in Ohio, moved to Old Capitol Prison in Washington, D.C., and later, in May, exchanged for several Federal officers held at City Point, Virginia. Exiled to the Deep South, Battle spent the remainder of the war near Atlanta with other Nashville expatriates.

Born to Joel A. Battle, Sr. and his second wife, Adeline Mosely, Fanny was one of Joel's nine children. She attended Nashville Female Academy, a finishing school offering ornamental courses but emphasizing academic studies. In April 1861, her father raised Company B, Twentieth Tennessee Volunteer Infantry (C.S.A.). Two of his sons, William and Allen, were killed at the Battle of Shiloh, where he was wounded, captured, and imprisoned at Johnson's Island, Ohio. His son Frank was captured and imprisoned multiple times. Meanwhile, Union soldiers burned the family home near Cane Ridge, and Fanny moved the family into their barn. As the men of the family fought on the battlefields, Fanny and her sisters did their part on the homefront as spies and supporters.

In 1870, Battle began a sixteen-year teaching career in Nashville's public school system. Because existing benevolent groups were not meeting needs, she launched a nonsectarian food drive for the poor during the 1881 Thanksgiving season. When December floods left more than a thousand Nashvillians homeless, Battle rallied civic leaders to assist victims, becoming treasurer of the resulting organization known as the Nashville Relief Society (NRS). In 1886, she quit teaching to manage NRS. The group reorganized as United Charities (UC), a diverse, private, nonsectarian charitable organization that created permanent facilities and offered ongoing services. They opened the Old Woman's Home in 1890, followed in 1891 by the Flower Mission Day Nursery to care for working women's children, the first such facility in the state. The UC also opened the John W. Thomas Fresh Air Camp, Addison Avenue Day Home, Watkins Settlement Home, A. B. Ransom Kindergarten, and Bertha Fensterwald Kindergarten. Battle belonged to McKendree Methodist Church, United Daughters of the Confederacy, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and the Centennial Club.

Fanny Battle never married. She is buried in Mt. Olivet Cemetery in Tennessee.

Nancy L. Adgent

See also Education, Southern; Female Spies.

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Beecher, Catharine (1800–1878)

Many people consider Catharine Beecher to be the mother of home economics in America. She helped shape American middle-class female culture during the antebellum years by lobbying for higher education for women as well as for the advancement of female teachers in public education. More importantly, Beecher intellectually reconciled the status quo of female subordination to the values of American democracy by developing new ways of promoting the role of women within the nationalistic rhetoric. Beecher wrote prolifically on education and women's place in society, leading an American domestic science movement that was in tune with the demands of industrial capitalism of the late nineteenth century.

Born into a prominent family on September 6, 1800, Catharine was the daughter of Lyman Beecher and sister of Harriet Beecher Stowe and Henry Ward Beecher. The most conservative of the Beecher family, Catharine focused her life on educational reform and women's rights.

Her time as a student and an assistant teacher at Sarah Pierce's Litchfield Female Academy—from 1810 to 1816—influenced Beecher's way of thinking and her career as an educator. The Litchfield Academy inculcated, and Beecher embraced, the philosophy of Republican Motherhood, a concept of gender roles that emerged during the Early Republic era and stressed the importance of women's roles in an emerging nation. When Miss Pierce's nephew, Charles Brace, came to teach at the academy, he introduced a curriculum for boys along with Addisonian values of domestic gentility to female students. In this model, women and men shared intellectual equality in separate spheres: Men conducted business and social activities in the public sphere, and women managed the home and social obligations in the private sphere. The curriculum of the Litchfield Academy included reading, writing, composition, and English grammar; geography; ancient and modern history; philosophy and logic; spelling; and simple needlework.

Raised in a Calvinist household, Beecher studied music and drawing. Breaking with the Calvinist teachings of her father, which advocated strict separate spheres, she settled into what many members of her society saw as an acceptable occupation for a single woman: teaching. She planned to marry a mariner, which meant that she would need an occupation while he was at sea. Beecher's first teaching opportunity came in 1821 when she was hired to teach music and drawing in New London, Connecticut. After the death of her fiancé, Alexander Metcalf Fisher, at sea in 1823, Catharine inherited a small fortune from his estate. She and her sister Mary Foote Beecher used this money to establish a school for girls in Hartford, Connecticut, that evolved into the Hartford Female Seminary. Mary did the bulk of the basic teaching, leaving Catharine time to develop her own teaching philosophy, one in which academic excellence was fostered.

The Hartford Female Seminary differed from other schools that prepared girls for refined lifestyles because at the Seminary the students performed calisthenics. Beecher, like Lydia Maria Child who authored *The Girl's Own Book* (1828), focused on reforming the standards of diet, exercise, and restrictive clothing for women. Exercise played an important role in the education of young women at the Hartford Seminary. Beecher, in *Suggestions Respecting Improvements in Education* (1829), proposed that mothers and female teachers could fulfill the role traditionally held by ministers in educating the mind as well as nurturing a healthy soul.

When the Beecher family relocated to Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1831, Beecher continued in her chosen profession and continued writing. She and sister Harriet established the Western Female Institute. In 1832 Catharine and Harriet joined the Semi-Colon Club, an early literary discussion group for men and women. During the 1830s, Winthrop B. Smith of Truman & Smith, a Cincinnati publishing company, approached Catharine to compile a series of readers that would contain didactic literature from the best authors of the day, but she declined the offer. Young Calvinist schoolmaster William Holmes McGuffey accepted the challenge and developed the successful *McGuffey Eclectic Readers.* Beecher assisted him with the *Fourth Eclectic Reader* published in 1837. That year's financial panic forced Beecher's Western Female

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A proponent of women's education and the author of the widely read *Treatise on Domestic Economy*, Catharine Beecher served as a self-appointed counselor to women of the United States in the nineteenth century. (Cirker, Hayward and Blanche Cirker, eds., *Dictionary of American Portraits*, 1967)

Institute to file for bankruptcy, but the setback did not slow Beecher down. She ignited a strenuous public debate through her much publicized correspondence with Southern abolitionists, Angelina and Sarah Grimké, in response to her *Essay on Slavery and Abolition* (1837).

Beecher's *A Treatise on Domestic Economy for the Use of Young Ladies at Home and at School* (1843) opened with a chapter describing the distinct characteristics of American women in contrast to Englishwomen. Beecher proposed that American women should be trained in domestic economy to gain the logical and practical skills needed to manage a household. Beecher felt that this pedagogy could be imparted when girls were between the ages of ten and fourteen years and that it could be best taught institutionally when girls were fifteen years of age. Instruction offered in Beecher's book allowed girls at the age of sixteen to fulfill their prescribed roles in the household, whether for family, for hire, or for their own households. Reflecting her background in the ideals of Republican Motherhood, Beecher argued that this curriculum for women was central to the moral and political foundations of the nation.

Beecher was concerned that American women were being trained haphazardly to expound on frivolous and esoteric subjects, while the practical skills needed to build successful and healthy lives were neglected. She observed with irony that girls could easily construct and explain a geometric diagram "with far more skill" than they could a garment using the same geometric principles. Beecher argued that women in nineteenth-century America needed to master skills that would make their families self-sufficient in rural settings or that would have value-added benefits to families in urban environments. Beecher wanted to standardize American domestic practices, providing women with the values of self-reliance, hard work, egalitarianism, and independence within the home and family. As a result, she included sections in her book on preparing healthy food, maintaining cleanliness, systematically managing home and children, propagating plants, and basic animal husbandry. She developed a curriculum in home economy with a specific sensibility that the work of women should be valued in antebellum society.

In 1846, *Miss Beecher's Domestic Receipt-Book* was published as a supplementary manual on cooking. This work departed from other cookbooks printed in America that were simply reprints of British cookbooks because Beecher felt American women needed more practical advice. Accordingly, she included an entire chapter on preparing hashes, gravies, and sauces, suggesting that she valued hashes—dishes that combined chopped-up meat leftovers and potatoes—as a way to avoid waste. Her *Treatise on Domestic Economy* and her *Domestic Receipt-Book* were sold door-to-door throughout the country.

Throughout her career, Beecher worked for education reform as well as for women's rights. In 1852, she helped form the American Women's Educational Association to expand educational opportuni-

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ties for women by sending teachers to Western frontier towns. She authored dozens of articles and books on female education that challenged patriarchy. Concerned with the health of American women, Beecher asked women she met on her travels to provide impressions on the health of ten women in their acquaintance. She compiled these responses in *Letters to People on Health and Happiness* (1855). Later, in her *An Appeal to the People on Behalf of their Rights as Authorized Interpreters of the Bible* (1860), Beecher challenged Calvinist doctrines and the authority of the ministry.

In the years leading up to the Civil War, Beecher's influence was eclipsed by sister Harriet's *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* a novel that invigorated the abolitionist movement and brought slavery to the forefront of people's minds. In 1869, the sisters collaborated on combining *Treatise on Domestic Economy* and *Domestic Receipt-Book* into the *American Woman's Home.*

Catharine Beecher's legacy was established in her argument that women's roles in the domestic and educational sphere were the foundations for social advancement and the cornerstone of American democracy. Beecher used Christian rhetoric to show women a new schema for creating professional domestic work, hoping to illustrate how rationalism and utilitarianism could give women the opportunity to turn ordinary female activities into a means to achieve success.

Catharine Beecher died in Elmira, New York, on May 12, 1878.

Meredith Eliassen

See also Domesticity; Fiction Writers, Northern; Grimké (Weld), Angelina (1805–1879); Grimké, Sarah Moore (1792–1873); Stowe, Harriet Elizabeth Beecher (1811–1896); Teachers, Northern.

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Bickerdyke, Mary Ann Ball "Mother" (1817–1901)

Mary Ann Ball "Mother" Bickerdyke nursed soldiers during the Civil War as part of a private effort to relieve the suffering of the troops.

She was born on a pioneer farm in Knox County, Ohio, on July 19, 1817, to Hiram and Annie Rodgers Ball. When Mary Ann was seventeen months old, her mother died, and the child went to live with her maternal grandparents in Richland County, Ohio. She remained with them until her father remarried a few years later. She returned to her grandparents at the age of twelve, before joining an uncle in Cincinnati.

In 1833, when she was sixteen, Ball went to Oberlin, Ohio, with the apparent intention of enrolling at newly opened Oberlin College. She likely found work in the household of a faculty member and audited classes, accounting for her later claim that she attended Oberlin. At some point, she may have attended classes at the Physio-Botanic Medical College, a school that was part of a medical reform movement that, unlike the established medical system, welcomed women. Ball's activities from 1837 to 1847 are unknown, but she may have worked as a botanic physician. On April 27, 1847, Ball married musician and housepainter Robert Bickerdyke, a Cincinnati widower with three young children. The couple had three children, but their only daughter died in early childhood.

Cincinnati, located just across the river from slaveholding Kentucky, was an important stop on the Underground Railroad. Bickerdyke received fugitive slaves into her house, hid them for as long as necessary, and helped them move on to a Quaker group in nearby Hamilton, the next stage on the

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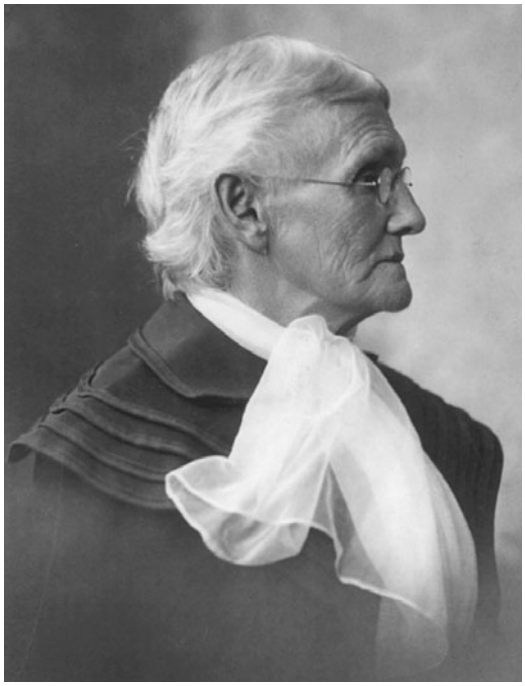
road to Canada. Often, she drove them to Hamilton herself, using her husband's wagon and team. A move to Galesburg, Illinois, in 1856 presumably halted Bickerdyke's work with fugitive slaves.

In March 1859, Robert Bickerdyke suddenly died. Left penniless with two young sons to support, Bickerdyke opened a practice as a botanic physician. Much like a visiting nurse, Bickerdyke went into homes, bathed the patient, kept a sharp eye on the diet, opened the windows, and lectured the family on the need for cleanliness and fresh air. As a Civil War nurse, she would employ the same therapeutic practices, much to the outrage of army doctors. Bickerdyke's experience as a botanic physician gave her the confidence with which she later challenged army surgeons.

When the Civil War began, military and political authorities occupied themselves with raising and equipping armed forces. They gave almost no attention to the care of the sick and wounded. Field hospitals consisted of a few sheds or barns, a cabin, or a church containing no beds and almost no surgical supplies. Following a battle, wounded soldiers were carried in and laid on the bare floors to wait until transport could be arranged. Three or four army surgeons moved from one station to another, contriving bandages from the patient's own shirt if he seemed likely to bleed to death. Army doctors paid little attention to soldiers with civilian diseases such as typhoid or pneumonia. Such men were typically cared for by other convalescent patients.

The members of the Brick Congregational Church in Galesburg, Illinois, received a letter in 1861 from a local physician who had volunteered for the Union with five hundred other Galesburg men at the war's start. The physician reported that Galesburg soldiers were dying in filthy, ill equipped hospital tents of diseases that would not have killed them if they had received proper care. Anxious to protect their own sons, the parishioners sent supplies and Bickerdyke to the army hospital at Cairo, Illinois. Bickerdyke had medical knowledge, and, as her neighbors knew, she was a plainspoken, energetic woman who would not be intimidated by army authorities resentful of civilian interference. Essentially a stand-in for Galesburg parents, she was expected to judge whether the supplies sent were suitable, to advise of future supply needs, and to demand proper treatment for soldiers.



Mary Ann Ball "Mother" Bickerdyke, a Civil War nurse known for her motherly treatment of wounded troops. (Library of Congress)

Reaching Cairo on June 9, 1861, Bickerdyke found that conditions in the regimental hospital tents were even worse than she had been led to expect. Without asking permission from anyone, she immediately set to work cleaning, nursing, and feeding the sick men. Bickerdyke moved about with a decisive air and gave directions in such decided, clarion tones as to ensure prompt obedience. The wounded called her Mother because she reminded them of their own mothers. She would continue in this work, both at the general hospital behind the front lines and at field hospitals, for the remainder of the war. In recognition of her success at saving men, she became the matron of the general hospital at Cairo in November 1861.

After helping evacuate the wounded from the Battle of Fort Donelson in February 1862, Bickerdyke decided that the most pressing need for nursing assistance was at the front. She joined Gen-

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eral Ulysses S. Grant's army as it moved to take control of the Mississippi River. For seven months, Bickerdyke worked at Union field hospitals in Memphis, Tennessee, at Iuka, Mississippi, and at Corinth, Mississippi. She laundered soiled clothing, negotiated with Confederate farmers to obtain food for the wounded, prepared vast quantities of food, and distributed tons of supplies.

Until this time, Bickerdyke had no commission from anyone in authority, although some military leaders such as Grant tolerated her presence. When challenged by an army surgeon who asked under whose authority she fed the wounded men, Bickerdyke once famously replied that she received her authority from the Lord God Almighty. In April 1862, Bickerdyke gained some authority when Chicago's Northwestern Sanitary Commission, whose food and medical supplies she had been unofficially distributing since her days in Cairo, appointed her an agent in the field.

Bickerdyke had gained some national renown at Fort Donelson by using a lantern to search the battlefield for wounded men at midnight before they froze to death. Newspaper reporters, having spotted a colorful character, publicized her activities and made Bickerdyke one of the best-known Civil War nurses. The Sanitary Commission took advantage of Bickerdyke's fame and sent her on a speaking tour in 1862 to raise funds to purchase more supplies. Convinced by her botanic training and by her own experience that wounded men did better if they were fed at once, Bickerdyke also obtained donated cows and chickens to give the men fresh milk and eggs.

Bickerdyke counseled the Sanitary Commission on the need for female nurses. In her opinion, the men who came to the battle sites with the Sanitary Commission knew little about caring for the sick, whereas a mother learned to give such care as her children grew up. Unfortunately, few women volunteers had Bickerdyke's energy or stomach for the horrors of war. Most of the women who joined Bickerdyke, with the exceptions of Mary Jane Safford and Eliza Chappell Porter, did not remain for long. Both Safford and Porter collapsed from overwork. At the Battles of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge in 1863, Bickerdyke was the only woman caring for seventeen hundred Union wounded at the field hospital of the Fifteenth Army Corps.

Bickerdyke accompanied General William T. Sherman's army as it marched toward Atlanta. After accompanying hospital trains as they moved north with wounded, she spent a couple of months on a Sanitary Commission speaking tour and had planned to rejoin Sherman's army. On the way to Savannah with supplies, Bickerdyke encountered emaciated Union soldiers making their way home from the Confederate prison camp at Andersonville, Georgia. She nursed some of the Andersonville survivors and was with Sherman when the war ended. Proceeding to Washington, D.C., with Sherman's forces, she had an honored place in the victory parade. In March 1866, Bickerdyke resigned her Sanitary Commission position after helping in the demobilization of Illinois soldiers.

Bickerdyke never stopped trying to aid Union soldiers. In 1867, she surrendered her job as assistant superintendent of Chicago's Home for the Friendless, a charity for indigent women and children. She joined a short-lived project that provided farms in Kansas to unemployed Union veterans. Bickerdyke made periodic trips to Washington, D.C., to press the pension claims of men she had known at the front, and she frequently visited veterans in soldiers' homes. Having moved to San Francisco in 1876 because of failing health, she helped organize the California branch of the Woman's Relief Corps, an auxiliary of the Grand Army of the Republic veteran's organization. In 1886, Congress recognized Bickerdyke with a monthly pension of $25.

Mary Ann Ball Bickerdyke died in Kansas on November 8, 1901, and is buried in Galesburg, Illinois.

Caryn E. Neumann

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; African American Women; Aid Societies; Disease; Education, Northern; Fundraising; Hospitals; Hospital Ships; Military Invasion and Occupation; Northern Women; Nurses; Politics; Safford [Stafford], Mary Jane (ca. 1831/1834–1891); Sherman, William Tecumseh (1820–1891); Union Homefront; United States Sanitary Commission; Wartime Employment.

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Blackwell, Elizabeth (1821–1910)

Famous for her pioneering work on behalf of women entering the profession of medicine, Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell was the founder, in the 1850s, of the New York Infirmary for Women and Children (NYIWC). At the outset of the Civil War, she spearheaded New York meetings that led to the formation of the Woman's Central Association of Relief (WCAR), a centralized agency that organized volunteer efforts to meet the emerging needs of ill and wounded Union soldiers. Blackwell's activism contributed to the establishment of the United States Sanitary Commission (USSC) by the Department of War in June 1861. As a leader in the Ladies' Sanitary Aid Association, she helped coordinate work through the NYIWC and the Cooper Institute for the rest of the war. With her sister Dr. Emily Blackwell, Elizabeth coordinated the selection of volunteers for the training of wartime nurses through Bellevue Hospital. The new nurses were sent on to Dorothea Dix, who, as the Union's superintendent for nurses, placed them in military hospitals, battlefields, and wards. Blackwell viewed the war as a rebellion to preserve slavery and described her own actions as doing what she could for "freedom and justice" (Blackwell 1895, 235).

Elizabeth Blackwell was born near Bristol, England and immigrated with her reformist family to the United States at the age of eleven. Family friends included William Lloyd Garrison, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and other prominent abolitionists. Blackwell was strongly influenced by Transcendentalism and Unitarianism and later by Christian Socialist thought. The death of her father, Samuel Blackwell, in Ohio in 1838 led her into work as a schoolteacher.

Elizabeth Blackwell was the first woman to receive a medical degree in the United States. (Library of Congress)

After studying medicine privately in the South and being turned away by major medical schools of the East, she gained admittance at Geneva Medical College in western New York. When she graduated in 1849, she became the first woman to earn a professional medical degree in the United States. She emphasized in her work the importance of sanitation and hygiene in public health. After further study and hospital experience in the United States and England, she opened a dispensary in lower Manhattan and treated impoverished residents of the nearby tenements. This service evolved, in 1857, into the Bleeker Street NYIWC. There Blackwell worked side by side with her sister Emily and with Dr. Marie E. Zakrzewska, who later founded the New England Hospital for Women and Children in Boston.

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Blackwell's friendship with Florence Nightingale and her knowledge of Nightingale's work in the Crimea encouraged her to do relief work and deepened her resolve to develop a nursing school and eventually a medical school for women through the NYIWC. The immediate need for trained nurses in the war made Blackwell postpone plans for the medical school until after the war's end. The school for women physicians she had envisioned was established in 1868 and operated until 1899. Soon after it was established, however, Blackwell left the United States. Leaving the operation of the NYIWC to Emily, she moved to Britain in 1869 and maintained her residence and her medical career there for the rest of her life.

Barbara Bair

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; Disease; Dix, Dorothea Lynde (1802–1887); Garrison, William Lloyd (1805–1879); Hospitals; Northern Women; Nurses; Stowe, Harriet Elizabeth Beecher (1811–1896); Union Homefront; United States Sanitary Commission; Women's Central Association of Relief; Zakrzewska, Maria [Marie Elizabeth] (1829–1902).

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Blair, Lorinda Ann [Annie Etheridge Hooks] (ca. 1840–1913)

Annie Etheridge Hooks, born Lorinda Anna Blair, is best-known for her bravery as a nurse in the Civil War, tending to wounded soldiers on the front lines of battle.

Lorinda Anna Blair was born in Detroit, Michigan, around 1840, with sources placing her year of birth anywhere between 1832 and 1844. After her mother died when Annie was young, she moved with her father, a merchant, to Milwaukee.

In 1860, Annie married James Etheridge. She returned to Detroit, where she enlisted as a regimental nurse when her husband joined the Second Michigan Infantry in 1861. After training for six weeks, the regiment left for Washington, D.C. By this point, Annie was the only woman left out of the twenty women who had enlisted with her.

Named the Daughter of the Regiment, Annie served with the Second Michigan Infantry for three years. On July 18, 1861, her regiment first engaged in war at Blackburn's Ford, with the Union troops losing seventy-eight men and the Confederates, sixty-eight. A few days later, on July 21, 1861, at the First Battle of Bull Run (Manassas), Annie's regiment was ordered to guard an escape route to Washington. Shortly after this battle, her husband deserted, but Annie stayed on with the regiment.

In the spring of 1862, Annie left the Second Michigan Infantry to work on hospital ships, transporting wounded soldiers to hospitals in New York, Washington, and Baltimore. In August 1862, she returned to regiment work, this time with the Third Michigan Infantry Regiment. That month, her regiment was involved in the Second Battle of Bull Run (Manassas), and Annie was on the front lines tending to the injured.

Throughout the war, Annie aided the wounded, serving in thirty-two battles, including the Battle of Antietam, the Battle of Fredericksburg, the Battle of Gettysburg, and the Battle of Chancellorsville. Besides providing medical care, there are accounts of her cooking and serving food to the soldiers. Even though she bravely served on the front lines of many of the war's bloodiest battles, the only wound she ever received was a shot to the hand.

In June 1864, the veterans of the Third Michigan Infantry, including Annie, were transferred to the Fifth Michigan Infantry Regiment, with which she served from 1864 to July 5, 1865, when it was mustered out of service. During this time, she also worked in a Union military hospital in City Point, Virginia, during the winter.

After the war, Annie worked as a clerk in the U.S. Pension Office in Washington. In 1870, she married Charles E. Hooks, a Civil War veteran of the Seventh Connecticut Infantry. In 1886, Congress authorized

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Blair to receive a $25-a-month pension acknowledging her military service. She died in 1913 and was buried with honors in Arlington National Cemetery.

Sigrid Kelsey

See also Antietam/Sharpsburg, Battle of (September 17, 1862); Chancellorsville, Battle of (April 29–May 6, 1863); Fredericksburg, Battle of (December 13, 1862); Gettysburg, Battle of (July 1–3, 1863); Hospital Ships; Nurses; Vivandieres.

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Blalock, Malinda [Sam Blalock] (ca. 1840–1901)

Malinda Blalock is thought to be the only woman to fight on both sides of the Civil War, and she is the only woman known to have fought as a man from North Carolina.

Born Sarah Malinda Pritchard in about 1840 in Caldwell County, North Carolina, to Alfred and Elizabeth Pritchard, Malinda married William McKesson "Keith" Blalock in April 1861, at a small church near Grandfather Mountain in Watauga County. The two were Unionists.

Keith decided to join the Confederate army, desert as soon as possible, and join the Union army. Malinda cut her hair short and enlisted with Keith on March 20, 1862 as Sam Blalock in Company F, Twenty-sixth Regiment, North Carolina Troops. Malinda had assumed the name of Keith's half brother, and she claimed she was his brother. The Blalocks shared the same tent and drilled side by side until April 20, 1862, when Keith deceitfully obtained a discharge. Having realized that deserting to join the Union would not be easy, Keith rubbed himself with poison sumac and was subsequently discharged. Malinda then disclosed her identity as a woman and she was discharged as well. Keith's deception was soon discovered and he was charged with desertion. He lived on Grandfather Mountain with several other deserters before fleeing for a short time to Tennessee, where he became a recruiter for a Michigan regiment.

Unionists at heart, Malinda and Keith went back to the North Carolina mountains and played an active role in the guerrilla raids and personal vendettas that characterized the war in that part of the state in 1864. The Blalocks joined George W. Kirk's partisan unit in North Carolina. Keith also served as a guide for Confederate deserters and for Unionists who were trying to make their way through the mountains to Federal lines in Tennessee.

In 1864, Malinda was wounded in a skirmish, and in another engagement Keith was blinded in one eye. In 1865 Keith shot and killed a man whom he believed had killed his stepfather Austin Coffey. Keith was apprehended, but, before he was brought to trial, he was pardoned by Governor William W. Holden.

After the war, the Blalocks became farmers in Mitchell County, North Carolina, and had at least four children: Columbus, John, Willie, and Samuel. Malinda died on March 9, 1901. She and her husband, who died August 11, 1913, are buried in the Montezuma Cemetery in Avery County, North Carolina.

Gwen Thomas Mays

See also Female Combatants.

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Blockade Running

Eluding the Union naval blockade of Confederate seaports contributed to the very survival of the Con-

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federacy. Beginning in 1861, the United States Navy stationed warships at the entrances to Southern ports, preventing the export of Southern cotton and the import of manufactured goods from Europe. Blockade runners—fast ships that sneaked past the Union Navy—transported cotton to Europe and the Caribbean while importing needed manufactured goods, weaponry, food, and luxury items to the South.

On April 19, 1861, President Abraham Lincoln issued an order to begin a naval blockade of Confederate seaports. In what would eventually become part of the Anaconda Plan, the Federal navy attempted to choke off the supply of goods entering and leaving the South. Because of the South's reliance on agriculture—cotton and tobacco provided the majority of revenue for Southerners—few manufacturing centers were located in the South at the outbreak of the Civil War. Most manufactured goods, raw materials, and luxury items came from the North or from Europe. Union military strategists hoped that a blockade would force the Confederacy to its knees, leaving it unable to fight without supplies.

Even as the flow of manufactured goods slowed to a trickle, Southern factories shifted to war production. The Confederate government asked civilians to become self-sufficient to weather the crisis. Women absorbed the brunt of the shortages, especially in regard to cloth. With the decline of

Group of people on the deck of the USS *Hendrick Hudson.* Originally known as the CSS *Florida.* the ship was a Confederate blockade runner, later captured by Union forces and renamed. Southern women depended on runners such as the *Florida* to provide them with supplies like cloth, newspapers, books, foodstuffs, and luxuries during the Civil War. (National Archives and Records Administration)

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domestic cloth manufacturing after the Revolution, most households purchased their clothing. Jefferson Davis and other Confederate officials urged women to make their own clothing as a patriotic gesture. However, elite women initially scoffed at the thought of wearing "Negro cloth" and therefore continued to buy clothing, imported by blockade runners from Bermuda, Nassau, or Havana. Clothing remained a staple cargo for import, since Southern women demanded it in such large quantities.

Refraining from mandating what the blockade runners could bring into the South, the Confederate government opted to allow ships to operate privately with little government oversight. For that reason, blockade running became extremely profitable. Those who could finance a ship and take the risk of running the blockade could reap incredible profits by providing wealthy Southerners with items that allowed them to continue their luxurious lifestyles. Ship captains favored highly profitable and easily transportable goods, such as clothing, medicine, and liquor, over bulkier products like foodstuffs.

Because the privatization of blockade running led to favoring luxury items over necessities such as sugar, flour, and meat, poor women had to deal with the loss of necessities more than their wealthy counterparts did. By 1865, prices for certain foodstuffs rose by more than one hundred times their 1861 level, with the inland areas suffering more than the port cities. Women, responsible for the family food supply, had to increase their household's production or find alternative sources of food for the family to survive. One alternative source in which women found food was the very institution that caused the shortages: the blockade runners. Both Georgia and North Carolina hired ships to run the Union blockade to export state-owned cotton and to bring back much needed foodstuffs and cotton cards.

Blockade runners also participated in the Confederacy's clandestine operations. At least two female spies, Rose O'Neal Greenhow and Belle Boyd, traveled by blockade runner to either collect or return information about Union forces to Confederate officials. The information these women gathered and delivered through the blockade helped plan military maneuvers.

Finally, blockade runners also linked women to the outside world. Each time they returned, ships brought mail, newspapers, and books from the North and Europe. For women in the South with relatives elsewhere, blockade runners provided an invaluable communication service. The importation of books and newspapers brought joy to educated elite women because the majority of book publishers resided in the North. Newspapers also helped to inform elite women of the political, economic, and social situation in both Europe and the North.

James Gigantino

See also Female Spies; Greenhow, Rose O'Neal (ca. 1814–1864); Homespun.

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Border States

Women in the Border States, traditionally considered Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, and Delaware, experienced the Civil War somewhat differently than either their Northern or Southern counterparts. Although they offered their men up to the cause, supplied and supported them, and faced their enemies with as much bravery as their Union and Confederate sisters, the status of the Border States during the war created unique circumstances for their female residents. The Border States played a pivotal role in the war: Their economies were tied to both sections, their men fought and died for both sides, and both governments and their armies competed for control of the region throughout the war.

The Union military held official control of the states by the early years of the conflict, but Confederate sentiment remained a powerful force, com-

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peting for civilian loyalties throughout the war. Slavery remained entrenched in these states' economies, and Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation (and its nonapplication to these states) was designed specifically to secure Border State loyalty. The divided nature of the war experience in these states naturally affected the women. They faced family, friends, and neighbors with opposite sympathies to their own; endured political, social, and economic consequences for their devotions; withstood the seemingly constant presence of invading and occupying armies; and attempted to sustain themselves and their families in the midst of it all. The homefront in the Border States was truly contested terrain, with women playing out the political tensions within their families and communities on a daily basis.

Socially, women in the Border States faced pressures that their counterparts in the North or South did not deal with every day. Throughout all the Border States, loyalties were divided. Families turned against each other, and once friendly neighbors now looked on each other with suspicion. Perhaps more than in other regions, the Civil War divided families in the Border States. While the typical description of a civil war is a brothers' war, women, as wives, mothers, and sisters, were also often caught up in family feuds resulting from the conflict. If fathers and sons argued over loyalties or decided to fight for opposing sides, women tried to relieve the tension through mediation or by maintaining communication between the estranged members. Open dialogue may have existed between brothers and sisters with differing views, but tension over wartime matters could tear families apart.

In the patriarchal society of the mid-nineteenth century, loyalty disputes between husband and wife were frowned on, but they existed during the war. With wartime politics at the forefront of debate, a woman's political disagreement with her husband might be acceptable only if it remained confined to private discussion. Public demonstrations of loyalty opposite that of a spouse carried shame and fueled tension within many Border State families. The bonds between women, as friends and within families, were also strained as a result of the war. Friends with opposite sympathies would often limit their discussion of war topics to avoid breaking the relationship. Some tensions reached a point when relatives or friends halted all communication with one another.

Women's interaction with troops was high in the Border States as the governments competed for control over the population. Soldiers continuously passed through these states on their way to the front, and women from both sides met them with provisions and emotional support. Women also offered to care for sick and wounded men; even if the wounded soldier was in an enemy uniform, women often took pity on the individual, overlooking political loyalties for humanity's sake. Personal relations between women and enemy soldiers developed, but society generally discouraged flowering romances between partners of opposite loyalties. Not only would family and friends express their disapproval, but also newspaper editors frequently warned against the possible ulterior motives the participants might bring to such a relationship during a time of war.

Union efforts to suppress Confederate influence in the Border States resulted in military policy that directly affected the women there. In 1863 in Kentucky, General Ambrose Burnside's General Order Number 66, issued in an effort to quell ongoing domestic resistance in that state, required Kentucky women who were married to Confederate soldiers either to swear loyalty to the Union or to face exile to the South. Even if the women were not married to a Confederate, once the state was under Union control in 1862, any support or association with the enemy warranted punishment. For instance, throughout the war, Confederate Cavalry General John Hunt Morgan made frequent raids in the state, and Union commanders sent any woman who publicly displayed support for the rebels to prison and further threatened her with exile from the state.

Similarly, in 1863 Missouri, Brigadier General Thomas Ewing issued General Order Number 11, calling for the evacuation of the civilian population from the western counties of Missouri, whose wartime experience was rife with guerrilla raids rather than organized military engagements. The

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women in the state, often out of fear of retribution as much as Confederate sympathy, frequently supplied the bands with food, shelter, and other provisions. In an effort to quell such civilian support and in direct response to repeated and increasingly violent guerrilla raids by William Quantrill, Ewing issued his order. If citizens in the region could establish loyalty to the Union, they would be permitted to return home; otherwise, all men, women, and children remaining devoted to the Confederacy would be forced to leave the state. The order produced widespread outrage; the public perceived it as cruelly affecting innocent women and children while not succeeding in eliminating the guerrilla threat.

Economically, socially, and politically, Maryland held strong ties to the Confederacy as war tensions grew. However, despite strong pro-Southern leanings, Maryland earned quick attention from the Union forces especially because of its geographic proximity to the Union capital, Washington, D.C. As a result, once war was declared, Maryland found herself flooded with Union troops and its citizens' abilities to express Confederate sympathies severely restricted. Interactions with soldiers from both sides became common for women in the state, especially when large battles like the one fought at Antietam broke out within the state's borders.

Women in Delaware had similar experiences. Despite its leading politicians' sympathies for the Confederacy, the civilian population proved more loyal to the Union than to the Confederacy. The state's slave population was not large, and its industrial potential proved valuable to the Union.

All four Border States' strongest tie to the Confederacy was the presence of slavery within their borders. While the slave population was not as great in these states as it was in those of the Deep South, the assertion of the right to own slaves and the corresponding racial attitudes provided a strong connection to the seceded states. Slave women in these areas frequently faced harsher treatment, including sexual assault, by invading military or guerrilla forces. These women also saw their men impressed into military service by both sides, putting added strain on their circumstances. Hope for freedom under the Emancipation Proclamation was dashed when the Border States were exempted from the policy.

Kristen L. Streater

See also African American Women; Antietam/Sharpsburg, Battle of (September 17, 1862); Civilian Life; Confederate Homefront; Emancipation Proclamation (January 1, 1863); Family Life, Confederate; Family Life, Union; Foraging, Effects on Women; Guerrilla Warfare; Impressment; Loyalty Oaths; Military Invasion and Occupation; Northern Women; Politics; Quantrill, William Clarke (1837–1865); Rape; Refugees; Shortages; Slaveholding Women; Southern Women; Union Homefront.

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Bowser, Mary Elizabeth (ca. 1839–n.d.)

Little is known of Union spy Mary Elizabeth Bowser's life before or after the Civil War. During the war, she worked with Elizabeth Van Lew in Richmond to get information on Confederate war operations.

She was born a slave on the Richmond, Virginia plantation of John Van Lew. Upon his death, probably in 1851, his wife and daughter freed their slaves and purchased and manumitted a number of their former slaves' relatives. The daughter, Elizabeth Van Lew, became well-known as an abolitionist in Richmond during the 1850s. She arranged for Mary to be educated at the Quaker School for Negroes in Philadelphia. Mary returned to Rich-

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mond in 1861, and at the outbreak of the Civil War she married Wilson Bowser, a free black man.

During the Civil War, Mary's former owner, Elizabeth Van Lew, operated a Union spy ring in Richmond. Van Lew was able to allay suspicion by affecting an attitude of eccentric behavior, coming to be called Crazy Bet. Van Lew arranged for Bowser's employment as a servant in the household of Confederate President Jefferson Davis. There Bowser posed as a dull but hardworking slave and gained access to both conversations and documents concerning the most sensitive activities of the Confederate government and military. Bowser would repeat what she learned to Van Lew or to Thomas McNiven, the Union's Richmond spymaster, who operated a bakery that became a major information clearinghouse. McNiven credited Bowser with being one of his best sources of wartime intelligence because of her photographic memory.

It became obvious to Confederate authorities that there was a leak in the Davis household, but suspicion did not fall on Bowser until January 1865 when she chose to flee from Richmond to the North. Some reports indicate that her last act as a Union spy and sympathizer was an unsuccessful attempt to burn down the Confederate White House.

The specific details of Bowser's activities and the exact information she passed to the Union will never be known. After the war, the Federal government destroyed its records on McNiven, Van Lew, and their agents to protect them from retaliation by Confederate sympathizers.

Mary Elizabeth Bowser dropped out of sight after the Civil War. Nothing is known about where she went or what she did, and the date and place of her death are unknown. Papers believed to have been Bowser's diaries were apparently discarded by family members in the 1950s. Her descendants rarely talked about Bowser's work out of the same fear of retaliation that prompted the government to destroy the records of her activities.

The American government honored Mary Elizabeth Bowser's contributions in 1995 by inducting her into the Military Intelligence Corps Hall of Fame at Fort Huachuca, Arizona.

Robert D. Bohanan

See also African American Women; Female Spies; Van Lew, Elizabeth (1818–1900).

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Boyd, Belle (1844–1900)

Confederate spy Marie Isabella "Belle" Boyd was born in 1844 in Martinsburg, Virginia (now West Virginia). Her father, Benjamin Reed Boyd, provided well for his family through the direction of a general store and a tobacco plantation. His success allowed the Boyd family to live a comfortable life, surrounded by household slaves, and provided Belle with an education appropriate for a Southern girl of her status.

Just weeks before Belle's seventeenth birthday, Virginia seceded from the Union and her father enlisted to serve under Confederate General Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson. Belle and her family found themselves in the midst of the Civil War as the Shenandoah Valley remained a key front throughout the conflict, experiencing over one hundred military engagements. A young and adventurous Belle found several opportunities to serve the Southern war effort in an area that was constantly exchanged between Confederate and Union troops.

In July 1861, Union troops occupied Martinsburg, and a fateful encounter with a Yankee soldier began Belle's service as a Confederate spy. During a July Fourth celebration, drunken Yankee soldiers entered the Boyd home demanding that Belle remove the Confederate flags rumored to decorate her room. The soldiers then threatened to hang a Union flag over the rebel house. When Mrs. Boyd protested the soldiers' actions, a soldier stepped forward to silence her and Belle shot him to protect her mother. Union authorities dismissed Belle's actions as self-defense. She realized the opportunities that her femininity provided in gathering information from unsuspecting Union soldiers, and this experience encouraged Belle to further defend the Southern cause. She willingly risked her reputation

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by openly associating and flirting with enemy soldiers to gain vital intelligence. Though eager to serve as a spy, Belle was naïve in the art of espionage. She passed on messages written verbatim and in her own handwriting. Only a week after the shooting of the Yankee soldier, Union forces intercepted one of her messages and easily identified her as the culprit. Nonetheless, she escaped formal punishment with a stern warning.

Belle continued to dabble in espionage after she was sent south to Front Royal, Virginia, to stay with her aunt and uncle. There she nursed wounded soldiers and pilfered weapons and other supplies from Union troops. By the fall of 1861, Belle became an official courier for the Confederate army. She risked her life to carry messages between Generals Pierre G. T. Beauregard and Jackson, using Federal passes she secured from Union officers and her horse, Fleeter, who allegedly could kneel on command to avoid enemy patrols. Once, while still in Front Royal, she hid for hours in an upstairs closet of her aunt and uncle's hotel to listen through a knothole and record the discussion of Union officers in the room below. She then traveled 15 miles to pass on the information undetected.

Maria Isabella "Belle" Boyd, a Confederate spy, provided critical information about Union troop movements during the Civil War, most notably during the Shenandoah Valley Campaign in 1862. (Library of Congress)

Belle's most famous exploit was her role in the Battle of Front Royal. Confederate forces under the command of General Jackson initiated a frontal attack on Union troops in the Shenandoah Valley on May 21, 1862. The Confederate army met the Union troops stationed in Front Royal two days later. Through a message passed on to her by another courier and information personally gathered from careless Union soldiers, Belle knew the position of five different Union divisions in the Shenandoah Valley and the potential for the forces to unite and surround Confederate troops. Belle perceived the importance of capturing Front Royal before retreating Union troops burned vital supplies and infrastructure. Desperate to inform Jackson's troops, Belle ran to meet the approaching army. Artillery exploded around her and bullets pierced her dress, but Belle successfully reached the Confederate troops, passed along the information, and waved her white sunbonnet to signal them to advance into Front Royal. The Battle of Front Royal made Belle a legend in the both the North and the South. Jackson rewarded Belle's bravery in the fall of 1862 with an honorary commission as a captain and aide-de-camp. Meanwhile, stories of her espionage and character were also exaggerated and discredited in Northern newspapers. Accounts described an armed Belle leading the Confederate charge on Front Royal herself or reduced Belle's credibility by labeling her a prostitute.

Belle's legendary status made covert activities difficult, and the Federal Department of War imprisoned her in Washington, D.C., on two separate occasions. Shortly after the Battle of Front Royal, she mistakenly gave a secret message to a Union spy disguised as a rebel soldier. Secretary of War Edwin Stanton ordered her imprisonment in Old Capital Prison in July of 1862, but the Union released her a month later. In the summer of 1863, Union forces arrested Belle once more when she refused to leave

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Martinsburg and her ailing mother. They transferred her to Carroll Prison in Washington, D.C. She was released the following winter. During both prison terms, Belle experienced limited hardships besides the loss of her freedom and a brief illness while in Carroll Prison. Belle found ways to communicate with fellow prisoners and was credited with increasing the morale of captive rebel soldiers. Southern sympathizers also secretly communicated or visited Belle and paid for supplies and luxuries to supplement the prison rations. On both occasions, Belle was never formally charged with a crime and specific reasons for her releases are unknown.

When released from prison the second time, Belle resumed her role as a Confederate spy. She volunteered to serve as a Confederate courier to Europe. Armed with secret dispatches from the Confederate secretary of state, Belle boarded the British steamer, the *Greyhound,* in May 1864. The Union navy apprehended the steamer on suspicion of blockade running within days of its departure and arrested Belle. While awaiting her fate as a prisoner for the third time, Belle developed a romance with Union navy Lieutenant Samuel Harding. Belle first used Lieutenant Harding as she did the romantic interests of previous Yankee soldiers, leveraging her influence with him to help the Southern captain of the *Greyhound* escape. However, Belle accepted when Harding proposed marriage. The Union ultimately exiled Belle to Canada and dishonorably dismissed Harding from service. The two lovers reunited in England and married in August 1864.

Despite the publicity surrounding their marriage, Samuel Harding risked returning to the United States, where Union forces arrested him on suspicion of carrying Confederate dispatches. Alone in England, Belle began writing her memoirs. Legend contends that Belle wrote a letter to President Abraham Lincoln, threatening to reveal damaging Union secrets in her memoirs unless her husband was released from prison. The specific reasons for Harding's release are unknown, as are the circumstances of his death. He mysteriously died after reuniting with Belle in England. To support herself and her daughter, Belle published her memoirs, *Belle Boyd in Camp and Prison,* in 1865 and began a career as an actress.

Belle returned to the United States in 1866. She continued her career as an actress until she married former Union officer and businessman John Swainston Hammond in 1869. Belle divorced Hammond in 1884 and maintained custody of her four surviving children. Less than six months after her divorce, she married Nat High, an actor seventeen years her junior, and resumed her career as an actress. For the next fifteen years, Belle toured with her family and gained notoriety for dramatic recitals of her years as a Confederate spy. She died of a heart attack in 1900 while in Kilbourn, Wisconsin, preparing for another performance. She is buried there.

Belle Boyd remains a controversial figure. Since the publication of her memoirs, historians have debated the historical integrity of her accounts. Belle wrote her memoirs in the melodramatic style of the literary genre and was admittedly hesitant to reveal the intimate details of her espionage work. However, historians have substantiated the important episodes discussed in her writings through the use of several contemporary sources. Historians also continue to examine the importance of Belle's legend and her ability to reinvent herself throughout her life.

Katharine Lane Antolini

See also Blockade Running; Female Spies; Imprisonment of Women; Southern Women.

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Bread Riots

During the American Civil War, Southern women planned and executed urban food riots in a number of Southern states, including Georgia, Louisiana, Virginia, Tennessee, Alabama, and North Carolina. Most disturbances were well-planned reactions focused on the dramatic escalation in the prices, combined with a growing scarcity in the markets, of household commodities such as flour, sugar, coffee, butter, and bacon. In many cases, these food shortages resulted from the activities of Confederate impressment agents who, under the provisions of the Impressment Act of March 1862, traveled throughout the South, negotiating agreements with local farmers to sell their produce to the Confederate army at fixed prices. In anticipation of the impressment agents' arrival, farmers frequently withheld their goods from market, thus increasing scarcity and driving up the prices of the commodities available for sale to private citizens.

Common occurrences in seventeenth-, eighteenth-, and nineteenth-century Europe, bread or food riots are extralegal socioeconomic protests, usually aimed at eradicating or ameliorating unjust market practices related to the sale of household commodities such as bread, meat, flour, coffee, and tea. Such market practices are often the result of public policy decisions at either the local or national level.

The largest Civil War food riot, which took place in Richmond, Virginia, on April 2, 1863, typified most wartime Southern food riots. In this riot in the Confederacy's capital, a crowd estimated at nearly five hundred women, accompanied by adolescent boys and a few men, broke open the doors of Richmond's Main Street and Cary Street merchants. They seized coffee, candles, shoes, flour, bacon, and sides of beef. Although a number of the women were armed with guns or axes, which they apparently brandished in the faces of resisting merchants, no fatalities occurred. The riot ended after a short time when the city's Public Guard, which had been summoned at the request of Virginia Governor John Letcher, trained loaded rifles on the rioters. The crowd dispersed quickly, with many women carrying their seized bacon and flour home to share with family and neighbors. More than two-thirds of the sixty-eight people arrested in the riot were women. During the next few months, Richmond's municipal courts were filled with trials resulting from the arrests of female rioters. Many of those found guilty of misdemeanor charges for their role in the bread riot were required to pay fines. A few women who were identified as the leaders of the Richmond bread riot were convicted of felonies and sentenced to prison terms of five years or more.

Most Richmond newspaper accounts characterized the rioting women as prostitutes or vagrants. However, many involved in the Richmond disturbance, as well as in the bread riots occurring elsewhere in the Confederacy, were working-class women with husbands and sons in the Confederate army. Other participants worked in the ammunition laboratories and in sewing factories manufacturing percussion caps and uniforms for Confederate soldiers. These working-class women experienced more acutely the personal and economic privations of the Civil War than did their more affluent Southern sisters. Consequently, through the bread riots, they demanded that their government fulfill its responsibility to protect and feed them.

Food riots by Southern women contributed to a growing sense of Confederate dissatisfaction with or disaffection for the war. The riots also drew attention to serious problems of want and privation in many Southern communities. As Southern armies racked up discouraging battlefield losses and homefront shortages became more acute, the desertion rates among Confederate soldiers escalated, as men who were anxious about their families' well-being returned home.

Southern politicians attempted to respond to this dilemma by developing social welfare initiatives aimed at assisting needy Confederate families. In urban communities, they created free markets, which appear to be prototypes for twentieth-century food banks. Farmers contributed their excess produce, which was then sold at reduced prices to families meeting specific criteria. To qualify as free market recipients, women had to be the mothers or legally married wives of soldiers, either conscripts or

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volunteers, who were currently serving in the Confederate army. The families of substitute soldiers were excluded because these men typically received financial compensation for their military service from the families of the wealthy men they replaced. Common law wives and the children born of these unions were also not entitled to relief because these relationships did not meet the criteria for respectability. In North Carolina, eligible recipients received coupons that could be redeemed for food, a precursor to food stamps and Independence cards. In rural areas, county relief agents worked with home visitors, who were often married middle- and upper-class women from the community and who interviewed the families in their homes to determine their eligibility. The most ambitious statewide relief programs, which can be accurately characterized as precursors to the social welfare initiatives of the Progressive Era and perhaps even the New Deal, were implemented in Georgia and North Carolina.

E. Susan Barber

See also Confederate Homefront; Factory Workers, Southern; Food; Foraging, Effects on Women; Morale; Nationalism, Confederate; Rural Women; Shortages; Southern Women; Urban Women, Southern.

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Breckenridge, Lucy Gilmer (1843–1865)

Virginia diarist Lucy Gilmer Breckenridge closely observed Southern culture, the effects of the Civil War, and her own family's dynamics before her untimely death in 1865.

Born February 1, 1843, into a prominent family of planters—her father owned one hundred thirty-one slaves in 1850, the largest number held by any individual in the county—Lucy grew to maturity in the home built by her grandfather. Grove Hill, a Federal estate built around the turn of the nineteenth century, became the setting of her intimate wartime diary.

Lucy's diary began as an attempt to lift the boredom of wartime life. With her sisters and her mother, Lucy spent her days at Grove Hill reading, welcoming guests, and discussing life and the war with her family. Later, she sewed, made bandages, and nursed the sick. Throughout the war she worried about her five brothers fighting for the Confederacy.

The diary's themes included the politics of the war, Lucy's own personal life, and the many comings and goings of her extended family and friends. She noted, for example, her disgust with Union General John Pope's 1862 order that his men should live off the land. Throughout the diary, Lucy made pointed statements about the subordination of women in marriage. Later, Lucy's ambivalence about her own engagement to Lieutenant Thomas Jefferson Bassett reflected many of the same ideas. In 1864 she wrote that a bad marriage was never the wife's fault because women were better than men.

Worry for absent members of her family occupied much of the diary. The first Breckinridge to fall was Lucy's brother Johnny, who died in 1862 at the Battle of Seven Pines. Lucy mourned him throughout the war. In May 1864, the family was horrified to hear that her brothers Major Cary Breckinridge and Peachy Gilmer Breckinridge had been killed at Kennon's Landing. Reports soon indicated that Cary was safe but confirmed Gilmer's

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death in combat. Gilmer's death crushed his wife Julia. Lucy herself began to believe that the war would never end, and she poured the bitterness of grief into her diary.

Lucy's diary ended at Christmas 1864. Despite their many ups and downs, she and Thomas Jefferson Bassett were married on January 28 of the new year. Their marriage was a brief one, ending with Lucy's death from typhus on June 16. Her diary, written on the pages of an account book, was found by a descendant many years after her death. It provides an invaluable glimpse into the emotional world of a young witness to the Civil War.

Fiona Deans Halloran

See also Civilian Life; Confederate Homefront; Courtship and Marriage; Diaries and Journals; Domesticity; Mourning; Separate Spheres; Slaveholding Women; Southern Women.

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Brevard, Keziah Goodwyn Hopkins (1803–1886)

Wealthy widow Keziah Goodwyn Hopkins Brevard kept a diary of events from July 1860 to April 1861. With all its contradictions, Brevard's diary captures the troubled view of a wealthy plantation mistress during a vital ten-month period at the onset of the Civil War.

Born in 1803, Brevard lived in the Richland District outside of Columbia, South Carolina. She had a troubled fifteen-year marriage, which ended in 1842 with the death of her husband. Two years later, her father perished, and Keziah inherited the family's extensive land and slaveholdings. A very successful plantation mistress, Brevard did not merely maintain this estate but doubled its size in the decade prior to the Civil War. Her secession-era diary records both routine items—the weather, the names of visitors, and the amount of jelly she made—and her opinions on weighty topics such as slavery, Lincoln's election, and South Carolina's secession.

Despite owning 209 slaves in 1860, Brevard expressed misgivings about the South's peculiar institution. She saw slavery as a burden to slave owners, wished it had never existed in the United States, and claimed that she would support its end if freed slaves would be forced to leave the country. Nevertheless, she had no sympathy for abolitionists, whom she considered to be evil, self-righteous fanatics who wanted to murder all white Southerners. Brevard also articulated contradictory attitudes regarding slaves. Slaves were her only daily companions, and she took a personal interest in their health. Yet she labeled them brutes and repeatedly chastised their impudence. Claiming that slaves with good owners, such as herself, were blessed, she nonetheless feared arson and poisoning. Though a paternalist, she possessed no misconceptions regarding where slaves' loyalty would lie in the upcoming war.

Brevard expressed her opinion on important political developments. She decried Lincoln's election and even wished for his death. She had mixed feelings regarding secession, expressing the belief both that Northern abolitionists should be happy that the South had left the Union and that South Carolina acted too hastily in seceding alone. Even while pledging money for guns, she echoed the arguments of cooperationists. Brevard opined that, if all the slave states had voted together in the 1860 presidential election, Stephen A. Douglas would have defeated Lincoln and that, if they had seceded together, they would present a much stronger deterrence to Northern invaders.

Though seemingly unaware of her unique situation, Brevard's actions challenged gender roles in the Civil War–era South. Not only did she run a plantation, but she did so very successfully. From 1844 to her death in 1886, she tripled her landholdings. With her overseer living on a separate plantation, Brevard lived as the only white person surrounded daily by at least twenty of her slaves. Living apart from other whites, she found comfort in her religion. She considered herself a religious person and repeatedly requested that God intervene in worldly affairs, yet she recorded her own infrequent attendance at church services.

John M. Sacher

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See also Confederate Homefront; Diaries and Journals; Religion; Southern Women; Widows, Confederate.

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Brown, Addie (1841–1870)

Addie Brown worked as a domestic servant in the wealthy African American Primus household in Hartford, Connecticut. A series of letters surviving from her friendship with Rebecca Primus provides insight into black female relationships and the difficulties of life for Northern blacks during the Civil War.

Brown was born on December 21, 1841. Her father died when she was very young, and her mother remarried against her wishes. Her brother Ally served in the Civil War. Brown worked as a domestic servant in the households of various employers in Hartford, Farmington, and Waterbury, Connecticut, and in New York.

Brown wrote more than a hundred letters to her close friend, Rebecca Primus, who traveled south to Maryland to teach newly freed blacks after the Civil War. These letters reveal an intimate female friendship during the Civil War period. Exactly how and when the two met is unknown, but Brown's letters to Primus begin in 1859. Between 1859 and 1868, Brown's letters came from Hartford, Farmington, and Waterbury, Connecticut, and from New York City. The letters paint a vivid portrait of a flirtatious and sexual friendship. Several letters from Brown to Primus indicate that, when visiting, they shared a bed along with hugs, embraces, and kisses. Brown even discusses Primus's kisses.

Because she was not formally educated, Brown wrote as she would speak. Throughout the course of her correspondence with Primus, her confidence and literacy grew. Her letters tell the story of a bright, intelligent woman who struggled to make a living under difficult financial circumstances. Her writing also reveals a political awareness. Brown expressed an open dislike for President Andrew Johnson, and she discussed her refusal to attend a minstrel show that included a blackface performance.

In April 1868, while in her late twenties, Addie Brown married Joseph Tines. Brown's letters to Primus, who was also married, often discussed her courtship with Tines. The discussion of her relationship with her future husband suggests that both women kept their various relationships separate. None of Primus's letters to Brown have been discovered. Addie's death was recorded on the back of an envelope to Brown from Primus, who wrote, "Addie died at home, January 11, 1870."

Eloise E. Scroggins

See also African American Women; Primus, Rebecca (1836–1929); Northern Women.

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Brown, Clara (1800–1885)

Born a slave in 1800, Clara Brown became an early Western pioneer. Brown settled in the Colorado Territory and owned several parcels of land, mining claims, and approximately $10,000 in savings. Never forgetting her past, Brown helped freed slaves settle in Colorado and fought to find the family from whom slavery had separated her.

Virginia's slave system split Clara and her mother from the remainder of their family in 1803. The two lived near Fredericksburg with their master, Ambrose Smith, until 1809 when Smith moved his family and slaves to Kentucky. Upon Smith's death in 1835, George Brown purchased Clara, while others bought her husband Richard, her son Richard Jr., and two daughters Margaret and Liza Jane. At George Brown's death, his children granted Clara her freedom in 1856. Under Kentucky law, she had to leave the state within one year of her manumission.

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Clara traveled to St. Louis where she worked as a domestic servant for Jacob and Sarah Brunner. She moved with the Brunners to Leavenworth, Kansas, in 1858 in the middle of the violence that earned the territory the nickname Bloody Kansas. When the Brunners later moved to California, Clara stayed behind. She opened her own laundry business but soon decided to take her domestic services to Colorado.

Brown left Kansas in April 1859 and settled in Denver. She worked in Henry Reitze's bakery before reopening her laundry business. Her bakery contacts ensured her success in the city. Even so, she realized that the mining camps northwest of Denver could provide more profit than did the city. Brown moved to a two-room cabin in Mountain City, Colorado, in 1860. During the next five years, her business generated enough profit for her to leave Colorado in search of the family she had lost at the 1835 auction block. Before his death, George Brown had given her information on her family's whereabouts. Clara learned that Margaret had died from a respiratory disease and that in 1850 Liza Jane worked on a farm in Logan County, Kentucky. Because Clara's husband and son had been sold several times, George Brown could not locate them. In 1860, Clara set off in search of Liza Jane. She returned a year later without any information on her daughter, but with sixteen freed slaves. For the next ten years, she helped these ex-slaves by providing financial and moral assistance.

In 1882, Brown's longtime friend from Kansas, Becky Johnson, sent word from Iowa that she had located Liza Jane. Brown traveled east to meet her long-lost daughter as well as her granddaughter, Cindy. Cindy returned with Clara to Colorado. Clara died on October 23, 1885, and was buried with a funeral orchestrated by the Society of Colorado Pioneers.

James Gigantino

See also African American Women; Slave Families.

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Brownell, Kady (1842–1915)

A markswoman with the First Rhode Island Infantry volunteer unit during the Civil War, Kady Brownell proudly carried her unit's colors and fought openly as a woman in several battles alongside her husband Robert.

Born in 1842 in an army camp along the African coast, this daughter of a Scottish soldier in the British army grew up in the military life. Kady was nineteen years old, living in Rhode Island, and recently married when Fort Sumter was surrendered to Confederate forces in May 1861. The following day, Kady and her husband Robert signed up for a three-month enlistment with the Rhode Island Infantry, one of the earliest regiments to respond to the call for volunteers.

While in camp, Kady became known as the Daughter of the Regiment. She also gained skills as a sharpshooter and a sword handler, items she carried as a symbol of her position as sergeant and color bearer. In the middle of July, when her regiment moved south of the Potomac River and headed toward Richmond, Kady carried the flag. Her company came under fire, and she was separated from her husband, but she maintained the colors throughout the skirmish. As her regiment retreated and Kady found herself in the woods, she found a horse and rode to nearby Centreville to learn of Robert's fate.

After Kady found Robert unhurt, the pair returned to Providence, where they were discharged following the completion of their three-month term. They immediately joined the Fifth Rhode Island Infantry and participated in the January 1862 campaign for Roanoke Island. Kady became the regiment's acting nurse and Daughter of the Regiment. Soon thereafter she again carried the flag. During a friendly fire incident with Union soldiers, Kady ran to the front and waved the flag to stop it.

Another battle flared up soon after at New Bern, North Carolina, during which Robert sustained

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Kady Brownell served in the Union army beside her husband with the Rhode Island Volunteers. (Library of Congress)

injuries. Kady tended to him and the other wounded soldiers on the field. She even helped a badly wounded Confederate soldier who insulted her after regaining consciousness, which prompted Kady to grab a bayonet and plunge it at his chest. She was stopped by a Union soldier nearby.

Kady spent the next six weeks nursing her husband and other Union soldiers back to health in New Bern. She continued to help a nearby Confederate hospital by bringing coffee and soup to the doctors, nurses, and patients. By late April, the Brownells were transferred by steamship to New York, where Robert spent several months recuperating in the Soldier's Relief Hospital. They were both discharged in the winter of 1863.

Robert's wounds prevented him from enlisting again, so the Brownells adopted a civilian life. Kady kept her colors, which had been signed by General Ambrose Burnside. Beginning in 1884, Kady received a veteran's pension of $8 per month.

Kady Brownell died in a Women's Relief Corps Home in Oxford, New York, in January 1915.

Eloise Scroggins

See also Nurses; Vivandieres; Northern Women.

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Buck, Lucy Rebecca (1842–1918)

Civil War diarist Lucy Rebecca Buck was born near Front Royal, Virginia, on September 25, 1842.

Her father, William Mason Buck, was a planter and storeowner. Lucy was one of thirteen children and grew up on the family's plantation, named Bel Air. She attended school in Front Royal and, during the Civil War, tutored her younger siblings at home.

Buck commenced her Civil War diary on December 25, 1861. At this time her brothers, Alvin and Irving, had already joined the Confederate army. Lucy's diary chronicled her domestic and social life at Bel Air, as well as political and military news. Front Royal was strategically valuable to both Union and Confederate forces, and it changed hands over a dozen times during the war. Buck recorded regular visits from both armies, which, she noted on May 3, 1862, kept the family "in a state of continual ebullition." Union troops set up headquarters in May 1862, raiding the property of food and provisions. After their departure, Buck was forced to take on additional domestic duties as the family struggled to provide for themselves as well as for the hundreds of passing Confederate soldiers requesting food and lodgings. "I wish I had a great big larder at their disposal," she remarked on November 4, 1862.

Like most Confederate women, Lucy sewed for the soldiers and participated in fundraising activities. In January 1863, Buck took up a collection for

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the destitute citizens of Fredericksburg and raised $259 for the cause. She personally knew Confederate spy Belle Boyd and met General Robert E. Lee when he visited Bel Air on his way home from the Battle of Gettysburg. Lucy and her sister sang for Lee and obtained his autograph. While both her brothers survived the war, Lucy's cousin, Walter Buck, died in June 1863. Lucy's diary ended abruptly with the news of Lee's surrender at Appomattox in April 1865, but she resumed writing a new volume soon after and kept a diary until her death. Lucy and her four sisters never married. In 1897, financial circumstances forced the Buck family to sell Bel Air, and in 1905 Lucy moved into a house on Chester Street in Front Royal named Cozy Corner, which was designed by her and her sister. She died on August 20, 1918, at the age of seventy-five, and was buried in Prospect Hill Cemetery in Front Royal.

Giselle Roberts

See also Diaries and Journals; Southern Women.

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Bucklin, Sophronia E. (n.d.–1902)

Union army nurse Sophronia E. Bucklin made her greatest contribution to the war effort through her willingness to defend the soldiers in her care, her fellow nurses, and herself—an amazing feat for anyone, but especially for a woman who was technically too young to be an army nurse.

Bucklin was a seamstress in Auburn, New York, when the war began. She became a nurse out of patriotic fervor following the attack on Fort Sumter, although she had to delay her work due to societal and political resistance. Many believed that it was immoral for young, single, and attractive women to serve. Beyond the social and political impediments, she also had to meet the requirements of the Superintendent of Women Nurses for the Union army, Dorothea Dix. Bucklin did not meet the age requirement to serve, but the screening board forgot to ask her age. In September 1862 she began her work at the Judiciary Square Hospital in Washington. Following that assignment, she worked at hospitals in Virginia and Maryland, and she was at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. Her duties included feeding and grooming the patients, dressing wounds, and doing laundry.

In 1869 Bucklin published an account of her experiences, *In Hospital and Camp: A Woman's Record of Thrilling Incidents among the Wounded in the Late War.* Her memoir detailed the hostility that she encountered from some male doctors, nurses, administrators, and officers. Bucklin often confronted these men, challenging their authority. She was dismissed from several hospitals when she refused to remain quiet about behavior she deemed inappropriate, unethical, and immoral. She found some hospitals were inadequately supplied and staffed, or they were staffed by poorly trained or uncaring personnel. Bucklin grew frustrated that her reports were often ignored. However, in the spring 1864 at Camp Stoneman, she managed to have a surgeon dismissed following her complaint that he was sexually harassing women at the hospital.

Bucklin never married, and after the war returned to her work as a seamstress. She joined the Woman's Relief Corps of the Grand Army of the Republic, a national organization for women who were Civil War veterans. She died in Ithaca, New York, in 1902.

Paula Katherine Hinton

See also Dix, Dorothea Lynde (1802–1887); Fort Sumter (April 12–14, 1861); Gettysburg, Battle of (July 1–3, 1863); Hospitals; Northern Women; Nurses; Separate Spheres; Wartime Employment.

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Bull Run/Manassas, First Battle of (July 21, 1861)

The first major battle of the American Civil War occurred on July 21, 1861, about thirty miles south of Washington, D.C., near a creek called Bull Run. Expecting a spectacle of parades and drills, civilians gathered around the battlefield with their picnic baskets to watch the engagement and they were shocked by the realities of battle. Although at the time it was the largest battle in North America, the Battle of Bull Run (Manassas) would later be judged a relatively small clash by Civil War standards. Women played key roles as spies, soldiers, and medical personnel during the battle. Furthermore, the first civilian casualty of the war was a woman.

Newly enlisted Union forces under General Irvin McDowell were not well trained, but political pressure and the belief that the war would be a short-lived one led the West Point graduate to march on Virginia from Washington, D.C. On July 21, 1861, Federal forces charged the Confederate lines several times with minimal success. Confederate leader Thomas J. Jackson earned the nickname Stonewall as a response to his and his troops' firm stance despite heavy enemy fire. The arrival of General Joseph Johnston's reinforcements enabled the Confederates to mount a charge that ultimately broke the Union lines. The failure of the Union to break Jackson's line and the arrival of Confederate reinforcements led to a near rout. The Union's defeat at Bull Run ended notions among politicians and citizens in the North that the war would come to a quick end. On the other hand, after Bull Run, Southerners believed they had a chance for a quick victory to gain independence for the Confederacy.

Defeated Union forces retreated in disarray. Troops fled back to the capital over roads congested with Unionist politicians, newspaper reporters, and picnickers who had come to watch the battle. The civilians had expected a great event, having never seen the horrors of war for themselves. Some women sold foodstuffs to the spectators, and others took excitement in artillery bursts. The situation worsened for civilians and soldiers alike when a cannon shot struck a wagon crossing and subsequently blocked the Cub Run Bridge. The obstruction and rumors of approaching rebel cavalry made a bad situation worse; women were left to fend for themselves as the soldiers took their horses and carriages to make a faster retreat.

Despite the large numbers of civilian onlookers, the only civilian casualty was a Southern woman in her eighties. Bedridden Judith Carter Henry refused to leave her upstairs bedroom as the battle commenced on a hill named for the patriarch of her family, Henry Hill. At first, Confederate snipers used her home to ward off numerous Yankees. Eventually Henry decided to flee her home temporarily. Soon after her return, she was unable to escape an incoming cannon shot and died in her bed, the first civilian killed in the Civil War.

Refusing to stand on the sidelines, other women took part directly in the Battle of First Bull Run as they would in other Civil War battles. Confederate spy Rose O'Neal Greenhow sent two messages to General Pierre G. T. Beauregard, alerting him of Union movements, numbers, and bivouacs. Another Southern spy, Belle Boyd, shot and killed a Union soldier prior to the Battle of Bull Run. Before the battle commenced, several drunken Union soldiers arrived at the Boyd home near the battle site, and they harangued Boyd's mother when she refused to raise the Union flag over her home. The indignant Belle shot one of the soldiers but was not punished.

Women also disguised themselves as men to fight for their nation. Louisianan Loreta Janeta Velazquez dressed as a man, called herself Harry T. Buford, and joined General Barnard Bee's command to fight for the Confederacy. Velazquez served in at least four major engagements, including First Bull Run, and later became a spy for the Confederacy.

At least four women combatants served in the Union army during the Battle of Bull Run. Sarah Emma Edmonds, working as Private Franklin Thompson of the Second Michigan Infantry, shuttled back and forth from the nearby town of Centerville to the battlefield with supplies for field hospitals, including lint and brandy. She also filled

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canteens to quench the soldiers' thirst and comforted wounded and dying soldiers. Later in the war, Edmonds worked as a Union spy and mail carrier. Similarly, Annie Etheridge Hooks fought in a Michigan unit at Bull Run and for the duration of the war. Another woman, Louisa Thompson, served in the Union cavalry at the battle. Finally, after marching through the heat at her husband's side, Rhode Island's Kady Brownell guarded her regiment's flag during the melee and retreat until a Pennsylvania soldier dragged her to the rear.

Women also offered much needed medical services to the soldiers at the Battle of Manassas. Twenty-eight-year-old Dr. Mary Edwards Walker served as the only female doctor in the Union army. The valuable medical services she performed not only at Bull Run, but also at other battles throughout the war, eventually earned her the Congressional Medal of Honor. Furthermore, medical reformer Dorothea Dix, along with many other women, worked at the hospital in Georgetown that housed the Union wounded.

As with most other battles of the Civil War, women played key roles on and off the battlefield. They fought, served others, died, and fled in the Civil War's first major engagement.

Scott L. Stabler

See also Blair, Lorinda Ann [Annie Etheridge Hooks] (ca. 1840–1913); Boyd, Belle (1844–1900); Brownell, Kady (1842–n.d.); Civilian Life; Confederate Homefront; Dix, Dorothea Lynde (1802–1887); Edmonds, Sarah Emma [Franklin Thompson] (1841–1898); Female Combatants; Female Spies; Greenhow, Rose O'Neal (ca. 1814–1864); Northern Women; Southern Women; Velazquez, Loreta Janeta [Harry T. Buford] (1842–1897); Walker, Mary Edwards (1832–1919).

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Bull Run/Manassas, Second Battle of (August 29–30, 1862)

The Second Battle of Bull Run (Manassas) resulted from the Union threat to the Confederate capital of Richmond, Virginia. Unlike the 1861 battle on the same soil, Second Bull Run lacked the expectations of a relatively bloodless fight, and women came to the battle as nurses and soldiers, not observers.

In late June and early July 1862, Union General John Pope marched the Army of Virginia into enemy territory. To facilitate the campaign on Virginia, Pope issued a number of general orders to deal with the ongoing problems of operating in enemy territory. These orders covered a variety of problems, including foraging in the countryside, burning houses to control Confederate guerrillas, forcing civilians to repair damaged railroad lines, and authorizing Union officers to arrest any male civilian who would not take an oath of allegiance. The foraging and razing of homes had a particular effect on Confederate women, as the hardships of war became apparent.

By mid-July 1862, Pope's movement of his army south to Culpepper, Virginia pushed Lee to take the offensive. Starting with General Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson's force of two divisions, Lee began moving portions of the Army of Northern Virginia away from George McClellan's retreating Union troops and toward Pope's three corps. In mid-August, Pope continued to pull his army back to the Rappahannock River, as Lee continued to transfer his Confederate army from Richmond into Central Virginia. The fighting proved bloody, overwhelming those who tried to tend to the wounded. Union nurse Clara Barton, who had attached herself to the hospital trains of Pope's Army, quickly discovered that her small kit of supplies were no match for

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the massive influx of causalities. Barton was joined by several other female nurses in Manassas, including Charlotte Elizabeth Johnson McKay of Maine.

Pope pulled his army back to northern Virginia and soon discovered that the Rappahannock River was deep enough to block the Confederate advance. Pope continually shifted his forces along the river to prevent Lee and his army from crossing it. On August 22, Lee's cavalry found the Union right flank uncovered and with no support. While Pope and his army were pinned by inactivity along the river, Lee and Jackson planned to swing around Pope's exposed flank and cut him off from reinforcements.

On August 25, Jackson and three infantry divisions marched north toward Pope's right flank. The Confederates masked their march by hiding behind the Bull Run Mountains. After a one-day march, Jackson had possession of Pope's Manassas Rail Junction supply depot. On August 27, Pope's army pulled back from the Rappahannock River line as the first of McClellan's troops began arriving north of Jackson's Confederate forces. Jackson pulled his forces back from Manassas Junction and waited for the rest of Lee's army along an abandoned railroad cut near the old Manassas battlefield.

On the next day, Pope's units concentrated on Manassas Junction in an attempt to close in on Jackson's divisions. Near Groveton, Jackson decided to attack one of the Federal columns and quickly found his Stonewall brigade in a stand-up fight with the Iron brigade. Nightfall brought this severe fight to an end, but it alerted Pope to the location of Jackson's brigades. Pope did not realize that General James Longstreet's Confederate divisions were approaching, ready to join Jackson's forces.

Pope's corps began their attacks against Jackson's men on August 29. Reinforcements from the Army of the Potomac had arrived. In one of the corps, the Second Michigan Volunteer Infantry, Sara Emma Edmonds fought as a man under the name of Franklin Thompson. She and her regiment found itself in heavy fighting for the next two days. The Union's numerous, uncoordinated attacks against Jackson failed to push the Confederates back from the railroad cut.

Pope launched a massive assault the next day, using all of Porter's corps against both Jackson's and Longstreet's positions. This assault also failed. Lee then ordered Longstreet to counterattack against the Federal left flank. Longstreet's five divisions rolled forward and swung left to unhinge General Pope's lines. Toward nightfall on August 30, Pope's combined forces retreated toward Centerville, Virginia, and Washington, D.C. The Confederate pursuit ended with an indecisive battle at Chantilly, Virginia, where Pope finally withdrew into the defenses of Washington.

William H. Brown

See also Barton, Clara (1821–1912); Edmonds, Sara Emma [Franklin Thompson] (1841–1889); Female Combatants; McKay, Charlotte Elizabeth Johnson (1818–1894); Nurses.

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Burge, Dolly Sumner Lunt (1817–1891)

Widowed plantation owner and slaveholder Dolly Lunt Burge kept a journal during the Civil War. During the war, her plantation near Covington, Georgia, suffered from Union General William Tecumseh Sherman's March to the Sea.

Born on September 29, 1817, in Bowdoinham, Maine, Burge was a relative of abolitionist and Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner. She married Samuel H. B. Lewis in 1838. In 1842, the couple moved to Zebulon, Georgia, where her older sister had moved earlier. In Georgia, Dolly's husband

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trained and then began to work as a physician. He died in September 1843.

A widow and the mother of a daughter at the age of twenty-six, Dolly found employment as a teacher. Her daughter Susan died in 1844, and in 1850 Dolly remarried. Her second husband, Thomas Burge, came to the marriage with four children and an active plantation with several hundred acres under cultivation and more than thirty African American slaves. Dolly and Thomas had a daughter together, Sadai, in 1855. Dolly lived as a planter's wife and a mother until Thomas died in 1858. A widow once again, she maintained her control over the plantation and assumed all the duties of her late husband. Although she lost the assistance and guidance of her husband, the plantation continued to earn similar profits as it had under his governance. As an independent landholding widow, Dolly faced many legal and social hurdles in the years preceding the war.

When the secession crisis emerged, Dolly, despite her Northern upbringing, sided with her Southern neighbors. She expressed her support for the morality and necessity of slavery. While dealing with the shortages and uncertainty of the war, she faced a series of personal tragedies with the deaths of one of her young stepchildren and her parents. Her diary is one of the most insightful looks at the difficulties women and especially widows faced in running plantations during the Civil War.

The war literally came home for her in 1864, when Sherman's army marched through her plantation in Newton County, Georgia. They damaged her home and property, tearing clothes, stealing food and money, and liberating her slaves. In her diary, she discussed the uncertainty that Sherman's army brought to the region as well as her estimate that Sherman's men caused her personally $30,000 in damage.

When the war ended, Dolly turned to sharecropping to keep her plantation afloat. In 1866, she married Reverend William J. Parks, a longtime acquaintance and fellow Methodist. Parks apparently respected Dolly's independent spirit. The couple agreed to a prenuptial agreement, ensuring that Dolly would be able to pass her property to her own children when she died. In addition, they agreed to live initially at Burge's plantation home. When Parks died in 1872, Burge was coexecutor of his will.

Burge lived on her Georgia farm until she died on October 26, 1891.

Andrew K. Frank

See also Destruction of Personal Property; Diaries and Journals; Education, Southern; Sherman's Campaign (1864–1865); Slaveholders Women; Southern Women; Teachers, Southern.

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Butler, Benjamin F. (1818–1893)

Despite his many other accomplishments, Union General Benjamin Franklin Butler gained and has retained his historical notoriety as a result of the controversies generated during his occupation of New Orleans, especially General Order Number 28, also called the Woman Order.

Benjamin Franklin Butler, who had varied careers as a respected and prosperous litigator, a successful state and national politician, and an ambitious but deeply controversial Union general in the Civil War, was born in Deerfield, New Hampshire, on November 5, 1818. As a young man, Butler aspired to attend West Point but, failing to achieve that goal, opted to study law and began his practice in Lowell, Massachusetts, where he gained a reputation as a formidable criminal attorney and reformer who championed workers' rights. He also rose to leadership positions in state politics and the Massachusetts militia.

At the commencement of the Civil War, Butler used his influence to gain an appointment in the Union army, where he excelled at administrative duties but failed miserably on the few occasions when he led troops into battle. In 1862 Butler was ordered to accompany Admiral David Farragut on his mission to take control of the mouth of the Mis-

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sissippi and New Orleans. Farragut was successful and turned the city over to Butler and his troops, effective May 1, 1862. The city's residents, in shock at their swift and unexpected occupation and furious at Confederate forces who failed to defend the city, vented their rage against the Union occupiers. Butler successfully subdued the male population but was troubled by the treatment he and his men received from the city's women, especially the ladies of the upper class. To bring their behavior under control, Butler authored an order that took advantage of the gender and class politics of the day. His infamous General Order Number 28, issued on May 15, 1862, promised that any woman, especially those "calling themselves ladies," who continued to taunt or insult his troops through "word, gesture, or movement" would be "liable to be treated as a woman of the town plying her avocation." Confederate politicians and newspaper editors decried the implicit sexual threat that they suggested would allow occupying troops to treat ladies as if they were prostitutes. Journalists and politicians in both England and France echoed these complaints. Some foreign leaders demanded that Butler be punished, but he was never formally censured or asked to withdraw the order.

Butler later claimed that the Woman Order had worked well because it was constructed in such a way that it would execute itself. As with many other issues related to Butler's tenure in New Orleans, the truth is more complicated. In fact, Butler incarcerated at least two women in the months that followed the order, most notably outspoken Confederate sympathizer Eugenia Levy Phillips, whom he prosecuted for laughing as the funeral procession of a Federal officer passed in front of her house.

Despite the venom directed at Butler, his administration had some positive effect in New Orleans, including his successful campaign to clean the infamously dirty city to discourage yellow fever outbreaks, as well as his establishment of free markets that made food available to the city's poor and hungry, among them Southern-sympathizing refugees and the wives and children of Confederate soldiers. Some were surely grateful to the man dubbed Beast Butler, but his imperiousness, combined with extensive property seizures, angered foreign consuls, bankers, and business owners who accused him of using his authority to line his own pockets. These accusations, though never proven, bore fruit, and Nathaniel Banks relieved Butler of his command in December 1862.

Benjamin Butler's long and controversial political and military career spanned more than 30 years, including the tumultuous years of the Civil War and Reconstruction. His issuance of the "Woman Order" during his tenure as commander of occupied New Orleans led many to call him "Beast" Butler. In addition to serving as general in the U.S. Army, Butler was an antislavery leader, U.S. representative, and candidate for president in 1884. (Library of Congress)

Although Confederate President Jefferson Davis placed a bounty on Butler's head and Confederates almost universally reviled him, Butler was wildly popular in the Union and was mentioned as a presidential candidate in 1863. After the war he was elected to Congress from Massachusetts, served three terms (1867–1875), and advocated a wide variety of reforms, including civil rights and woman

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suffrage. He was elected governor of Massachusetts in 1882 and died a wealthy and respected elder statesman in 1893. Butler remains a controversial figure in the South and is still regarded in popular lore as a brute and spoiler. Although recent biographers have offered a more balanced view, Butler continues to serve as the quintessential example of the invading Yankee who lacked couth, chivalry, and the appropriate respect for Southern ladies.

Alecia P. Long

See also Civilian Life; Confederate Homefront; Phillips, Eugenia Levy (1819–1901); Southern Women; Urban Women, Southern; Woman Order (General Order Number 28).

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Camp Followers

"Camp follower" was a general term describing people who traveled with the armies of the Civil War in unofficial, semiofficial, or official capacities. Some were the families of military personnel who visited the army camps, especially during the winter months, and who provided a touch of the typical home life of nineteenth-century Americans. Others provided essential services such as laundering, cooking, and nursing. Still others served as prostitutes.

Female camp followers traditionally were found in the vicinity of armies because they provided services that military organizations could not offer. During the Civil War, leaders on both sides continued to modernize the military. As they did so, they attempted to reduce the number of people among the camp followers by converting unofficial positions into official military positions. For instance, many medical tasks were transferred to army doctors and nurses.

Members of the families of military personnel, in particular of the officers, constituted one group of camp followers. The wives and children of the officers set up households in rented rooms or in the tents and cabins occupied by the men during the winter. The visits allowed the men to recreate the domestic lives they had left behind and to interrupt the boredom of the cold months. The women continued the practices they adopted in their regular lives, rising in the morning to answer cards and notes and holding afternoon teas at which they entertained the wives of other officers. In the evenings, the women attended serenades by military bands and ensembles of soldiers, or they participated in balls sponsored by various officers. They added a note of gaiety and home to the somber work the men were carrying out.

The presence of the officers' families created difficulties for the military. In some cases, they put a burden on an already overworked medical staff. The histories of military nurses report that they sometimes clashed with officers when they were asked to treat children who were visiting their fathers. William Tecumseh Sherman felt it necessary to post orders to keep women from traveling with the army. The orders had limited effect, and he had to repeatedly issue such injunctions. The wives of officers generally understood such commands to apply to those below them, but, as the war continued, women visited the armies less frequently.

Other family members visited the camps to care for husbands, sons, or brothers who were wounded or who became ill. They traveled to the vicinity of the armies and searched until they found the soldier in question. Although their presence sometimes relieved the workload of those charged with nursing, the family members required food, housing, and sometimes medical care of their own. Such people traveled as far toward the last location of the soldier as possible. Then they sought out an officer or some other official, who would provide them with a pass that allowed them through the military lines. Many of these people become physically and emotionally overcome by hospital conditions,

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requiring care themselves. Several nurses who penned memoirs following the war reported that women who came to the front looking for their husbands stayed long enough to give birth, again needing additional care themselves. Many of the family members who became camp followers for short periods of time located their relatives among the dead and took the bodies home for burial.

The military could not provide the soldiers with laundry facilities or meals during the Civil War. Traditionally, the wives of enlisted men filled these roles. During the Revolutionary War, the military attempted to determine a formula for the number of laundresses and cooks who would be supported by each unit, and that practice continued during the Civil War. The men were encouraged to form messes. Officers pooled their financial resources to hire cooks for their messes. In most men units, these cooks were free blacks or contrabands, slaves who had been freed by the conflict. Contrabands also supported laundries. Soldiers who could not reach food-preparation and laundering facilities, or who could not afford to use them, learned to care for themselves. As a result, soldiers succumbed to disease that bred in poorly prepared food and filthy clothing.

Some women took on the responsibility of caring for groups of men. Vivandieres, or daughters of the regiment, received a charge from the commander of a particular unit or a mayor or governor. This semiofficial appointment was very important to some women who accompanied the men to the front, caring for them along the way. Most of the

The camp of the 31st Pennsylvania Infantry near Washington, D.C., in 1862, included women and children. (Library of Congress)

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women were related to a man in the unit, usually a noncommissioned officer, and many of them had lived with the military their entire lives. The women also reminded the men of life at home and served to lift their spirits just by their presence.

The most problematical camp followers were the women who worked as prostitutes. The pairing of armies and prostitutes is as old as time. The pervasive presence of such women gave the term "camp follower" a negative connotation that it did not have in earlier years. The prostitutes, given the name "hookers" because of the numbers of them who followed the command of Joseph Hooker, indicated a basic conflict in social paradigms in the nineteenth century. Men were not supposed to live in an all-male environment. They needed the virtue of the domestic sphere, a sphere dominated by women. But virtuous wives could not maintain their domestic virtue in an army tent. Therefore, prostitutes provided a female presence in that all-male world. Unfortunately, prostitution did not provide the virtue that was the bedrock of the image of the middle-class family, and military officials worked to remove the women from the vicinity of the camps. In one memorable case, a boatload of "soiled doves" was sailed up and down Western rivers. In town after town, community officials refused to allow the women to land.

Karen A. Kehoe

See also Civilian Life; Contrabands; Domesticity; Family Life, Northern; Family Life, Southern; Northern Women; Nurses; Prostitution; Separate Spheres; Southern Women; Vivandieres.

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Carroll, Anna Ella (1815–1894)

Political pamphleteer and military strategist Anna Ella Carroll, the daughter of Maryland Governor Thomas King Carroll, is best-known for her claim to have devised the so-called Tennessee Plan for the Union army's invasion in February 1862. Carroll wrote a series of pamphlets that laid out the legal rationale for using the army to enforce Federal laws in the Southern states.

Carroll wrote a number of pamphlets in support of the Union in 1861 and 1862. The most important of these, *Reply to Breckinridge* (1861), detailed the arguments that President Abraham Lincoln and Attorney General Edward Bates made that, as commander-in-chief, Lincoln could use the armed forces to perform his duties as chief enforcement officer of the United States. In other words, he could call for volunteers, suspend the writ of habeas corpus, institute a naval blockade, and use the army to put down a domestic rebellion. Lincoln employed this legal tactic throughout the course of the war.

Carroll's pamphlet was so clearly written that Secretary of State William Henry Seward ordered it distributed to Congress. The legal rationale Carroll described was later delineated by notable lawyer Horace Binney and published more widely, but Carroll provided the earliest explication of the legal basis for Lincoln's actions in the first months of the war.

Later pamphlets by Carroll criticized the president's actions, particularly regarding the Union's confiscation of slaves as contraband of war, arguing the Border States would rebel. She also promoted colonization efforts by Aaron Columbus Burr to settle exslaves in Central America in what he named the Lincoln Colony.

Carroll's claim to fame rests not on her writings but on her claim that she created the Tennessee Campaign. She approached the War Department in 1861 after she met riverboat Captain Charles Scott in St. Louis, Missouri. As Carroll wrote to the Washington, D.C. *National Intelligencer* shortly after the Confederate surrender in 1865, Scott pointed out the strategic value of using the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers, which flowed north, instead of the Mississippi River, to invade the Confederacy via Tennessee. Neither river was strongly fortified and controlling them would relieve Union loyalists, particularly in eastern Tennessee. Any gunboats

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damaged by Confederate fire would float northward, back into Union territory, and the Tennessee was navigable clear to Alabama, providing excellent ingress to the heart of the Confederacy.

Carroll presented Scott's information to Assistant Secretary of War Thomas Scott in November 1861. Her plan duplicated others, including the overall strategy of the Union army under General Ulysses S. Grant, who had captured towns at the mouths of the rivers and was waiting for Union gunboats before venturing farther inland. In February 1862, the Union invaded Tennessee up the rivers, taking Forts Henry and Donelson.

Shortly after the war, Carroll began petitioning Congress to pay her as a strategist. Her claim was adopted by the suffragists Susan B. Anthony, Sarah Ellen Blackwell, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, for whom Carroll became a symbol of the military's disregard for women when it came to the work of the war. Her role as a symbol endures in her continuing appearances in Civil War historiography as an unsung female hero. Her legal acumen, while widely respected by politicians, including Lincoln, has drawn less attention than her legendary status as military strategist.

Janet L. Coryell

See also Anthony, Susan B. (1820–1906); Border States; Civilian Life; Contrabands; Lincoln, Abraham (1809–1865); Northern Women; Stanton, Elizabeth Cady (1815–1902); Union Homefront.

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Cary, Mary Ann Shadd (1823–1893)

The activist daughter of free black parents, Mary Ann Shadd Cary worked as a recruiting officer of black troops for the Union army from 1863 to 1864. Cary was a paid organizer of the Twenty-ninth Regiment Connecticut Volunteers and later of the Twenty-eighth Colored Infantry (Indiana). Working from a base in New Albany, Indiana, she used her considerable ties among networks of abolitionists and her skill at public speaking to muster in both enslaved and free African Americans. She also organized aid to contraband families. In her lifetime, Cary was an antislavery lecturer, a proponent of black nationalism, a participant in black emigration to Canada, an opinionated editor, teacher, writer, lawyer, and a women's rights advocate.

Mary Ann Shadd was born in Wilmington, Delaware. Her father, Abraham Shadd, worked with the Underground Railroad and was an agent for abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison's *The Liberator.* Mary Ann attended a Quaker school in Pennsylvania and soon became a teacher of free black children. With the 1850 passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, she joined other family members as they immigrated to Canada. She established an integrated school there through the auspices of the American Missionary Association. She also began publishing accounts that encouraged black migration to Canada West and was the strongly opinionated editor of the *Provincial Freeman* newspaper (ca. 1854–1860).

Mary Ann was attracted to the African colonization ideas of Martin Delany, but criticized James Redpath and Haitian emigration schemes. She married Thomas F. Cary of Toronto in 1856 but was widowed in 1860. Thwarted in her bid to become a missionary in Africa, she left her two young children with family and returned to the United States to work as Delany's agent, traveling across the Midwest, speaking in churches and other venues and canvassing possible recruits. The work was dangerous in states with black codes and in those where conservative Democrats feared an influx of African Americans as a result of the Emancipation Proclamation. Cary made her base in New Albany, a steamboat building center on the Ohio River with a proportionately high population of black residents and at the Kentucky state line—a good spot not only to recruit but also to aid runaways in their journey to Canada.

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Cary's recruitment of African American soldiers for the Union army bore fruit in 1864. The Twenty-ninth Colored Infantry was mustered in Connecticut in March 1864 and sent to the Department of the South for active duty. Cary continued working as a recruiter for Connecticut and Indiana. She was also an agent for the Chicago-based Colored Ladies' Freedmen's Aid Society (CLFAS), which gathered and sent supplies to former slaves living on the front lines. She also raised funds for her Mission School in Chatham, Canada. She returned to Chatham in the last months of the war.

Cary later moved to Washington, D.C., where she attended Howard University Law School and earned her law degree in 1870, becoming the first black female lawyer in the United States. She was a strong advocate of women's rights, including the right to vote. She organized the Colored Women's Progressive Franchise Association in 1880.

Barbara Bair

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; African American Women; Aid Societies; Antislavery Societies; Garrison, William Lloyd (1805–1879); Northern Women; Teachers, Northern; Union Homefront.

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Catholic Women

Lay and religious Catholic women offered their services to both the Union and Confederate armies during the American Civil War. Like their Protestant counterparts, lay Catholic women prepared bandages, sewed, and raised money. Religious Catholic women—women who entered a religious community and professed vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience—made the most significant contribution through their work as nurses.

At the beginning of the war, approximately five thousand Catholic sisters resided in the United States, of whom over six hundred assisted in the medical needs of the war. The women came from twenty-one communities and twelve different religious orders. These religious communities included the Daughters of Charity (Emmitsburg, Maryland), the Holy Cross (South Bend, Indiana), Sisters of Mercy (Baltimore, Maryland; Chicago, Illinois; Little Rock, Arkansas; Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Vicksburg, Mississippi), Sisters of Charity (Cincinnati, Ohio; Nazareth, Kentucky; New York, New York), the Sisters of St. Joseph (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Wheeling, West Virginia), Dominican Sisters (Memphis, Tennessee; Perrysville, Kentucky), Our Lady of Mt. Carmel Sisters (New Orleans, Louisiana), and the Ursuline Sisters (Galveston, Texas). The women who constituted these religious communities were primarily of working-class background and mainly of Irish, German, or French ancestry.

Sister M.M. Joseph of the Sisters of Mercy. She and others of her order served in a military hospital at Beaufort, North Carolina, during the Civil War. (National Archives and Records Administration)

Sisters brought to the war both their religious vows and a Catholic tradition of caring for the sick. Professing religious vows ensured that the sisters

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acted out of compassion and charity, that they did not relate to soldiers in a sexual manner, and that they obeyed orders. The Catholic tradition of caring for the sick spanned first-century sick-rooms and the Crusades of the eleventh through the thirteenth centuries. Florence Nightingale, coordinator and administer of nurses for the British army during the Crimean War in the midnineteenth century, relied on the assistance of Catholic sisters. In the United States, women's religious communities founded and worked in hospitals, responded to citywide epidemics and diseases, and visited the sick.

Throughout the war, political leaders, medical authorities, and bishops requested the services of the sisters. Wartime demands and the course of battle meant that the sisters did not have time to seek the proper permission from their local ecclesiastical authority. The sisters worked in a variety of medical facilities and locations, including the battlefield, field tent hospitals, prison camps, transport ships, and other makeshift hospitals. Most sisters also traveled extensively outside the geographical boundaries of their religious communities. The Daughters of Charity, stationed in Emmitsburg, Maryland, worked in Washington, D.C., Richmond, Virginia, and New Orleans, Louisiana.

Sisters provided the armies with nursing, hospital management, and religious needs. Antebellum America looked down on women who cared for the sick outside of the family or home. Catholic sisters, however, responded quickly to the demands of war. Sisters performed a variety of jobs, often in poor and disorganized conditions, that placed significant demands on their time and physical well-being. They worked with doctors in the wards, dressed wounds, assisted with surgeries, prepared corpses for burial, and attended to soldiers with contagious diseases. The women also focused on the preparation of meals, the upkeep of the medical facilities, the administration of the hospital, and the acquisition of food and medical supplies. Finally, the sisters addressed the religious needs of the soldiers by performing baptisms, attending to the dying, and encouraging the repentance of sins.

Some religious communities required the fulfillment of spiritual and material needs, and a proper work atmosphere. First, sisters and their ecclesiastical authority sought the presence of a Catholic chaplain who could say Mass. Due to the scarcity of Catholic chaplains, this request could not always be met. Second, religious communities required that they exercise control over the hospitals in which they served, that the government pay for the expenses of travel, food, board, and clothing, and that they need not associate with other female volunteers who might hinder their work.

Sisters maintained professional relationships with doctors and other female volunteers, and they gained the respect of the soldiers they served. Doctors generally did not care for the presence of female volunteer nurses, who often believed they knew better how to care for the sick and wounded. In working with sisters, the doctors, including U.S. Surgeon General William A. Hammond, commented positively on the skills and commitment of the sisters. Soldiers initially viewed the sisters with suspicion and perplexity because of a general prejudice toward Catholics and the clothing of the sisters. With time, the soldiers came to respect the sisters for their commitment, sacrifices, and impartiality. Some women also respected the work of the sisters, but other female nurses and Dorothea Dix, Superintendent of the United States Army Nurses, often discriminated against the sisters because of their religion, the question of control, and the perceived lack of warmth on the part of the sisters.

In 1918, a monument was erected in Washington, D.C., to the Catholic sisters in honor of their service during the Civil War.

Sarah K. Nytroe

See also Hospitals; Nurses; Religion.

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Cazneau, Jane McManus Storm [Cora Montgomery] (1807–1878)

Jane McManus Storm Cazneau, known best as Cora Montgomery, was a journalist who promoted United States territorial and commercial expansion before, during, and after the Civil War.

Cazneau was a native of New York and promoted gradual emancipation throughout her career. Educated at Emma Willard's Female Seminary, in the 1830s she speculated in land in Mexican Texas on which to settle freed blacks. In the 1840s she promoted Manifest Destiny in *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review* and *The New York Sun.* Cazneau worked with businessmen who sought to expand trade and commerce, convert sailing ships to steam and iron vessels, and establish coaling stations in the tropics. In editorials and journal articles in *The New York Sun, Tribune,* and *Herald,* she promoted revolutionaries friendly to the United States government in Mexico, Cuba, Nicaragua, and the Dominican Republic. Her most famous adventure was traveling to Mexico City during the Mexican War and reporting her exploits from behind enemy lines.

As Cazneau traveled in the tropics, she became an authority on the affairs of Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean. Editors, diplomats, political leaders, and foreign dignitaries sought her advice. She advised presidents from James K. Polk through Ulysses S. Grant, in addition to the cabinet members in those administrations.

In the late 1850s, in anticipation of a migration of freed slaves financed by the Federal government, Jane and her husband William invested in land and port facilities in the Dominican Republic. When secession came, Secretary of State William Seward sent for her and paid her expenses at *The New York Sun,* where she wrote patriotic editorials and rallied support for President Abraham Lincoln's administration.

In August 1862, New Yorkers mobbed blacks, and President Lincoln proposed financial assistance to those who would emigrate. Congress abolished slavery in Washington, D.C., and appropriated $100,000 to aid in colonization. Cazneau published *Life in the Tropics* as a guide for the emigrants. In response to the Emancipation Proclamation, Cazneau helped New York investors organize the American West Indies Company to transport and settle emigrants on company land. Spain had reclaimed its colony and welcomed the former slaves, who would grow cotton, then in high demand because of the Union blockade of Confederate ports. Few exslaves migrated to Santo Domingo, but those who did helped oust the Spanish and restore the Dominican Republic. After the Civil War, Cazneau became involved in the Grant administration scandals involving the annexation of the Dominican Republic and Samana Bay for use by United States Navy and merchant ships.

During her thirty-year career, Cazneau published more than one hundred newspaper columns in six metropolitan newspapers, more than twenty journal articles in three national journals, and fifteen or more books and pamphlets, and she edited five or more newspapers and journals. Blind in her last years, she lived a quiet life in Jamaica at Keith Hall, a restored plantation she converted into a winter resort for tourists, where she established a vocational school for freed slaves. She died in a storm at sea.

Linda S. Hudson

See also Lincoln, Abraham (1809–1865); Northern Women; Union Homefront.

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Chamberlain, Frances Caroline "Fannie" Adams (1825–1905)

Wife of Civil War General Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain, Fannie Chamberlain was a skilled musician, aspiring artist, and dedicated teacher prior to her marriage in 1855. Raised by a Congregationalist minister and educated by some of the most famed musicians of the era, Fannie taught in both Maine and Georgia. During the Civil War, she aided her husband's recovery from wounds and ailments, sometimes traveling south to be by his side. The Chamberlains had a sometimes turbulent marriage, but they remained together, raising two children, until she passed away in 1905.

Born Caroline Frances Adams in 1825, Fannie, as she was called by family and friends, was a distant cousin of John Quincy Adams. Her parents, Ashur and Amelia Wyllys Adams, had six other children to care for, and at an early age they sent Fannie to live with their cousin, Reverend George E. Adams, and his wife Sarah. As the well respected minister of the Congregationalist First Parish Church in Brunswick, Maine, Reverend Adams had the resources to provide Fannie with a good education. As she grew older, Fannie was taught to appreciate music, literature, and art. Her music teachers included Frederick Crouch and George Frederick Root. Fannie also participated in the literary society in Brunswick, further sharpening her intellectual skills.

Fannie demonstrated her restraint in her courtship by a young scholar from neighboring Bowdoin College, Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain. As their relationship developed, Lawrence, as he was known, and Fannie parted ways in 1852. She headed south to a teaching position at a female academy in Milledgeville, Georgia, and he went on to pursue a degree at the Bangor Theological Seminary. Eventually, the two married in December 1855. Perhaps reluctantly, Fannie gave up her career and settled down to be a wife and mother. The couple had two children who survived infancy. The family made their home in Brunswick, Maine, where Lawrence had accepted a position at his alma mater.

During the Civil War, Fannie supported Lawrence, traveled with him to Washington, D.C., and spent time with him in camp. On more than one occasion, she nursed him back to health and comforted him during the conflict's bleakest months. The war would have a lasting impact on their relationship. Emerging as one of the Union's most popular heroes as a result of his actions at Gettysburg, Lawrence became governor of Maine for four consecutive terms. Fannie felt slightly neglected as a result of his constant absences from home, and she contemplated divorce in 1868 but the couple reconciled. Family life became more stable after Lawrence became Bowdoin's president in 1871.

Fannie's health deteriorated near the end of her life. Totally blind by 1900 and dependent on family members and helpers, she died at the age of 80. She was buried in Brunswick.

Kanisorn Wongsrichanalai

See also Teachers, Northern.

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Chancellorsville, Battle of (April 29–May 6, 1863)

The Battle of Chancellorsville was a stunning Confederate victory, but it also resulted in the death of Confederate General Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson.

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The battle, which took place primarily around the home of the Chancellor family, proved to be a harrowing event for the area's women and children.

After the Union defeat at the Battle of Fredericksburg (December 11–15, 1862) and the subsequent stalemate along the Rappahannock River, the Federal government replaced General Ambrose Burnside with General Joseph Hooker. In the spring of 1863, Hooker chose a more daring campaign than those of his predecessors. On the evening of April 30, Hooker divided the one hundred-thirty-thousand-soldier army of the Potomac, sending approximately seventy thousand troops to converge at Chancellorsville. The rest of the Army of the Potomac remained at Fredericksburg to threaten the Confederate front. Confederate General Robert E. Lee suspected Hooker's intentions and immediately realigned his troops to meet this threat. Vastly outnumbered with only sixty thousand troops, Lee risked leaving ten thousand soldiers under General Jubal Early at Fredericksburg and moved the rest of his forces toward Chancellorsville.

During the midday hours of May 1, Confederates moved into position through the Wilderness with the assistance of local citizens. Meanwhile, Hooker realigned his position so that the left was on the Rappahannock River and its center was on the high ground outside Chancellorsville.

On the morning of May 2, Jackson's thirty thousand troops performed an extremely risky flank movement across the front of the Union army, while Lee remained with approximately fifteen thousand soldiers to face Hooker's main force. These movements caused Lee, Jackson, and Early to be severely outnumbered and vulnerable to Union attack. Yet they believed that Hooker would not take the offensive, and they were correct. That evening, while General Oliver O. Howard's men were eating dinner, Jackson's troops burst out of the woods, causing the entire Union right eventually to crumble in chaos. Jackson pushed up the Union flank for two miles until the Federals were finally able to secure a defensive position. Meanwhile, Lee utilized two Confederate divisions to attack Hooker's front. When night enveloped the battlefield and created confusion, Jackson was accidentally shot in his left arm by friendly fire. His arm had to be amputated and Jackson succumbed to pneumonia eight days later.

Throughout May 3, the fighting continued on two fronts. Under Hooker's orders, General John Sedgwick's VI Corps broke the Confederates, while General Daniel Sickles retreated from his position on the high ground one mile west of Chancellorsville. Lee's troops immediately took advantage of this withdrawal by massing artillery in the vacated high ground and renewed the offensive. In the evening hours, Lee received notice of Sedgwick's breakthrough at Fredericksburg and sent troops to meet them. Although Sedgwick defeated the Confederates at Salem Church on May 4, he was forced to withdraw back across the Rappahannock River because of Hooker's failure to support his advances. During the evening hours of May 4, the Union leadership held a council of war and voted to counterattack Lee. The following day, despite the desire of many to launch a counterattack against Lee, Hooker refrained from attacking and ordered a retreat that night.

Trapped in the midst of the fighting armies were the women and children who lived in the nearby area. At the time of the battle, Chancellorsville was not a town; instead, it was named after the Chancellor family who owned a house on the property. In 1860, the widowed Mrs. Chancellor lived there with her six unmarried daughters and one son. Upon hearing that the Union army was heading in their direction, the family put on multiple layers of clothing and tied silverware and tea sets under their hoop skirts to protect them. When the Chancellor house was requisitioned for Hooker's headquarters, the family was forced to move into a back room. Eventually, sixteen other women and children joined the Chancellor family to seek refuge. By May 2, the house overflowed with wounded soldiers, and the family's piano served as the surgeon's operating table. Unable to do anything other than watch the battle preparations from the front window, one of the Chancellor girls, Sue, recalled feeling helpless as the sounds of battle grew louder. Finally, the women and children were moved to the cellar, where they saw amputated limbs being piled

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up in the yard. During the intense battle, the house caught fire, forcing the women and children to flee from the home among the confusion and chaos of the battle. Even in her old age, Sue was unable to forget the scenes of terror as she watched her childhood home burn to ashes among the dead and dying soldiers.

Although the Southerners suffered approximately thirteen thousand casualties (22 percent), the Battle of Chancellorsville ended as a decisive Confederate victory, and it led Lee to decide to take the offensive into Pennsylvania. With Union casualties numbering around seventeen thousand (15 percent) and in the face of another terrible morale collapse, President Abraham Lincoln replaced Hooker with General George Gordon Meade.

Kristina K. Dunn

See also Civilian Life; Confederate Homefront; Southern Women.

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Chesnut, Mary Boykin (1823–1886)

Prominent South Carolinian Mary Boykin Chesnut kept an extensive diary during the Civil War, recording her views on politics, people, and the momentous events around her. Chesnut carefully revised, reworked, and expanded the journals that she had begun compiling in early 1861 for future publication.

Mary Boykin Miller was born on March 31, 1823, near Camden, South Carolina. She was the first of the four children of Mary Boykin and Stephen Decatur Miller, an early proponent of states' rights who was elected to the governorship in 1828 and later to the United States Senate. Her father owned three plantations and hundreds of slaves in Mississippi, and in 1835 he resettled his family there. Mary was taught at home, then sent to school in Camden until she was twelve. When her family left South Carolina, Mary entered Madame Talvande's French School for Young Ladies in Charleston, where she learned to speak French fluently and studied literature, natural sciences, German, and history with the daughters of South Carolina's plantation elite. When rumors that recent Princeton graduate James Chesnut Jr. was courting her reached her father, he took her to Mississippi. In 1837 she returned to Madame Talvande's, but her education ended with the 1838 death of her father. Mary and James Chesnut married on April 23, 1840, and went to live at Mulberry, the Chesnut plantation near Camden.

Although she had married the heir to a great fortune, Mary found that her father-in-law controlled the family assets. James's mother and two spinster sisters managed the household, which had more slaves than they could usefully employ. James was busy with his law practice and service in the state legislature. Mary's only responsibility was to produce children, but, to their sorrow and frustration, the couple remained childless. Bored with the elegant but dull life at Mulberry, Mary longed for clever companions.

James Chesnut was elected to the United States Senate in 1858. In Washington, Mary was at last surrounded by influential people who shared her interest in literature and politics and who admired her as a conversationalist and hostess. She was acutely aware that a woman's status depended on the success of her husband. In those two years she formed lasting friendships with Southern politicians and their wives—most notably Jefferson and Varina Davis. On November 10, 1860, to his wife's dismay, James Chesnut became the first Southern Senator to resign his Senate seat following Abraham Lincoln's election.

James helped draft South Carolina's ordinance of secession. Mary accompanied him to Montgomery, Alabama, for the first Confederate Congress and then to Charleston when he became an aide to General Pierre G. T. Beauregard in the weeks before the bombardment of Fort Sumter. The Chesnuts next went to the new Confederate capital, Richmond, for

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Prominent South Carolinian Mary Boykin Chesnut kept a diary of her experience during the Civil War which was published posthumously (1823–1886). (Chesnut, Mary, *A Diary from Dixie*, 1905)

a few months. Mary reestablished her friendship with Varina Davis and worked briefly in a Confederate hospital. She chafed at her husband's aristocratic refusal to actively seek office or political appointment. When James was not elected to the Confederate Senate, President Davis sent him back to Columbia as a member of the powerful Council of Five to oversee South Carolina's defenses. Mary convalesced at her sister's home in Flat Rock, North Carolina, for much of this period, recovering from "hospital fever" contracted in Richmond.

James's commission as a colonel on President Davis's staff took the Chesnuts back to Richmond. They lived in rented rooms near the White House of the Confederacy and saw the Davises almost every day. This period of the war was the most interesting for Mary. Her parlor was an oasis of what she called "the old life," a distraction from the Confederacy's shortages, dimming prospects, and mourning. The flirtations of her houseguests, the Preston sisters of Columbia, provided the romantic interest in *Mary Chesnut's Civil War.* She also chronicled political infighting in the Confederate government and military.

In April 1864, James was promoted to brigadier general and sent back to Columbia. As General William Tecumseh Sherman's forces approached South Carolina, James sent Mary to safety in Lincolnton, North Carolina, and then in Chester, South Carolina, where in her threadbare quarters she continued to provide a gracious welcome to old friends.

The Chesnuts returned penniless to Mulberry. The family fortune, chiefly slaves and Confederate bonds, was gone. They would struggle financially for the rest of their lives. While her husband involved himself in postwar conservative politics, Mary oversaw daily life at Mulberry and ran a small butter and egg business with her maid. In 1873, Mary and James moved into Sarsfield, a new home in Camden built with bricks salvaged from outbuildings at Mulberry. Mary wrote drafts of two novels, one about the war and another recounting her student days. Neither was ever finished or published. In the 1880s, using techniques she had learned writing fiction, she began rewriting her journals. The task was largely completed when James died in February 1885 and her mother a few days later. Exhausted and grieving, she lost everything but Sarsfield and a few cows in the settlement of her husband's debts. Mary turned her attention to putting her husband's papers in order and died of heart disease on November 22, 1886. Her rewritten journal, given to a close friend, was first published in 1905.

Mary's views on Southern society come through in her journals. She hated slavery, chiefly because of the sexual license it gave to men and the suffering this caused their wives and daughters, but she was dependent on slaves. She enjoyed flattery and deference, but disapproved of men's legal power over their wives' assets and activities, as well as of men who thought their sex conferred superior intelligence and wisdom.

Nancy Gray Schoonmaker

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See also Confederate Homefront; Davis, Jefferson (1808–1889); Davis, Varina Banks Howell (1826–1906); Diaries and Journals; Hospitals; Plantation Life; Politics; Secession; Slaveholding Women; Southern Women.

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Chickamauga, Battle of (September 19–20, 1863)

The Battle of Chickamauga, Georgia, was one of several pivotal engagements in 1863. The battle pitted the Union Army of the Cumberland against the Confederate Army of Tennessee, the two primary adversaries in Tennessee throughout the conflict. Although militarily a Confederate victory, it prompted the Union to unite three of its armies. This consolidation ultimately led to a decisive Union victory at Chattanooga, Tennessee, in November 1863. Women took part in the Battle of Chickamauga, as they did in many Civil War battles, participating as soldiers and medical personnel. In addition, many women and their families witnessed and were displaced by the fighting because much of it literally took place on their farms.

By late summer 1863, Major General William S. Rosecrans's Army of the Cumberland occupied a front facing General Braxton Bragg's Army of Tennessee. Their positions had remained roughly the same since their winter engagement at Murfreesboro, Tennessee. On the heels of victories at Vicksburg, Mississippi, and Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, President Abraham Lincoln and the Union high command began to pressure Rosecrans to attack the Confederates in eastern Tennessee. In August 1863, Rosecrans and his men threatened the Confederate supply center at Chattanooga. Bragg retreated, allowing Chattanooga to fall on September 6, 1863. Simultaneously, Union Major General Ambrose Burnside's Army of the Ohio moved south from Kentucky and took control of Knoxville, Tennessee.

The loss of these two rail centers prompted Confederate President Jefferson Davis to pressure Bragg to attack Rosecrans. As Rosecrans prepared to move into Georgia, Bragg advanced to monitor both him and Burnside. Reinforcements were ordered to assist Bragg, who began to look for a way to destroy Rosecrans's army.

After taking Chattanooga, Rosecrans marched his men toward the Georgia mountains to flank Bragg again. This time, Bragg maintained his position and looked for an opportunity to strike at the Union flank. The Confederates missed two opportunities to attack Rosecrans as his troops advanced through the mountains, and an alerted Rosecrans pulled his corps back to Chattanooga. By September 18, Bragg's Confederates were on the eastern side of Chickamauga Creek, while Rosecrans marched his army to Chattanooga on the west side.

On September 19, a Union division probing toward Chickamauga Creek ran into Confederate cavalry and forced their retreat. The fighting soon escalated, and by nightfall every unit of Rosecrans's army was involved in the fighting, as well as all but two of Bragg's. That evening, Bragg received additional reinforcements from Virginia. After a few hours' delay the following morning, the Confederates pitched into the Union divisions and started to work their way around the Union left flank. In the midst of fierce fighting, a confused Rosecrans mistakenly ordered Brigadier General Thomas Wood's division to shift to the left and cover Thomas's right. Wood disengaged his division, which had been skir-

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mishing with the Confederate infantry, and shifted his brigades to the Union left. This decision led Wood's men to the only farms that provided cleared terrain for troop deployments. The farms' families—the Brocks, Brothertons, Kellys, and Poes—evacuated the farms during the heavy fighting. The postwar writer Ambrose Bierce served with the Ninth Indiana Volunteers in the same area, and his short story *Chickamauga* featured a child who discovered his mother's dead body.

The following morning, Longstreet pushed his wing toward the Brothertons' field near the now vacant center of the Union line. Longstreet's brigades pushed aside the smaller Union brigades that tried to fill the gap and split the Union line in two. Rosecrans and the Union right flank were rolled up to the south, and they were forced to flee over the mountains into Chattanooga. Thomas and the Union left flank were pushed back to Horseshoe Ridge. After pulling his forces back to Chattanooga, Thomas became known as the Rock of Chickamauga. The Confederates were left in possession of the field, and they quickly pushed toward the high ground surrounding Chattanooga.

As they did at many Civil War battles, women witnessed and participated in the Battle of Chickamauga firsthand. Among the soldiers who fought at Chickamauga, Margaret Catherine Murphy served with her father in the Ninety-Eighth Ohio Volunteers. After his death at the battle, she continued to serve for an additional two and half years. Along Horseshoe Ridge, Hiram Vittatoe, his wife, and their three daughters rode out the fierce fighting in a hole below their kitchen floor. After the Confederates pushed the Union forces from their family homestead, they were finally able to emerge from the cellar.

As a result of two days of combat, the Union suffered 16,170 casualties to the Confederacy's 18,454. One of the Union casualties was Frances Hook, a woman who fought disguised as Frank Miller. Confederates captured Hook and later shot her as she tried to escape. When her sex was discovered, she was returned to Federal lines. Dr. Mary Edwards Walker operated as a regimental assistant surgeon and later treated Hook for her wounds. Walker arrived with the many women nurses who arrived to treat the wounded at Chickamauga and Chattanooga.

William H. Brown

See also Female Combatants; Nurses; Walker, Mary Edwards (1832–1919).

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Child, Lydia Maria Francis (1802–1880)

Writer, editor, abolitionist, and social reformer, Lydia Maria Child is one of the nation's premier nineteenth-century literary figures whose political and social activism helped to shape Northern antebellum politics and to establish women's rightful role in public discourse.

Born in Medford, Massachusetts, on February 11, 1802, to Susannah Rand and David Convers Francis, Lydia exhibited an early brilliance. As was typical of the period, she was sent to a preparatory school that prepared young girls for domestic life. Her older brother Convers, however, shared his books and lessons with her, nurturing her desire for intellectual advancement. Upon the death of her mother in 1814, Lydia was sent to live with her older sister, Mary Francis Preston, then living in Norridgewock, Maine. Lydia would later serve as a teacher in a local school in Gardiner, Maine, allowing her to earn her own income and pursue her passion for education.

Returning to Massachusetts in 1822, Child joined Convers Francis's Watertown household. A

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Unitarian minister, Convers participated in Transcendentalism, a highly intellectual and literary movement. It was through Transcendentalist meetings in the Francis home that Lydia met American literary, philosophical, and political figures and theorists such as John Greenleaf Whittier, Theodore Parker, and Ralph Waldo Emerson. Her own literary ambitions emerged with the publication of her first novel, *Hobomok.* Its highly controversial plot involving the marriage of a white woman to a Native American man challenged racial assumptions and called for racial tolerance. The boldness of her work earned her considerable attention, launching her into Boston's highly elite literary circle. With her confidence bolstered by the success of *Hobomok,* Child began a prolific writing career that would last five more decades. Another novel, *The Rebels,* quickly followed a collection of short stories about New England. By 1826, she was editing and publishing a bimonthly educational magazine for children called *Juvenile Miscellany,* the first of its kind in the country.

In 1828, Lydia met and married David Lee Child, a lawyer, writer, and antislavery activist. Following her marriage, Lydia's work focused almost exclusively on women's lives and domestic concerns. In 1828, she published *The Frugal Housewife,* a guidebook on domestic duties. It was reprinted over thirty times, including several foreign editions, becoming one of the most enduring and popular books on household economy during the mid-nineteenth century. The book celebrated women's contributions to the home, but it did so within the gendered conventions of the day. Child followed this achievement with *The Mother's Book* and *The Little Girl's Own Book,* both successful works that rode the wave of popularity of female advice literature and the growing commodification of a separate female sphere. With no children of her own, she continued to pursue writing on a full-time basis. Writing almost exclusively for women, she published a series of compositions called "The Ladies' Family Library" and then broadened her work into three volumes of biographical sketches, published between 1832 and 1833, which earned her accolades from the prestigious *North American Review.* It would be her next book, however, that would create not only uproar among the nation's literary, political, and cultural elite, but also launch Child into a political career that would help shape and define public discourse on the subject of slavery and abolition for the next three decades.

Author Lydia Maria Child wrote *An Appeal in Favor of That Class of Americans Called Africans* (1833), an early and important antislavery book. (Library of Congress)

Published in 1833, *An Appeal in Favor of That Class of Americans Called Africans* demanded immediate emancipation of the country's slaves, a shocking and daring call for action seen as radical and dangerous, particularly coming from a woman. Child interwove the history of slavery and the slave trade with arguments against the colonization of free blacks back to Africa, demands for racial equality, and an exposé of racial discrimination in the North. *An Appeal* was the product of Child's own expanding consciousness and years of research and correspondence with William Lloyd Garrison, Boston's foremost abolitionist and editor of *The Liberator.* In spite of heavy criticism, the book became standard reading for abolitionists through-

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out the North. Child wrote several more books on the subject, though none had as great an influence as *An Appeal.* She joined the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society in 1834, beginning years of cooperative activism with other women abolitionists from New England, New York, and Pennsylvania.

Lydia and her husband David remained committed to abolition and to living lives dedicated to destroying the slave system. They moved to an experimental community in Northampton, Massachusetts, in 1838, where they farmed sugar beets. Lydia continued to write, becoming a regular contributor to the abolitionist annual, *The Liberty Bell.* In 1841, after a divisive controversy over the appointment of women as officers in the American Anti-Slavery Society split that organization, Child became editor of its publication, the *National Anti-Slavery Standard,* launching her into a publishing and political world dominated by men.

Her years at the *Standard* were challenging ones for Child. A difficult marriage, complicated by Lydia's living in New York with abolitionist Isaac Hopper while David fruitlessly tried to keep the farm going in Massachusetts, was only part of Lydia's problems. Trying to maintain a moderate editorial position in a highly fractured national abolition movement, Child struggled to remain inclusive of different points of view. Criticized from all factions of the movement for being either too radical or not radical enough, Child ultimately abandoned participation in any antislavery society. Her weekly personal ruminations—called "Letters from New York," reflections on daily life in New York City that she used to critique the worst of American culture and to suggest paths to greater spiritual awareness—were immensely popular, helping to push readership to new highs.

Frustrated and embattled, Child stepped down as editor of the *Standard* in 1843. Still estranged from her husband, who by now was deeply in debt and facing bankruptcy, Child concentrated on her "Letters from New York," publishing them as an edited collection, as well as a collection of children's stories. In 1849, she left New York, reunited with her husband, and settled in Wayland, Massachusetts to care for her aging father.

The rising tensions over the issue of slavery during the 1850s drew Child back into the public discourse over abolition. John Brown's raid and his subsequent trial brought Child back into the public view when she began a vigorous correspondence with Virginia Governor Henry Wise and his wife over their denouncement of the antislavery movement. Published by *The New York Tribune,* the letters were reprinted in pamphlet form by the American Anti-Slavery Society, selling over three hundred thousand copies and sparking renewed interest in the movement. Taking advantage of this momentum, Child published more antislavery essays during 1860 as the nation prepared for sectional conflict. The following year, Child wrote the introduction to and helped publish Harriet Ann Jacobs' autobiography, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl,* a highly significant slave narrative that highlighted the particular plight of enslaved women. Critical of President Abraham Lincoln's early stance on emancipation and his refusal to allow the recruitment of black soldiers, Child continued to use her influence to promote the cause of the newly liberated slave, including education and the redistribution of confiscated Southern lands. She used her own funds to publish and distribute *The Freedman's Book,* an educational reader for newly freed blacks featuring historical and contemporary essays for and by African Americans.

After the war, she was highly critical of President Andrew Johnson's Reconstruction policies. In the postwar years Child continued writing articles advocating a variety of reform movements, including equal rights, African American suffrage, Indian rights, land redistribution, labor reform, and civil service reform. An advocate of woman suffrage, Child shied away from any associations with national or local suffrage organizations.

Her husband David died in 1874. Lydia remained close to William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Lucretia Mott, and other activists from her antislavery days. She died October 20, 1880.

Kate Clifford Larson

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See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; Antislavery Societies; Domesticity; Garrison, William Lloyd (1805–1879); Jacobs, Harriet Ann [Linda Brent] (1813–1897); Lincoln, Abraham (1809–1865); Mott, Lucretia Coffin (1793–1880); Northern Women; Reconstruction; Separate Spheres; Union Homefront; Wartime Literature.

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Churches

Churches, themselves struggling in the sectional crisis, occupied important places in the lives of American women during the difficult Civil War years. Churches offered women a place of solace and comfort as well as reassurance in the justness of their cause and the importance of their sacrifices. Churches also gave women a place in which they could take action and be useful, whether in prayer, in sustaining the life of the church, or in working to supply the troops and rebuild a war-shattered society.

In many ways, the national Protestant denominations mirrored events in the nation as a whole. As sectionalism grew in both the North and the South during the 1840s and 1850s, tensions also increased in many churches, especially the large evangelical denominations. In 1837, the Presbyterian Church broke apart into the Old School and New School wings, in part over the issue of slavery. Slavery was also the root cause for the 1844 split of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the 1845 schism of Baptist congregations. Other denominations, including the Catholic, Episcopal, and Lutheran churches, remained whole during the sectional conflicts of the 1840s and 1850s. Even they, however, could not withstand the pressures of secession and war, splitting into northern and southern branches with the onset of hostilities.

Many ministers, both North and South, preached about the national crisis. At religious services throughout the war, women heard sermons asserting the rightness of their cause and asking for God's blessing and help. While some women recorded disapproval at the involvement of ministers in political matters, most were comforted to find that on Sunday they heard the same pro-Union or pro-Confederate arguments they were reading and discussing the other six days of the week.

In the first months of the war, as companies organized and began leaving for the front, American churches took the lead in sending them off. Across the Union and Confederacy, churches held special ceremonies to bless the troops and consecrate their cause. The work of women behind the scenes was vital; they prepared banners that would decorate the churches and accompany the soldiers into battle and prayed with their sons, brothers, husbands, and sweethearts for a swift victory and safe return.

By the end of the war, the message Southern women received in church had changed. In the face of mounting Confederate losses and increased hardship on the homefront, ministers could no longer claim with any authority that God blessed the Southern endeavor. Instead, they preached on a related, but very different theme: While the cause of Southern independence and the institution of slavery were noble, the Confederate population was corrupt and had not lived up to the goals of the South. Military defeat was therefore a sign of God's displeasure at the failings of Southerners, not their institutions. Northern churches could be more exultant, and many ministers preached that Union victories were proof of God's approval of their society and the need to remake the South in their image.

During the war, churches played numerous significant roles in the lives of women in both the North and the South. Church was a place for women to ask for forgiveness and support for their cause, to mourn their dead, to celebrate victories, and to receive solace, especially in the face of the tremendous suffering and death wrought by the

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war. Days of fasting and prayer, appointed in each nation by their respective presidents, were also commemorated in church as women abstained from food and prayed that their sacrifices would help win God's favor.

For slave women, churches played a similar but distinct function. Clandestine services in plantation churches served as venues to relay information they may have gleaned about the progress of the war and to pray for freedom. For black women living in territories occupied by Union forces, churches offered another important benefit: They were finally able to celebrate and record their marriages.

In addition to the psychological benefits that churches offered to women during the war years, women also had many opportunities for church-sponsored service. The shortage of men, especially in the South, opened up a number of spheres of activity to American church women. In many antebellum churches, women had made up the bulk of the congregations. That imbalance became more pronounced as men joined the armed forces, especially in the Confederacy where almost all able-bodied men entered the service. Not only did women find themselves surrounded by other women in the pews, but the traditionally male governing structure of the church disintegrated as well. Offices that men had often filled, like that of Sunday school teacher, became the province of female members, many of whom delighted in their newfound responsibility and took seriously their new task of helping the church continue to function.

A number of Southern churches, however, could not survive the enlistment of so many of their male members—and in many cases their ministers—in the army and therefore ceased operations. When a church closed, women felt that they had lost a vital part of their lives, and they often tried to make up for that loss through home-based devotions.

For women in both the North and the South, service in churches created opportunities for public works. While they continued to sustain the life of the church whenever possible, they also looked outward, building on their existing skills to help their societies. Church-sponsored wartime activities grew out of the antebellum benevolent work that many women had undertaken on behalf of their churches. Women who had participated in the church sewing circle or fundraising bazaar before the war turned their talents to aiding the troops.

Through these benevolent activities, many Northern women became involved in more widespread and organized relief efforts, including the United States Christian Commission and the United States Sanitary Commission. While men primarily ran both groups, women played important roles in their daily operations. The Sanitary Commission, though founded by Unitarian minister Henry Bellows and connected to influential liberal denominations like the Episcopal and Unitarian Churches, remained the more secular of the two organizations, focusing on meeting the physical needs of Union soldiers. Women were extremely active in the collection of supplies, and many women also served as nurses in the army and in convalescent homes.

The Christian Commission—founded by the Young Men's Christian Association and connected with Northern evangelical churches, especially the Baptist and Methodist denominations—retained a religious focus in its ministries to Union troops. Like the Sanitary Commission, women connected to the Christian Commission gathered supplies and served as nurses to the troops. In addition, the Christian Commission distributed religious literature and Bibles to the soldiers and sent missionaries to the army.

Both the Sanitary Commission and the Christian Commission were the largest and most recognized of the relief societies in the Union and Confederacy, and they received extensive support from the Federal government. However, there were countless small, church-based groups that enabled women to aid the war effort and minister to the troops.

Some Northern women traveled south as church-sponsored missionaries, part of the Northern churches' attempts to reform and remake Southern society. The Baptist and Methodist denominations were especially active in this activity. The African Methodist Episcopal Church and African Methodist Episcopal Church Zion also sent male and female missionaries to help former slaves build churches. While male missionaries came to occupied territories

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as ministers and chaplains, female missionaries often worked as teachers, especially in schools and Sunday schools for freed people. While missions to white Southerners found little success, freedmen and freedwomen were often more receptive than their white counterparts.

Southern women generally lacked structured opportunities for activity. The Confederate churches created no large organizations like the Christian or Sanitary Commission to regulate the supply and care of its soldiers. At the local level, however, women could use their church and community networks to collect supplies, sew uniforms, and hold fundraising drives for the troops.

The end of the war brought changes in how churches functioned in the lives of American women. For several denominations, reconciliation came slowly. While the Episcopal, Catholic, and Lutheran Churches reunited at the end of hostilities, the major evangelical denominations did not reconcile until the twentieth century, if it can be said that they did at all. For many women, postwar churches became a place to commemorate their cause, whether Confederate or Union. Many Northern women also continued the church-sponsored missionary work that they had begun during the war.

Julia Huston Nguyen

See also Aid Societies; Enlistment; Religion; United States Christian Commission; United States Sanitary Commission.

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Civilian Life

The civilian woman's experience during the Civil War depended on a series of factors. The geographic region in which she lived, proximity to the battling armies, socioeconomic class, and the support of family, friends, and the government were all factors in how the average women in the Union or Confederacy survived the conflict. However, certain experiences were universal for women regardless of class, race, or region. In most situations, women North and South, black and white, rich and poor all made contributions to the war effort while facing economic hardships, changing responsibilities at home, encounters with hostile populations, and the loss of loved ones. The Civil War demonstrated that the line separating civilian life from the military action was often an illusion; the two affected each other dramatically throughout the conflict.

As the war began, civilians in both the Union and the Confederacy rallied their efforts in support of their cause. For men, this typically meant joining regiments to head to the battlefields or otherwise serving the state. Women's wartime contributions were more supportive in nature. Women participated in and attended patriotic celebrations and military parades, and they worked to ensure that their soldiers had the supplies, resources, and encouragement they needed to be successful. On both sides, women served as recruiters, urging their men to join the military ranks, and withholding their affections from the men who failed to do so. Throughout the war, women spent concentrated energies on sewing socks and uniforms, gathering and distributing food, fundraising, and providing emotional support for their troops. Ladies' aid societies organized much of this effort, with women in local communities or churches coming together to produce or gather supplies. Often, women in the Union sent the materials directly to the troops in need, but the United States Sanitary Commission also oversaw much of the collection and distribu-

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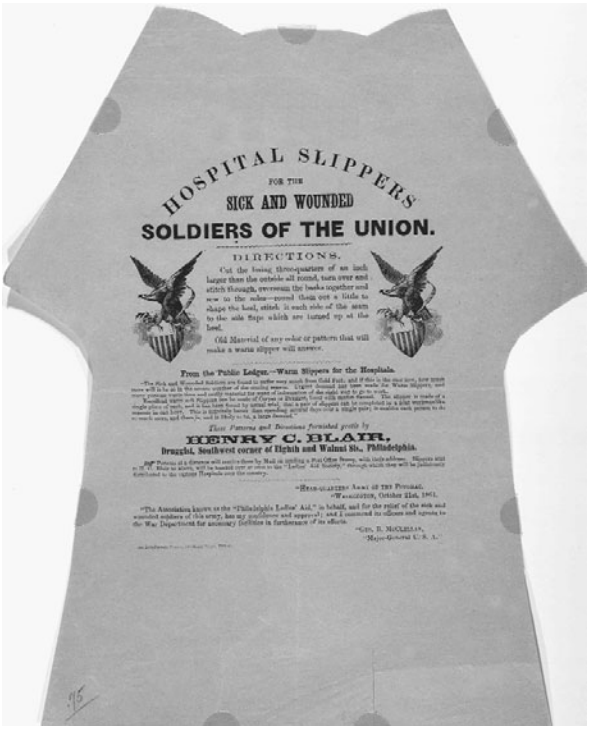
tion of women's contributions. In the Confederacy, no such national organization existed, so most war supplies were provided at the local or individual level. African American women also worked in war relief; they not only assisted in providing supplies for white soldiers, but also focused their attention on supporting black troops and exslaves in particular. All of these efforts made significant contributions to the governments' ability to fight the war and gave women an outlet for their patriotism.

As war tension mounted, civilians looked for entertainment avenues to distract them. Lavish balls and banquets continued among the elite in cities. Often, women's fundraising activities would incorporate dances, tableaux, concerts, or dinners as part of the bid for contributions. The absence of eligible male companions on the homefront often made women turn to individual diversions, such as checkers, chess, and backgammon, as well as singing, music, and debate. Books and magazines remained popular, although Confederate women often bemoaned the decrease in available literature once the Northern blockade became effective. Theater performances and public lectures also drew civilian audiences throughout the war. In all of these activities, women found social outlets to combat their loneliness, creating and reinforcing community ties.

Despite the attempts to forget their troubles, the realities of the conflict invaded civilians' lives. Another significant activity for female civilians during the war was nursing. Prior to the war, society viewed nursing as inappropriate for women, given its dangerous, dirty, and morally questionable environment. However, as the military need for nurses grew and women sought more avenues to express their patriotic fervor, the practice became increasingly feminized. Nursing encompassed a variety of duties, including food preparation, laundry, letter writing, and cleaning, as well as working directly with the doctors and performing medical procedures. Women of all classes served, as did African American women, although duties were typically assigned according to race and class—poorer and black women often receiving laundry and cleaning duty, with wealthier whites claiming medical functions. Doctors often resisted working with women in the hospitals, seeing them as bothersome and meddling or questioning their intentions. In trying to meet the demand for hospital workers, Union officials worked to combat the notion of nursing as a means to secure a husband, although such romantic relationships did exist. Under the leadership and demanding standards of Dorothea Dix, as well as the recruitment efforts and emphasis on medical training by Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell for the Women's Central Association of Relief and United States Sanitary Commission, a competent nursing corps emerged in the military hospitals throughout the Union. The Confederacy, on the other hand, had no such organized recruitment and, for most of their nursing needs, had to rely on their own military personnel, women camp followers, or local


HOSPITAL SLIPPERS
FOR THE
SICK AND WOUNDED
SOLDIERS OF THE UNION.
DIRECTIONS.
From the Public Ledger.—Warm Slippers for the Hospitals.
These Patterns and Directions furnished gratis by
HENRY C. BLAIR,
Druggist, Southwest corner of Eighth and Walnut Sts., Philadelphia.

Women played a major role during the Civil War by supplying homemade garments and provisions for the soldiers. Ladies aid societies distributed over 1,000 pairs of slippers in addition to boxes of clothing, bedding, food, medicines, and books. This flyer, printed by a druggist in Pennsylvania, provides instructions for making slippers to assist the women's efforts. (Library of Congress)

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women wherever the battle took place. Regardless of the region, as the battlefields encroached on the homefront, many private civilians had nursing and hospital duty thrust upon them. If they did not travel to distant battlefields to care for their own wounded family members, women nursed those to whom they had access. Churches, schools, and private homes were frequently commandeered by the military as hospitals and their occupants were deputized into service.

Many of the activities women did during the conflict, including nursing, were unpaid, volunteer efforts done in the name of patriotism. However, with traditional male breadwinners absent, wartime circumstances in both the Union and Confederacy created difficult economic challenges that forced female civilians to find new ways to provide for themselves and their families. Daily, women faced the reality of managing the home economy in their men's absence, including paying bills, keeping track of accounts, and, in the case of some Confederate women, running large plantations. Women also kept family businesses and farms operating throughout the war. Soldiers often wrote home with advice on economic affairs, but women had to handle the increasingly challenging day-to-day affairs of living. In both sections, prices for common goods and services skyrocketed as inflation took hold of the economy. Middle- and upper-class women could typically take economizing steps to survive, but poorer classes struggled. Confederate civilians also felt the economic pinch more than their Union counterparts; Confederate money was increasingly worthless throughout the war, and meager supplies diminished as the blockade tightened. Typically, rural farming families could survive with less cash than urban civilians, being able to grow much of their own food. However, often that ability was not enough, and many rural residents fled to the cities where more employment opportunities and public charities existed.

Regardless of the status or region, women and their families needed cash to live. Those with men in the armies might receive a portion of the soldier's paycheck or pension, but those monies could not be consistently relied on. Many moved to live with relatives, sacrificing their own homes to economize. Those women unwilling or unable to make such moves with private charitable funds rapidly dwindling, women had to find other ways to generate income. Domestic manufacturing increased, as women sold surplus home products such as fruits, vegetables, dairy products, and baked goods on the market. Women also took in sewing and laundry, or they provided space in their homes for boarders. If those options were not enough, many women entered the workforce beyond their homes. Both the Union and Confederate governments employed women as clerks in the Treasury Department, Post Office, and War Department. Other women took jobs in various war industries, working as seamstresses, in cotton mills, or even in arsenals manufacturing the weapons of war. Teaching was also acceptable employment, and the demand for instructors remained high, especially for the newly freed slaves. In most of these circumstances, women received lower pay than men, and African American women faced continuing prejudice. In their attempts to provision their families, women were frequently at the mercy of speculators or corrupt individuals looking to take advantage of women's misfortune and inexperience. Women were constantly looking for ways to budget, barter, and balance their economic lives while trying to survive the war.

Female civilians also faced new challenges when confronted by the enemy. Although women in the Confederacy had to handle this situation more often than their Union counterparts, both populations had to make adjustments when the enemy's troops arrived. For Confederate civilians, threats to person and property were foremost on their minds when the Union armies marched into town. Rumors of cruelties arrived ahead of the military, but the reality of the confrontation varied greatly depending on location. Some armies did burn homes, steal livestock and crops from farms, and attack women; troops associated with Generals Benjamin Butler in Louisiana and William T. Sherman in Georgia perhaps held the most notorious reputations among Confederate women. However, other Union soldiers offered payment for impressed supplies, were courteous toward female

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inhabitants of homes, and provided protection from marauders. Women's reactions, too, were diverse, ranging from avoidance to aggressive confrontation. Some chose to leave their homes, becoming refugees, while others, particularly in the economically struggling Confederacy, recognized that cooperation with the enemy could bring much needed provisions and relief for their families. For Union civilians, particularly in the border regions, enemy encounters usually took the form of confrontation with guerrilla raiders, military scouting and scavenging parties, or the occasional battle.

African American civilians also faced new situations as the war progressed. Again, their experiences varied depending on where they were during the war. For those living in the Union, opportunities to support the war effort existed, and many women volunteered their time and talents to the cause, often organizing their own aid societies and volunteering as nurses. Much of their attention was paid to the plight of the slave or to the needs of black troops. Northern racial prejudices limited many African American women's abilities to fully participate in the war effort or to seek employment to provide for their families. Aid societies were segregated, and jobs for blacks often brought lower pay. If confronted by the Confederate army, many black women feared being sent south into slavery. Most African American women in the Confederacy were slaves, much of whose attention was focused on attaining freedom. As the Union armies advanced and word of emancipation spread, slaves fled to Union military camps in droves. Women provided the needed domestic labor for the camps, serving as cooks and laundresses for the armies. However, their presence, often accompanied by children, placed a heavy burden on military supplies and rations, adding to the resentment and fueling prejudices.

Finally, civilians of all races, classes, and regions had to confront the daily emotional challenges of the war. Patriotism and self-sacrifice often conflicted with the desire to keep one's family out of harm's way. With the hundreds of thousands of men killed or wounded on both sides, few families remained untouched by the conflict. Grief was ever present. Political loyalties sparked tensions, often within individual families, and women civilians became more embroiled in politics than ever before. For African Americans, the hope of more freedom was often tainted by the presence of racial prejudice. The war provided waves of joy and sorrow for the civilians who daily struggled with the conflict.

Kristen L. Streater

See also African American Women; Aid Societies; Blackwell, Elizabeth (1821–1910); Butler, Benjamin F. (1818–1893); Camp Followers; Confederate Homefront; Contrabands; Destruction of Homes; Destruction of Personal Property; Dix, Dorothea Lynde (1802–1887); Domesticity; Enlistment; Factory Workers, Northern; Factory Workers, Southern; Fairs and Bazaars; Family Life, Confederate; Family Life, Union; Farm Work; Food; Foraging, Effects on Women; Free Blacks; Fundraising; Government Girls; Guerrilla Warfare; Gunboat Societies; Homespun; Hospitals; Impressment; Letter Writing; Loyalty Oaths; Military Invasion and Occupation; Morale; Mourning; Nationalism, Confederacy; Nationalism, United States; Nonslaveholding Southerners; Northern Women; Nurses; Pensions, Confederate Widows; Pensions, Union Widows; Plantation Life; Politics; Prostitution; Rape; Refugees; Religion; Rural Women; Separate Spheres; Sewing Bees; Sheridan's Shenandoah Valley Campaign (1864); Sherman, William Tecumseh (1820–1891); Sherman's Campaign (1864–1865); Shortages; Slave Families; Slaveholding Women; Southern Women; Teachers, Northern; Teachers, Southern; Union Homefront; United States Sanitary Commission; Urban Women, Northern; Urban Women, Southern; Wartime Employment; Wartime Literature; Women's Central Association of Relief.

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Clalin, Frances Louisa [Francis Clayton] (n.d.–n.d.)

Frances Louisa Clalin disguised herself as a man to serve as a Union soldier. One of approximately four hundred women soldiers who served in the Civil War, Frances Clalin left behind photographs showing her as herself and disguised as Francis Clayton, Civil War soldier.

Little is known about her life outside the Civil War, and there is also uncertainty about her name, which is sometimes spelled Clalin, Clatin, Claytin, or Clayton. The first known accounts of her life place her in Minnesota, living with her husband John in 1861. When the war began, John enlisted in the Minnesota State Militia Cavalry. Frances enlisted alongside him, disguised as a man, possibly by the name of Francis Clayton. There is doubt surrounding not only her name and pseudonym, but also her military service. What little is known about Clalin is from the accounts about her published in the papers at the time and from an interview she gave after her military service ended.

Shortly after enlisting, Frances and John moved on to another regiment, most likely because the cavalry enlistment expired. Frances continued to act the part of a man, keeping her hair short, drinking, chewing tobacco, swearing, smoking cigars, and even gambling. A tall and masculine-looking woman, Frances was considered a good soldier by her comrades. There are varying reports of her military service after the cavalry enlistment, some placing her with Missouri regiments and others presuming she stayed with Minnesota units. Altogether, Frances and her husband fought side by side in eighteen battles. When her husband John was killed at the Battle of Stone's River, just a few feet in front of Frances, accounts record that she bravely stepped over his body and continued to fight. Because the only Minnesota military unit at Stone's Rives was the Second Minnesota Battery, this may have been her regiment.

Some sources record that she was shot in the hip at Stone's River and that it was while being treated for her injury that her gender was discovered. A *Fincher's Trades' Review* reporter who talked with Frances in November 1863 gave another account, claiming that Frances was not discovered while she was in the service, nor was she wounded at Stone's River. Instead, this reporter wrote, she was wounded at Fort Donelson.

On January 3, 1863, Clalin was discharged from the regiment, and she returned to Minnesota to recover from her injury. Upon recovering, Frances tried to return to the army, ostensibly to get money in back pay and bounty money that she and John had earned, but perhaps to seek another position in the army. In Louisville, the provost marshal intercepted her, ordering her to return home. Clalin was last reported going to Washington, D.C., but there are no records of what happened to her thereafter. Some sources speculate that she may have continued her masquerade in another section of the military.

Sigrid Kelsey

See also Female Combatants; Northern Women.

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Clayton, Sarah "Sallie" Conley (1845–1922)

Sarah "Sallie" Conley Clayton's Civil War memoirs recount her experiences in the Confederacy, providing descriptions of the events from the point of view of a young woman in Atlanta. She offers detailed descriptions of the changes in daily life during the war for an upper-class white Atlanta woman.

Sallie Clayton was born April 9, 1845, in Athens, Georgia, the fourth of ten children. Her father, William Wirt, held various professional positions; he was a dry goods merchant, a member of the Georgia legislature, and a planter. In 1859 he moved his family to Atlanta, their home throughout

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the Civil War until the city's evacuation in September 1864. The family held a prominent place in Atlanta society.

Clayton was first educated at Spring Bank School, near Kingston, where she likely acquired her strong Southern loyalty. In 1862 she and her sister Caro began attending the Atlanta Female Institute. Sallie's memoirs include colorful portrayals of the faculty, hours, rules, and walk to school. She also describes fashions worn by the students, as well as events that include a visit by a military company and a May celebration at the school. Details include lists of students as well as the lyrics to the songs they sang.

Clayton's writings highlight how daily life for women changed dramatically during the war and provide details and a specific point of view. For example, she discusses several aspects of homespun material, the use of which the war had made necessary when other dress material was difficult to get. Clayton describes how acquaintances learned to spin, the different patterns available, and how wearing homespun dresses showed support for the Confederate cause. She also records her memories of a fair held in the City Hall to raise funds for the war, presentations of flags by the women of the town to departing soldiers, the formation of the Ladies Sewing Society, which sewed and rolled bandages for the military, and the younger girls' formation of a society to knit socks.

Clayton's accounts are not limited to social life. She also describes the horrors of the war, like the hanging of bridge burners and the attack and evacuation of Atlanta. A particularly affecting passage records the death of her sister Gussie from typhoid fever during the attack on Atlanta. Because a burial in the cemetery would have been dangerous, the family buried her in the garden with shells falling nearby. The family evacuated Atlanta, returning after the war with little left except their house.

In 1867, Sallie married Benjamin Elliot Crane, a wealthy wholesale grocer and former Confederate officer. Crane died in 1885, and Clayton spent her last years living with their daughter. After a sudden illness, Sallie Clayton died on February 5, 1922.

Sigrid Kelsey

See also Aid Societies; Atlanta, Evacuation of (Special Field Orders Number 67); Civilian Life; Confederate Homefront; Fairs and Bazaars; Girlhood and Adolescence; Homespun; Flags, Regimental; Military Invasion and Occupation; Mourning; Sherman's Campaign (1864 –1865); Southern Women.

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Wealthy poet and diarist, Elizabeth Floride Clemson experienced the Civil War from a privileged point of view. Through her diary and writings, she revealed the ability of a few white women to endure the war without tremendous sacrifice.

Called Floride or Floy by family and friends, Clemson was born into a prominent family. She was the granddaughter of John C. Calhoun, and her father ran a gold mine in Dahlonega, Georgia, as well as several plantations. When he experienced financial troubles, her father used his political connections to become chargé d'affaires to Belgium. Floride and her father took up residence in Prince Georges County, Maryland in 1853, where they lived on a 100-acre homestead they called The Home. From there, he edited his father's political writings, imported furniture and other fine goods from Belgium, and otherwise lived the life of a leisured gentleman. He also tried to obtain schooling for Floride and her brother Calhoun. Although she would become known for her writing, she had only two years of formal education.

When the Civil War began, Clemson continued to live a life of leisure that only the most privileged could afford. She traveled to visit loved ones, and she paid very close attention to fashion, her physical appearance, and her social position. She followed the political currents of the times and repeatedly expressed support for the Confederacy. Both her brother and father survived their service in the Confederate army. Floride's wealth did not make her immune from wartime tragedies, but it did

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ameliorate them. She experienced some food shortages, but for much of the war she noted that she was able to maintain or even gain weight. At the same time, she watched the sufferings of many other white Southerners, leading her to make small donations of clothing to the poor. Near the end of the war, her family was forced to sell many personal items.

Her grandmother, Mrs. John C. Calhoun, died as the Confederacy failed. Floride saw her nation's defeat as both financially and psychologically damaging. She estimated that she lost $20,000. In 1866, she inherited a small part of Fort Hill House, which is now part of Clemson University.

Much of what we know about Floride Clemson comes from her wartime diary, which she began in January 1, 1863, and ended October 24, 1866. She also wrote poetry, including "That 'Blessed' Sewing Machine" and "Strong-Minded Women," which revealed an aristocractic view of white womanhood in the nineteenth-century South.

After the war, Clemson married Gideon Lee, a New Yorker eighteen years her senior. The couple moved to New York and had one daughter, Folide Isabella, in 1870. A year later, Floride Clemson Lee died on July 23, 1871.

Andrew K. Frank

See also Civilian Life; Confederate Homefront; Diaries and Journals; Poets, Southern; Southern Women.

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Columbia Bazaar (January 17–21, 1865)

Elite Southern women organized the Columbia Bazaar as a fundraiser for sick and wounded Confederate soldiers. The Columbia Bazaar was the largest of the Confederate fundraising affairs that took place during the Civil War.

The fair took place in South Carolina's Old State House and offered for sale patriotic goods—both homemade and imported. Although originally intended to last two weeks, the fear of Union advancement into the state resulted in a shorter, five-day event. Fairgoers purchased advance tickets for $1 at local hotels and bookstores or bought tickets at the door. The Bazaar opened at seven o'clock each night and from noon until four o'clock during its last four days. The event was highly popular and raised anywhere from $150,000 to $350,000.

Women spent months planning the Confederate bazaar in Columbia. The women who organized the bazaar, most of whom came from established South Carolina families, were active in various war relief projects, especially in hospital associations. For example, Mary Boykin Chesnut, the famous Southern diarist and wife of a Confederate politician, participated in numerous relief projects and presided at one of the bazaar booths. One of the event's main organizers, Mary Amarinthia Snowden, also from a prominent Carolina family, spent the war coordinating soldiers' aid societies and distributing goods to Confederate troops.

In May 1864, Columbia's white women began initial plans for a Confederate fundraising bazaar. Women in the city and throughout South Carolina sought cooperation from women and groups around the Confederacy to supply goods for the bazaar. They sent letters to friends, newspapers, and organizations across the Confederacy and abroad to get support and donations for the event. The Bazaar's organizers arranged for the railroads and the Southern Express Company to deliver these goods free of charge from as many Confederate states as possible. However, the difficulties of communicating and maneuvering in the wartime South resulted in fewer donations than the women had expected. The women also raised money for the Bazaar and the soldiers in the weeks leading up to the event by organizing smaller events, such as vocal concerts and dance recitals. The day before the Bazaar opened, the organizers requested donations of cooked provisions from anyone who could help.

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Although women were the event's main organizers and workers, they created five all-male committees: notices and advertisements, correspondence and transportation, arrangement of halls and buildings, door committee, and general police. Prominent citizens of the community, such as Columbia Mayor Thomas Jefferson Goodwyn, sat on these committees.

At the Bazaar, booths or tables represented each Confederate state as well as two border states, Kentucky and Missouri, which shared a booth. The House of Representatives chamber in the old State House contained booths for South Carolina, Texas, Tennessee, Kentucky and Missouri, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Virginia. The Senate chamber housed booths for North Carolina, Florida, Arkansas, Georgia, and Alabama. The women decorated these booths to resemble military encampment tents, using red and white cloth to drape the tent sides and hanging the state shield in front of each "tent" for added decoration. White damask cloth, lace, and evergreens covered many tables. Flags and painted banners displaying patriotic slogans hung overhead.

Entertainments included a post office where fairgoers could pass love letters to one another, a bower of fate or fortune telling booth, as well as raffles and grab bags. The Texas, Louisiana, Virginia, and Arkansas booths offered restaurants that had an assortment of foods including roast turkey, salmon, lobster, duck, venison, soups, gumbo, plum pudding, ladyfingers, cakes, donuts, coffee, and tea. Articles for sale ranged from dolls, tobacco pouches, clothing and accessories for all sexes and ages, fancy goods, jewelry, cutlery, and livestock.

Confederates flocked to the Bazaar and enthusiastically purchased the goods available. The imminent approach of William T. Sherman's Union troops prompted organizers to close the Bazaar early, but they considered it a success.

Sarah Wooton

See also Aid Societies; Blockade Running; Chesnut, Mary Boykin (1823–1886); Civilian Life; Confederate Homefront; Domesticity; Fairs and Bazaars; Fundraising; Gunboat Societies; Hospitals; LeConte, Emma Florence (1847–1932); Separate Spheres; Sherman's Campaign (1864–1865); Southern Women; United Daughters of the Confederacy; Wounded, Visits to.

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Confederate Soldiers, Motives

Southern men most commonly cited the defense of their homes as the reason they enlisted in the Confederate army, but they also evinced loyalty to their newly created nation. Indeed, protection of the home signaled a much broader rationale of male honor, white supremacy, and individual liberty. Many Southern soldiers hated the North, or at least the demonized version of it they had heard about. Many others enlisted due to peer pressure or a desire for adventure. Finally, Southern soldiers fought for the preservation of their military unit, as well as for self-preservation.

Southern soldiers created a composite view of their enemy that fueled a lasting animosity and repeatedly highlighted new reasons to fight. At the outset of the war, they expressed their hatred of Northern soldiers predominantly on racial grounds, citing fears that the Yankee invasion brought with it the twin specters of slave insurrection and racial equality. With a similar preoccupation with race, Confederate soldiers emphasized the polyglot nature of Northern society, noting that Irish and German immigrants composed the majority of the Union army and thus suggesting the cowardice of most Northerners. As the war progressed, Confederate soldiers described the Yankees as vandals who burned the homes of innocent civilians. All of these definitions of the enemy revealed that Confederate

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soldiers placed great importance on protecting the safety and stability—and particularly the racial order—of their homes and that they placed these ideas at the very center of their rationale for remaining in the army.

The soldiers' desire to protect their homes and families increasingly conflicted with the Confederacy's need to maintain armies in the field. Some soldiers were prompted to leave the ranks by evidence of deprivation and despondency on the homefront. Yet, despite entreaties from their families, substantial numbers of Confederate soldiers continued to see independent nationhood as a goal worth immense sacrifice until the very end of the conflict. They also viewed the Yankee destruction of Southern homes and communities as ample reasons for continuing to fight, thus adding vengeance to their list of motivations.

Protection of the home also invoked Confederate soldiers' desire to enlist as proof of their manliness. The rhetoric of manhood inflamed the desire of most volunteers to see battle as quickly as possible. After the first experience with battle, duty and honor compelled these men to continue fighting; Confederate soldiers explicitly fought to protect white Southern women. Their sense of duty and honor extended beyond their families to the defense of their comrades.

Confederate soldiers also maintained a devotion to the political ideologies that underlay their new nation. In particular, Southerners spoke of the American Revolution, drawing explicit connections between the Founding Fathers' revolt against British tyranny and their own bid for independence. Southern soldiers eagerly participated in the political development of the Confederacy, maintaining frequent contact with the homefront through letters and newspapers. They viewed political participation as a means for maintaining their civilian identities, thus reaffirming the ideal of the citizen-soldier and disgust for mercenaries, be they Hessians or Yankees. Devotion to the ideal of the citizen-soldier did not wane with the Confederate draft of 1862 or the involuntary reenlistment of all Confederate soldiers in 1864.

In addition to patriotism and an interest in politics, most Confederate soldiers shared a common belief in the providence of God, whatever their theological differences. Confederate clergy and citizens alike expressed the belief that God would bring them peace and independence as soon as they had adequately proven their faith. Victory signaled the favor of God, whereas defeat was a chastisement for unchristian behavior but not ultimately a sign of God's disfavor. Convinced that God favored the Confederacy, Southern soldiers had every reason to continue fighting.

Jaime Amanda Martinez

See also Confederate Homefront; Conscription; Desertion; Destruction of Homes; Destruction of Personal Property; Domesticity; Enlistment; Family Life, Confederate; Honor; Politics; Religion; Shortages; Southern Women.

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Confederate Surrender (1865)

The surrender of the military forces of the Confederacy took place over a two-month period in 1865. The first, and most famous, capitulation took place at Appomattox Court House, Virginia when General Robert E. Lee surrendered the remnant of his once powerful Army of Northern Virginia to Union forces. Lee met with United States General Ulysses S. Grant on April 9 at the McLean house in Appo-

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mattox. There, Grant offered very generous terms to the defeated rebels. In a few days the Confederates were paroled and on their way home.

On April 18, Union commander William T. Sherman conferred with his Confederate opponent Joseph E. Johnston at the Bennett house near Durham, North Carolina. The two generals came up with an agreement that not only surrendered the troops under Johnston's immediate command but also dealt with political questions beyond the scope of strictly military operations. New President Andrew Johnson repudiated the so-called Sherman-Johnston Memorandum, and the rebel forces eventually laid down their weapons on terms very similar to those offered at Appomattox.

Two additional surrenders took place in 1865. On May 4, General Richard Taylor capitulated the Southern troops in Alabama, Mississippi, and eastern Louisiana after a conference with Federal authorities at Citronelle, Alabama. Others still serving under General Edmund Kirby Smith in the Trans-Mississippi Department received their parole papers after arrangements were finalized at a meeting held in New Orleans on May 26. Various units, including warships like the CSS *Shenandoah,* as well as individual Confederates, gave up in the weeks and months to come.

The end of armed resistance inevitably led to the collapse of the Confederate civilian government. The United States took Confederate President Jefferson Davis prisoner by the end of May, despite his attempts to avoid capture. Other high-ranking rebel leaders were also imprisoned. Others, like Judah P. Benjamin and John C. Breckinridge, made good their escape and found exile in foreign countries.

White Southern women mourned the passing of the cause, and many felt that male relatives and friends who died during the war had perished for nothing. Many expressed shock and disbelief that Lee had given up the fight. Surrender made it seem that the sacrifices that they had made and the discomforts they had endured on the Confederate homefront had all been in vain. On the other hand, some Southern women were happy, realizing that the end of the Confederate armies meant that their surviving loved ones would soon be returning home. After the official end of the military conflict, white women continued their struggle to survive on neglected farms or in battered cities like Richmond, Atlanta, and Columbia, South Carolina. Many white Southern women organized groups like the United Daughters of the Confederacy to commemorate the Confederate dead and to uphold the ideals of the Lost Cause.

Northern women also mourned the losses they had suffered during the four bloody war years, but the fact that they had emerged victorious helped them cope with the deaths. Much of their euphoria dissipated with the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln and the hard adjustments to a postwar society. Many women who had been active in organizations like the United States Sanitary Commission and the Christian Commission and whose horizons were broadened by working outside the home now chafed at the thought of returning to prewar social roles.

The Confederate surrender, of course, held special meaning for African American women in the North and South. The end of the Confederacy guaranteed that the institution of slavery would indeed end in the re-United States. However, questions remained about what social relationships would now exist, as well as what types of economic opportunities there would be for the freedpeople in the postwar South and in the Northern states. The fact that black troops in Union blue helped to make these surrenders a reality heartened those waiting to see what life would bring for them as the nation began Reconstruction in earnest.

Robert A. Taylor

See also Reconstruction (1865–1877); Sherman's Campaign (1864–1865).

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Women in black walk by ruins in Richmond, Virginia, April 1865. (Library of Congress)

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Confederate Sympathizers, Northern

A broad spectrum of Northern women might be considered Confederate sympathizers. Some women, most of whom came from the border regions of the North, overtly supported the rebel war effort. Toward the middle of the spectrum were women from politically active Democratic families. Although they probably did not consider themselves pro-Confederate, these women were often castigated as such because of their political principles. At the other end of the spectrum were war-wearied women who probably did not support the rebels at all but who ardently wished to see their menfolk return home from the battlefield. Only those who actively sought to aid the rebels can unequivocally be regarded as Confederate sympathizers. However, because most Republicans believed most Democrats were Cop-

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perheads—a name Republicans used to denote Northerners who they believed were Southern sympathizers—it is helpful to consider the various types of women who might have been branded pro-Confederate in the Civil War North.

In the Border States and southern regions of the North, many women and girls worked as spies, saboteurs, and suppliers for the rebels. Some, like Nancy Hart of (West) Virginia, joined guerrilla outfits and worked as rebel spies. Others, like Olivia Floyd of Maryland, sent money, clothes, letters, arms, and Northern military secrets to the South. Charlotte "Lottie" Moon of southern Ohio carried messages to Confederate officers in Kentucky and Virginia, as well as to and from rebel agents in Canada. Virginia "Ginnie" Moon, Lottie's teenage sister, defiantly shot the stars out of an American flag and scratched "Hurrah for Jeff Davis" with her diamond ring into an Ohio storefront window. She, too, became a notorious Confederate spy. In some border regions, women convinced their husbands to join the Confederate army; other women harassed the Union forces by slicing telegraph lines or by treating Union soldiers disrespectfully; and in war-ravaged Missouri, women often sustained Confederate guerrillas by feeding, clothing, arming, housing, and hiding them.

Toward the middle of the spectrum were Peace Democrats. These women were sympathetic to slavery and to the grievances claimed by the South, and they probably came from families with similar political proclivities. When one small town editor in upstate New York was jailed for publishing the sentiment that Southern secession was justified, his wife, Louisa Flanders, took over his newspaper and wrote several letters to the Federal government to secure his release. She professed loyalty to the Union but, like her husband, believed that war could not reunite the nation. Both she and her husband believed that Lincoln's policies were destroying the Union, and she wondered why her husband had been deprived of the constitutional right to say so. She also insisted on her own right to do the same. Though claiming to be "a weak woman," Louisa asserted herself politically; she maintained her incarcerated husband's business and eventually secured his release from prison, all the while publishing a newspaper that explicitly justified a war for Southern independence.

More typical of Northern Democrats were anti-emancipation and anti-Lincoln women. These women fell within the mainstream of the Democratic party and remained fully loyal to the Union, but their political ideas often made their neighbors believe they were traitors to the Northern cause. For example, Maria Lydig Daly, the wife of a Democratic judge in New York City, was active in charitable work for Union soldiers, yet she confided strong anti-Lincoln thoughts to her diary. She castigated "Uncle Ape" for his seeming lack of manners and intelligence, and she believed the Emancipation Proclamation was the illegitimate act of a despot. Women who held views like these were often castigated as Copperheads and traitors. Some were also given insulting appellations, like Miss Secesh, even though they professed loyalty to the Union and showed little, if any, actual sympathy for Southern secessionists.

At the other end of the spectrum of those seen as Confederate sympathizers were Northern women who may not have had any disloyalty at all and whose feelings about the war were not necessarily influenced by partisan politics or sympathies for the South. Women suffered in many ways when their male relatives went off to fight. Many women begged their husbands, sons, brothers, or sweethearts to leave the battlefield and come home. Although most of these women did not intend to support the Confederate war effort, their correspondence was deemed subversive enough to be confiscated by Union military authorities. General George Cadwalader, for example, seized about one hundred letters in July 1861 because the female authors begged their menfolk not to re-enlist but to return home as soon as possible.

Identifying and categorizing the Copperhead women who did not intentionally support the rebel cause is a complicated task. First, Peace Democrats did not necessarily support secession. Indeed, most of them claimed to be more loyal to the Constitution and the Union than the abolitionists and Republicans. Women like Louisa Flanders believed

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it was impossible for war to restore the Union, but they still wished to see the states reunited. Second, nearly all Democratic women were sympathetic to slavery, but proslavery convictions did not necessarily mean that one favored Southern victory. Third, and most importantly, being a Confederate sympathizer was more often an ascribed characteristic than a term of self-identification. While most Northern Democrats had certain sympathies with the South, few were actual advocates for a separate Southern nation.

Jonathan W. White

See also Border States; Daly, Maria Lydig (1824–1894); Female Spies; Guerrilla Warfare; Hart, Nancy (ca. 1843–1902); Moon, Charlotte (Lottie) (1829–1895); Moon, Virginia (Ginnie) (1844–1925); Northern Women; Politics; Union Homefront.

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Congregationalist Women

The Congregational Church escaped the division that characterized most churches before and during the Civil War. Congregationalists avoided division primarily because, unlike the three largest denominations—Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, which suffered serious division into northern and southern denominations before the Civil War—they did not have adherents in both regions. The Lutheran, Episcopal, and Roman Catholic churches remained officially undivided, but with large constituencies in both regions, each contributed vigorous polemicists on the slavery controversy.

The Congregational Church, however, did not escape the disruptive impact of the moral issue of slavery. Initially, most Congregationalists favored a conservative, gradual approach to ending slavery. At the same time, Congregationalists developed a strong abolitionist minority represented by leaders like Reverend David Thurston, the founder of the American Antislavery Society, and Reverend Moses Thacher, a founder and vice president of the New England Anti-Slavery Society and close friend of William Lloyd Garrison. By the time of the Civil War, Congregationalists had become increasingly unified in their call for an immediate end to slavery.

Once disunion was a reality, whatever disagreement individuals and Congregational churches may have had over slavery was transformed into support of the Union. Congregational churches throughout the North and Northwest actively participated in the war effort. Thousands of individuals volunteered as soldiers and as relief workers for the United States Christian Commission and the United States Sanitary Commission. Congregational ministers joined the army as chaplains. On occasion, church buildings served as way stations for soldiers as they headed to the front.

Congregational women played a vital role in the war effort by forming hundreds of aid societies. Most formed sewing circles for the express purpose of supplying Union hospitals and soldiers with necessary clothing and food. Some groups also looked to assist African Americans and made clothes for the freedpeople. The women of Park Street Church in Boston, Massachusetts, the flagship of Congregational churches, formed a Soldier's Circle to assist the already established Park Street Benevolent Sewing Circle. The groups contributed large amounts of homemade shirts, socks, linens, and edibles. The wife of Reverend Andrew Stone, the minister of Park Street Church, served as the group's president. In 1863, she visited Stone who had enlisted as a chaplain to the Forty-Fifth Massachusetts Regiment, during his stay in New Berne, North Carolina. During her four-week stay, she opened a day school for African American children in a local church. Enrollment reached five hundred students and continued throughout the regiment's term of service in New Berne. Most often the women's groups depended on the Christian Commission or the Sanitary Commission to deliver their goods safely. For example, Reverend William Horace Marble, a congregational minister appointed by the Christian Commission, delivered the many boxes of

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supplies and goods made by the ladies of the Congregational Church in Oshkosh, Wisconsin.

Congregational women also participated in aid societies outside the confines of the local church. Elizabeth Smith Abbey served as president of Akron's Soldiers Aid Society, an affiliate of Cleveland's Sanitary Commission, which donated thousands of dollars worth of food and clothing to the hospitalized soldiers. Abbey also served as the secretary of the Ladies National Covenant, an organization opposed to the import of goods during the Civil War, and after the war she collected clothes for freedmen.

Congregational women in Connecticut helped form the Stamford Ladies Soldiers' Aid Society, an interdenominational group that also included Baptist, Presbyterian, and Episcopalian women. Formed in July 1861 as an auxiliary to the Sanitary Commission, the group collected money and food, as well as bought and made clothing for the soldiers at the David's Island hospital off the coast of Long Island. When they discovered their contributions were not always arriving safely at the hospital, they hand delivered baskets of food and boxes of clothing. When visiting the hospital, women passed out the items and visited patients. They often served as unofficial mail couriers as well, delivering letters between patients and families.

Congregationalist Mary Ann Bickerdyke became a well respected wartime nurse. After the minister of the Brick Congregational Church of Galesburg, Illinois, Reverend Edward Beecher, read to his congregation a letter describing the suffering in the hospitals of Cairo, Illinois, the church discussed the best way to help. The congregation sent Bickerdyke, a widow and well-respected nurse to Dr. Woodward with medical supplies. Rather than return home after delivering the supplies, Bickerdyke devoted the next four years to the needs of the wounded in battles across the South. She earned the respect of generals and soldiers who gave her the nickname Mother Bickerdyke.

A number of prominent female writers were raised in Congregational churches. For example, Mary Abigail Dodge, also known as Gail Hamilton, authored numerous works including the essay, "A Call to My Country-Woman." Her works called for high patriotic fervor among Northern women. Congregationalist authors also included Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, author of *The Gates Ajar* (1868), and abolitionist novelist Harriet Beecher Stowe, who penned the 1852 best seller *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* As adults, these women rejected the Calvinist theology of Congregationalism and, as in the case of Stowe, left the denomination altogether.

The Civil War opened up new opportunities for women as teachers and missionaries at home and abroad. Congregational women made themselves essential to Reconstruction efforts as teachers for the American Missionary Association (AMA). The AMA was the most prominent of the Northern religious agencies that worked among African Americans during the Civil War and Reconstruction. Founded in Albany in 1846 by Congregationalists who shared a commitment to African Americans and antislavery, by 1860 the AMA had 112 missionaries in the South, and at the war's end it had 528 missionaries and teachers at work there. Most of the educators were women. The war also expanded women's role in the Congregational Church. Many of the sewing circles became permanent ministries that aided the poor, frontier missionaries in Western America, and overseas missionary efforts.

Karen Fisher Younger

See also Bickerdyke, Mary Ann Ball "Mother" (1817–1901); Dodge, Mary Abigail [Gail Hamilton] (1833–1896); Phelps, Elizabeth Stuart (Ward) [Mary Gray Phelps] (1844–1911); Religion; Stowe, Harriett Beecher (1811–1896); United States Christian Commission; United States Sanitary Commission.

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Conscription

Designed to increase the size of their armies, the Northern and Southern drafts also represented an unprecedented governmental intrusion into family life, forcing women to balance the needs of their nation against those of their families.

At the beginning of the Civil War, neither the Union nor the Confederacy foresaw the conflict's length or scope. As early as 1862, the initial enthusiasm that had sparked widespread enlistments in the prior year had worn off. In April 1862, the Confederacy passed a conscription law and the Union soon followed suit. The enactment of a draft law greatly affected the women of both sides, though Southern women faced more formidable challenges. The Southern conscript net snared both a larger number and a higher percentage of military-aged men, and thus, more than their Union counterparts, white women in the South found themselves living on a homefront denuded of male relatives. Additionally, Southern women likely felt more vulnerable with a potentially hostile slave population in their midst and the possibility of invading Union forces threatening their communities.

In issuing draft calls, politicians urged loyal women to serve as a conscript guard to bring in draftees, and some women, particularly those with relatives in the service, used honor and shame to prod shirkers into the service. More likely, however, women's actions and words led men to resist the draft. Service in the army meant putting one's country ahead of one's family, and for women, especially those who had already contributed a husband and several sons, the drafting of one more relative was a sacrifice that they were unwilling to make. Both Union and Confederate leaders contended that the war helped protect soldiers' wives and children, yet the draft often undermined this promise and belied the concept of paternalism. It also contributed to the notion that the government was indifferent to the sufferings of its people who, as civilians already weary of food shortages and inflation and perhaps fearful of the opposing army, had to relinquish some of the few men who remained to help defend and feed their communities.

The perceived inequities in the draft laws, especially those that made the war appear to be a "rich man's war and a poor man's fight," most angered women. In both the Union and the Confederacy, drafted soldiers could provide substitutes in their place. In the North, conscripts could also avoid service by paying a $300 fee, while in the South, the ownership of twenty slaves made men exempt. Women objected to being forced to sacrifice their loved ones while other healthy, capable men remained at home. Some sent pleas to military and political officials requesting exemptions for their relatives, with the missives often stressing the family's destitution and vulnerability. Other women not only encouraged their conscripted relatives to dodge the draft, but also denounced conscript hunters, hid draft dodgers, participated in draft riots, or helped provide for prospective conscripts hiding in the woods.

John M. Sacher

See also Confederate Homefront; Draft Riots and Resistance; Honor; Non-slaveholding Southerners; Northern Women; Politics; Slaveholding Women; Southern Women; Union Homefront.

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Contraband Relief Association

The Contraband Relief Association (CRA), organized by free black women of Washington, D.C., in 1862, assisted ex-slaves during the Civil War. Founding member Elizabeth Keckley's connections to both white and black philanthropists helped to win support for the organization. Although not as financially successful as other freedmen's aid societies, the CRA is a commendable example of mid-nineteenth-century African American private charity and self-help.

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Keckley, seamstress and confidant to Mary Todd Lincoln, understood the freedmen's problems. She had been a slave until 1855, when she purchased her freedom and that of her only child. After becoming a successful businesswoman in the District of Columbia, Keckley often used her experience and means to assist other blacks adjusting to freedom. The Civil War provided Keckley with an unprecedented opportunity to use her skills and humanitarianism to aid the growing number of impoverished contrabands entering the nation's capital.

Fugitive slaves first sought protection behind Union lines after the Confiscation Act of August 6, 1861. Congress declared that any property used in insurrection against the United States could be taken as contraband of war. Northern forces were ordered to free slaves captured as contrabands. Sometimes the army employed the contrabands. Most of the exslaves, camping near Northern troops for protection, lived in destitute conditions. After April 1862, when Congress abolished slavery in the District of Columbia, thousands of contrabands entered the city in search of protection and work. As a result, the migrant population surged from four hundred to almost forty thousand by 1865. Despite seemingly high wages, wartime inflation and the influx of additional workers restricted opportunities. Most continued to live in camps, with conditions similar to those they had just escaped. Hunger, disease, and insufficient housing led to misery and even death for the men, women, and children running from war and enslavement.

When abolitionists learned of the conditions in the contraband camps, they formed relief societies modeled on antebellum benevolent associations. Northern blacks formed their own associations but also worked with white groups. Later in the war, Southern blacks also organized. In August 1862, Keckley called on members of the Union Bethel Church to organize on behalf of the refugees. Forty women created the CRA and elected Keckley president. Soon they began distributing food and clothing to the freedmen in the D.C. area.

The CRA benefited from Keckley's relationship with the Lincolns. Mary Lincoln donated $200 from a fund originally established for Union soldiers. She visited camps receiving aid from the CRA, and on at least one occasion she was accompanied by President Abraham Lincoln. In September 1862, Keckley accompanied the first lady to New York and Boston. Seeking donations, Keckley spoke with the pastors' wives of the Twelfth Street Baptist Church in Boston. These women organized their own aid society through which they collected over eighty boxes of supplies for the CRA. Keckley also met with prominent abolitionists Wendell Phillips and Frederick Douglass. After donating $200, Douglass used his connections in Europe to procure over $350 in assistance from antislavery societies in Great Britain and Scotland. More contributions came from a group of Bostonians who held dramatic readings in support of the organization. In New York City, the black activist Reverend Henry Highland Garnett welcomed Keckley to the Shiloh Presbyterian Church. Black waiters at the Metropolitan Hotel collected money for the CRA, and a group of black women held a charity ball to add to its treasury. Supporters in other cities sent contributions. After Keckley returned home, Philadelphia's Mother Bethel Church organized a contraband committee to raise money for the CRA.

Despite widespread support, the CRA struggled financially, collecting only $838 the first year. In 1863, Keckley called attention to the group's need for more funds in a plea to readers of the *Christian Recorder*, the African Methodist Episcopal Church newspaper. Keckley's "Appeal in Behalf of Our People" reminded readers of their Christian duty to help those in need. She explained the CRA's mission to supply the contrabands with food, clothing, medical care, and housing. Volunteers also provided guidance and encouragement, as well as education and employment assistance so that exslaves could become self-sufficient. By the end of the second year, the group had collected an additional $1,228 and a total of 5,250 articles of clothing.

After the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 allowed the Union army to accept freedmen for military service, the women expanded their interests to include black soldiers. These men often suffered from the army's discriminatory policies. Black soldiers initially received less pay than white

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volunteers, and they often received inferior supplies. Hardship also affected the soldiers' families. In 1864, as a result of their additional mission and to recognize that freedpeople were no longer considered property, the women changed the organization's name to the Freedmen and Soldier's Relief Association.

Kelly D. Selby

See also African American Women; Aid Societies; Antislavery Societies; Baptist Women; Camp Followers; Contrabands; Douglass, Frederick (ca. 1818–1895); Food; Fundraising; Keckley, Elizabeth Hobbs (ca. 1818–1907); Lincoln, Abraham (1809–1865); Lincoln, Mary Todd (1818–1882); Northern Women; Politics; Religion; Shortages; Union Homefront.

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Contrabands

In 1861, Union General Benjamin F. Butler characterized as "contraband of war" three male slaves who had left their posts working on Confederate fortifications and escaped to Union-held Fortress Monroe on the Virginia coast. While this standard of international law usually referred to goods used in the prosecution of war, Butler applied the term to the slave men when he refused to hand them over to the Confederate officer who requested their return. Butler's decision prompted numerous other slaves to flee to Fortress Monroe, and soon all former slaves were called contrabands by Federal officials, soldiers, journalists, and missionaries. As the first slaves to make the transition to freedom, contrabands planted the seeds of postwar black communities in Union-occupied areas of the South. As their families' primary caregivers and as individuals who were not recruited as soldiers, female contrabands played a significant role in defining wartime freedom.

Some of the first contraband women lived on the Sea Islands off the South Carolina and Georgia coasts. These former slaves gained their freedom when their owners fled as Union troops arrived late in 1861. As would happen to black women throughout the Confederacy, they effectively became free simply by staying put when their masters abandoned their homes before a Union advance. Others who lived nearby soon joined these contrabands, using their feet to demonstrate their determination to be free. Women who escaped to Union lines were not just rejecting slavery but also seeking respite from specific wartime concerns, including raids by scavenging troops and the threat of being involuntarily separated from family members as owners moved slaves away from the front lines.

As the war progressed, slave women also left home to escape hunger as conditions in the Confederacy deteriorated. Others hoped to avoid mistreatment by owners disgruntled by the departure of the women's male relatives to join the Union army. Women were especially attracted to Union-occupied towns, which offered the best possibility of gainful employment. Female contrabands usually brought along any tools and provisions they could, including clothing, blankets, bedding, livestock, and fowl, as well as tubs, pots, or boilers—carried on their heads.

Contraband women suffered considerably during their transition from slavery to freedom. Many received an unwelcome reception from Union military authorities who were willing to put men to work or, beginning in 1863, to sign them up as soldiers, but who were unprepared for the influx of women and children that accompanied Union occupation. Many commanders simply forbade women and children from entering army camps; others expelled women and children after they had

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Fugitive slaves ford the Rappahannock River in Virginia in August 1862, as the Second Battle of Bull Run gets underway. (Library of Congress)

become settled, as in the notorious example of Camp Nelson, Kentucky. Some commanders returned women and children to their Unionist slave owners. When these tactics did little to stem the outpouring of escaped slaves, Union authorities set up contraband camps and regimental villages as temporary way stations.

While many former slaves found their own shelter in occupied towns and cities, others took up residence in hastily erected contraband camps in such locations as Beaufort, South Carolina; Craney Island, Virginia; Grand Junction, Tennessee; and Corinth, Mississippi. Because the Union army used many able-bodied former slave men as laborers at the front and as soldiers, contraband camp populations tended to contain mostly women, children, and elderly men. Camp residents lived in various types of shelter, including abandoned houses, former barracks, lean-tos, shanties, cabins, and tents. While the food supply was generally adequate in most camps, there was rarely enough warm clothing during the winter. Poor sanitation, little protection from the elements, and overcrowding led to high rates of mortality. Many residents died from smallpox, consumption, and pneumonia, although government vaccination programs provided some relief. Women and girls in the camps ran a significant risk of being raped. Officers and soldiers could be brutally abusive to contraband women, whom some viewed as prostitutes and vagrants. Another constant danger was the threat of military action, as when the contraband camp at Fort Pillow, Tennessee was destroyed during a Confederate attack on the fort.

Daily camp life included roll calls each morning, work assignments, and the distribution of rations. Within the camps, women recreated aspects of the slave communities that had sustained them through the years. Contraband women and children almost always cultivated small garden plots. In the evenings, residents gathered to sew, sing, dance, play games,

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hold prayer meetings, and gossip. Women drew on this communal ethos when they protested the conscription of contraband men or spoke out against the sale of abandoned lands. Contraband women started orphanages and participated in Emancipation Day celebrations. With men, they sought to establish their independence and keep their families intact.

Contraband women worked as field hands, laundresses, seamstresses, hospital attendants, personal servants, cooks, and maids. Women who worked for the Federal government routinely received lower wages than men, except in agricultural work in some locales. Contract labor systems had been established in most areas under Union occupation by early 1864. Some women rejected wage labor and supported their families by marketing fruits and vegetables, dairy products, and prepared foods. Others operated their own businesses, selling groceries or running hotels and brothels. Contraband women could not always find enough work, and military officials and private groups relocated former slave women, many of whom were farm hands or housewives, from some camps to Northern employers.

Contraband women interacted frequently with Northern missionaries and teachers. Clashes of values and priorities resulted, as when some missionaries on the Sea Islands encouraged women to leave the fields permanently to become housewives. Marriage ceremonies were conducted in many contraband camps. Contrabands consistently demonstrated their eagerness for education, initiating the establishment of schools in many areas and gathering to learn in barns, kitchens, churches, tents, and schoolhouses. Some contraband women trained to become teachers themselves. The records kept and reminiscences shared by women who worked among the contrabands—including Harriet Tubman, Charlotte Forten, Laura Towne, Lucy and Sarah Chase, Elizabeth Botume, and Susie King Taylor—have proved invaluable to recreating the contraband experience.

Antoinette G. van Zelm

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; African American Women; Contraband Relief Association; Education, Southern; Emancipation Proclamation (January 1, 1863); Forten (Grimké), Charlotte L. (1837–1914); Freedmen's Bureau; Port Royal; Rape; Refugees; Slave Families; Taylor, Susie Baker King (1848–1912); Towne, Laura Matilda (1825–1901); Tubman, Harriet [Araminta Ross] (1822–1913); Urban Women, Southern; Wartime Employment.

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Coppin, Fanny Jackson (1837–1913)

African American feminist, educator, journalist, and missionary Fanny Marion Jackson was born a slave in Washington, D.C., in 1837. She taught freed slaves during the Civil War.

After an aunt purchased Fanny's freedom, she moved to New Bedford, Massachusetts, then to Newport, Rhode Island, working as a domestic servant in both places. Her Newport employers, the wealthy and aristocratic author George H. Calvert and his wife, encouraged her efforts to get an education. After years of private lessons and attendance at the local public (colored) school, she attended the Rhode Island Normal School, where she decided she wanted to be a teacher. Accordingly, with financial help from her family, Fanny attended Oberlin College in northern Ohio, one of the few American colleges that admitted African Americans.

Fanny attended Oberlin from 1860 to 1865. After a year in the preparatory course, she transferred to the "gentleman's." She did well, and in her junior year she, with forty classmates, was assigned to teach students in the Preparatory Department.

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The faculty was nervous about this experiment and said they would remove her if the students rebelled. They did not, and her classes were large and successful. During her senior year, she organized an evening class for some of the former slaves who had settled in Oberlin township, where she taught them to read and write.

The year before she graduated, Fanny was offered a job at the Institute for Colored Youth, a Quaker school in Philadelphia. She went there as a teacher of classics and mathematics after her graduation (when she was elected class poet), and within four years she became head principal: the first African American woman in such a high position in the country. Over her thirty-seven-year tenure, she introduced several reforms, including a teacher training section in 1871 and, after a ten-year crusade, an industrial training division in 1888. Her advocacy of industrial training predated Booker T. Washington's, and unlike him she wanted to combine it with classical training.

Starting in 1878 she wrote a women's column in the *Christian Reporter,* the newspaper of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church. In 1888 she opened a shelter for homeless women, and in 1894 she opened a Women's Exchange, a kind of settlement house for women and girls of color.

Fanny married AME minister Eli Jenkins Coppin in 1881 and continued teaching. She had no children. As president of the Women's Home and Foreign Missionary Society of the AME, she traveled to London and throughout the United States discussing the role of African American women.

Fanny Coppin retired from teaching in 1902 and almost immediately accompanied her husband, now a bishop, to South Africa, where she spent the next ten years working as a missionary. She returned to Philadelphia where she died in January 1913.

Jane Lancaster

See also African American Women; Education, Northern; Methodist Women; Teachers, Northern.

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Fanny Jackson Coppin, African American teacher, journalist and missionary (1837–1913). (Library of Congress)

Courtship and Marriage

The Civil War disrupted traditional courtship expectations and rituals and transformed existing marriages. The service of nearly 3 million men in the military reshaped the relationships between men and women. The influx of military troops or government workers into communities created new courtship opportunities for some women, and those women in areas where the number of potential suitors had declined relied on correspondence with soldiers to fill the void. These disruptions to the homefront relaxed traditional rules governing courtships, providing more freedom in the choices and behavior of men and women. Weddings continued throughout the conflict, but wartime conditions drastically altered their tone and style. Many women rushed to the altar to accommodate their soldier husband's schedule, and economic hardships on the homefront precluded extravagant ceremonies. Those married before or during the war endured long periods of separation that tested their relationships. Tensions emerged as women

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assumed their husbands' responsibilities in running the home as well as the farm, plantation, or business during their absence. The wives of soldiers serving on the military front also expressed concerns over their husband's moral and physical well-being. While some wives followed their husbands to the battlefront, most relied on correspondence as a source of comfort and continuity. The Federal presence in the South also reshaped existing slave marriages and provided opportunities for new unions among African American men and women.

Courtships underwent a dramatic transformation during the four years of war. In the North, the departure of men created a dearth of courtship prospects for women in small communities, whereas those in cities and towns with a larger male population experienced little change. Brief sojourns home allowed Union soldiers to pursue romantic relationships, but geographic distance often limited such opportunities. Couples who pursued a long-distance relationship depended on letters as the only source of contact. Northern soldiers sought relationships while on the battlefront, but their prospects were often limited to women they deemed undesirable, namely prostitutes, matronly nurses, and Confederate women. The paucity of "proper" Northern women led soldiers to place advertisements in newspapers and periodicals back home seeking women who would write to them. The relationships forged in correspondence served primarily as a source of comfort and connection to home as well as the means to finding a potential mate.

Southern women's prospects for courtships also varied according to geographic location. Those in rural areas witnessed a sharp decline in the number of potential suitors due to their isolation on the plantation or farm. Only with military units passing through or occupying their communities did single women see an increase in the number of potential suitors. The uncertainty of finding a mate in the rural South forced some women to ponder a life without men, and others turned to female friendships to fill the emotional void. Conversely, single women in areas with a large population of government or military personnel, such as the Confederate capital of Richmond, enjoyed a constant stream of potential suitors. Constance Cary, for example, met her future husband while working in a military hospital in Richmond; he served as an aide to Jefferson Davis.

Single men and women pursued a number of activities that eventually led to courtships. Social activities—ranging from church functions and war-related events to festive parties and dances—became the primary means for young men and women to meet and mingle. In Richmond, soldiers marching through the city engaged in flirtations with young women who greeted them with flowers and blew kisses. Single women also came out to greet soldiers on the trains, bringing them small gifts and mementos. Women who had opportunities to meet soldiers often promised to maintain a correspondence. Throughout the conflict, many Southern men and women engaged in letter writing as the sole means of pursuing a relationship.

Wartime conditions eased the restrictions governing courtship behavior. Although class biases often guided the interaction of young women with soldiers, many women abandoned class prejudices when interacting with troops, the romantic image of the soldier in uniform being powerful enough to relax class prescriptions. Letters also permitted courting couples to loosen the standards of proper courtship behavior. The privacy of correspondence allowed men and women to offer romantic expressions of devotion and love. Letter writing allowed courting couples to keep engagements a secret until they could ensure parental consent. Parents grew increasingly concerned with this relaxation of courtship behavior and standards, fearing the potential for inappropriate marriages and sexual impropriety.

Economic hardships on the homefront and geographic distance also changed the structure of weddings for couples who chose to marry during the war. Women from more economically well-to-do families traditionally enjoyed lavish weddings. In the South, shortages of supplies resulting from the blockade and high inflation by 1863 kept couples from holding such elaborate celebrations. The scarcity of goods on the Southern homefront forced brides to be resourceful in outfitting a wedding, and

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many borrowed a wedding dress. The separation of soldier and betrothed likewise shaped the type and length of wedding. Some soldiers, with limited time on a furlough, rushed home to marry and then returned to the battlefield. LaSalle Corbell, for example, planned her wedding to Union general George Pickett in the months following his charge at Gettysburg. They chose to marry quickly in Petersburg, Virginia, allowing George to return to his post after a short celebration.

The Civil War also reshaped the roles and relationships of husbands and wives. Some men, mainly from the upper and middle socioeconomic classes, remained with their wives throughout the course of the war by using exemption clauses, paying a fee, or hiring a substitute to avoid military service. The vast majority of couples, however, spent a portion of the conflict apart, as the result of either military duty or government work. Concerned about the physical safety of their spouses, wives endured long periods of emotional stress. Many women attempted to assuage their anxieties by volunteering for the war effort or by staying busy in the home. The primary source of comfort for many married couples, however, was the letters that they exchanged. Correspondences allowed men and women to express their romantic affections as well as discuss the mundane activities of the home and family. Most women relied on letters from the front as their only source of news on the war and their husbands' safety. The uncertainty of the mail service, nevertheless, created long periods of silence between spouses that exacerbated women's anxieties.

Wives also had the option of following their husbands to the military front. Some women remained with their husbands by finding employment as nurses, laundresses, and cooks in the camps. Their presence brought a sense of continuity and comfort for soldiers enduring the physical and emotional hardships of service. Wives of high-ranking officers had the financial means to accompany their husbands on their campaigns. Union General Ulysses S. Grant, for example, invited his wife, Julia, to set up housekeeping during his occupation of West Tennessee and Vicksburg, respectively, and to follow him to Virginia during his 1864 Overland Campaign.

A husband's absence from the home often strained relationships. Wives worried about possible marital infidelity as their husbands encountered other women—including nurses, prostitutes, and Southern women in occupied communities. Sexual transgressions were also a concern of men whose wives had greater opportunities to engage in affairs with men on the homefront. The accompanying dangers of childbearing for women of the nineteenth century caused some wives to temper their physical contact with husbands who returned home or to refuse to visit their spouses on the battlefield, which fueled tensions.

Conflicts also emerged as a wife assumed her husband's economic and familial duties in his absence. Many women had trouble adapting to their new roles. Some Southern women, for example, wrote to their husbands for advice, attempting to reaffirm traditional lines of authority. The tenuous nature of the South's social system also made the task of managing slaves unreliable and difficult. In spite of these hardships, wives proved adept at managing the plantation, farm, or business in their husbands' absence while maintaining their own maternal and domestic responsibilities. Women also found some relief from the burdens of work by relying on older children or extended kin to perform domestic tasks. Men were often reluctant to accept this reorganization of gender roles. In the marriage of Kate and William McLure of South Carolina, for example, William was unwilling to recognize his wife's abilities in running the plantation and supervising the slaves. He placed overseers and male relatives in charge and sent detailed letters to Kate on how to manage daily tasks. This situation created a competition for authority on the McLure plantation as well as tensions within the marriage. Most men, however, had little choice but to entrust their wives with the management of the household economy.

Slave marriages underwent drastic changes resulting from Union occupation of Southern territory. Fearing disruptions in their labor force, masters relocated slaves into the interior of the South, often separating married couples in the process. Slave men and women in locations that were farther removed from military presence managed to

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remain together on the same plantation or farm throughout the course of the war. Couples in areas under Union occupation, however, discovered that the Federal presence offered a means to secure existing marriages as well as to form new ones. Since slaves lacked legal recognition of their marriages under Southern state laws, they turned to the Federal government to sanction their marriages legally, and they traveled to military camps to have chaplains officiate their weddings. Many husbands fled the plantation to Union lines, leaving behind their wives and family in the hopes of returning under Federal protection to reclaim them. Wartime conditions likewise allowed couples to dissolve involuntary unions demanded by the master. Some spouses left the plantation or farm, never to return to the marriage. The presence of African American troops in the South also led to relationships between soldiers and slave women. Wives in the Union army camps, whose husbands served in the Union army as soldiers or laborers, experienced the same separation anxieties as those of white soldiers' wives as they watched their husbands leave for the battlefield. The only alternative for a wife was to follow her husband to the front, finding employment as a camp cook or laundress.

By the final year of the war, conditions on the homefront tempered women's enthusiasm for their husbands' service. While they continued to vocalize their support for the Union or Confederacy, many women increasingly wrote letters describing their difficulties in maintaining family finances. Wives on the Southern homefront, where privation threatened the livelihood and physical well-being of families, wrote letters to their husbands requesting that they return home for a short period to stabilize the home. Yet such a decision required a husband to desert his post. By the end of the war, nearly 620,000 men had lost their lives while serving in the military, leaving behind a population of war widows, many of whom would rely on the Federal government for financial assistance. Husbands who survived the war reunited with their wives and attempted to return to a normal life.

Victoria E. Ott

See also African American Women; Camp Followers; Confederate Homefront; Heyward, Pauline DeCaradeuc (1843–1914); Letter Writing; Northern Women; Pickett, LaSalle Corbell (ca. 1843–1931); Slave Families; Slaveholding Women; Southern Women; Union Homefront; Widows, Confederate; Widows, Union.

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Crosby, Frances Jane "Fanny" (1820–1915)

Hymnist, poet, and writer of Civil War ballads, staunch abolitionist Fanny Crosby composed the text to over nine thousand hymns and had several Civil War ballads for the Union published in newspapers and newsletters.

The only child of John and Mercy Crosby, Frances Jane Crosby was born March 24, 1820, in the town of Southeast, New York, about sixty miles from New York City. She became blind during infancy. With the death of her father in 1825 and her mother's subsequent need to take on an occupation, Fanny went to live with her grandmother. In 1835, she was admitted to the New York Institution for the Blind, where she met many dignitaries, including Grover Cleveland, Henry Clay, and James K. Polk.

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In 1858 she married Alexander Van Alstyne, a blind teacher at the institution.

During the 1850s, Fanny collaborated with George F. Root, music instructor at the institution. Politically, she leaned toward the Whigs, for whom she wrote the poem "Carry Me On" in 1852; she later became a Republican in support of Abraham Lincoln. Before she composed the texts to over nine thousand hymns, Crosby wrote Civil War ballads, which often went unattributed at the time.

Some of Crosby's ballads were distributed to public schools in the Union. One, "Dixie for the Union," was published as a colored song sheet and urged readers to "Go meet those Southern traitors/With iron will." Another edition, set to the tune of Daniel Decatur Emmet's "I Wish I Was in Dixie," was arranged by famous European composer Sigismond. Similarly, "The Dixie of Our Union" encouraged the Northern troops. Although other songs had different themes, they all took the side of the Union and hoped to spur Northern soldiers on to victory. Crosby's poem "Song to Jeff Davis" was directed at the Confederate president. "Good-By, Old Arm," a tribute to wounded soldiers, was a song sheet with music by Philip Phillips. After the Civil War, Crosby took an interest in philanthropy to the freedmen, reflected in her poem, "Our Call."

Crosby also proved versatile in applying her poetic skills. William Bradbury's "There is a Sound Among the Forest Trees" had been popular during the Civil War. Crosby wrote sacred lyrics to the melody, and it was retitled "There's a Cry from Macedonia." Other poems included "Our Country" and "A Tribute (to the memory of dead horses)."

During her lifetime, Crosby used over two hundred pseudonyms, including Mrs. Fanny Van Alstyne, Louis N. Tilden, Arthur J. Langdon, and initials, such as F.A.N., F.C., D.D., and even an asterisk (*).

Fanny Crosby suffered a massive stroke on February 12, 1915, the sixth anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's birthday as a Federal holiday. Her funeral was the largest ever held in Bridgeport, Connecticut.

Ralph Hartsock

Fanny Crosby wrote Civil War ballads for the Union, was a poet, hymnist, and abolitionist (1820–1915). (Cirker, Hayward and Blanche Cirker, eds., *Dictionary of American Portraits*, 1967)

See also Education, Northern; Music, Northern; Northern Women; Religion; Union Homefront; Wartime Literature.

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Cumming, Kate (ca. 1835–1909)

Confederate nurse Kate Cumming kept a detailed journal of her wartime experiences. Her journal, published in 1866, provides insight into gender roles, social mores, and medical practice. Her writings also record the names of other hospital workers and many of the soldiers she tended.

Born in Edinburgh, Scotland, Kate and her family moved first to Montreal, Canada when she was a child, and, a few years later, settled in Mobile, Alabama. When the war started, Kate was living in

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Confederate nurse Kate Cumming published a journal of her wartime experience in 1866. (Library of Congress)

Mobile with her father, David Cumming, and her brother. Her mother and sisters had traveled to England in early 1861 and remained there. After hearing that Reverend Benjamin M. Miller, while speaking at Saint John's Episcopal Church, had urged women to aid the Confederate military's battlefield medical corps, Kate felt compelled to assist. Bowing to family objections, she initially limited her efforts to collecting supplies locally. Citing Florence Nightingale as an example of a nurse who retained respectability despite her Crimean War work, Kate later rejected family views and volunteered for nursing duty with the Army of the Mississippi (later renamed the Army of Tennessee). She began her hospital duties in 1862.

Most of Kate's hospital responsibilities consisted of controlling access to liquor and supervising the work of soldiers and slaves who performed more onerous hospital tasks, such as dressing wounds. However, she shouldered unpleasant tasks when necessary, particularly toward the end of the war. At Corinth, Mississippi, she rolled bandages, dispensed food and drink, and attended to the needs of wounded Confederates and prisoners of war from the Battle of Shiloh. After the Battle of Chickamauga, she served in the Chattanooga, Tennessee area, moving with the military as it retreated through Georgia.

Kate kept a detailed journal of her experiences as a wartime nurse. The combination of her British heritage and Southern upbringing contributed to Kate's unique perspective on women's wartime roles. While she was loyal to the Confederate cause, she vociferously criticized the prevailing Southern attitude that a hospital environment was not a proper place for ladies.

When the war ended, Kate returned to Mobile. In 1874 she and her father moved to Birmingham, Alabama, where she taught school and music and was active in the United Daughters of the Confederacy. She never married. Kate died on June 5, 1909, and her funeral was held at Saint John's Episcopal Church. She was buried in Magnolia Cemetery, Mobile.

Nancy L. Adgent

See also Domesticity; Hospitals; Nurses; Separate Spheres; Southern Women; United Daughters of the Confederacy.

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Cushman, Pauline [Harriet Wood] (1833–1893)

A Union spy during the American Civil War, Pauline Cushman was born Harriet Wood on June 10, 1833. Although born in New Orleans, Louisiana, she was raised in Grand Rapids, Michigan.

At eighteen, Wood changed her name to Pauline Cushman and embarked on a career as theatrical performer in Thomas Placide's Varieties. In 1853

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she married musician Charles Dickinson, who later served as a member of the regimental band of the Forty-first Ohio Infantry. After his death in 1862, Cushman returned to the stage in a production of *Seven Sisters* at Woods Theatre in Louisville, Kentucky. According to her memoir, it was during this time that paroled Southern soldiers offered her money to toast Confederate President Jefferson Davis during a performance. After informing the provost marshal of her intentions, Cushman took to the stage and proclaimed her loyalty to Davis and the honor of the Southern Confederacy. She was promptly fired from the production and began her career as a spy for the Union army. Posing as a Confederate sympathizer, she was employed to seek out information on Southern spies in Louisville and their methods of smuggling medical supplies through Federal lines.

Cushman later secured a theatrical job in Nashville, Tennessee, where she obtained information on thefts from government stores, the trade in contraband, and the movements of Confederate troops and guerrillas. In May 1863 Cushman was captured during an assignment to ascertain the strength of Confederate fortifications in Shelbyville, Kentucky. She was court-martialed and sentenced to be hanged by General Braxton Bragg. Cushman escaped to the safety of Union lines during the Army of Tennessee's evacuation from Shelbyville in June 1863.

President Abraham Lincoln acknowledged Cushman's valuable work as "spy of the Cumberland" by granting her an honorary commission as a brevet major. She enjoyed a brief period of notoriety, completing a lecture tour on her adventures as a spy and posing in her soldier's uniform for photographer Mathew Brady. After the publication of her biography in 1865, Cushman moved to California, where she resumed her career as an actress. She married August Fictner in 1872 and was widowed less than a year later. Cushman spent the next five years working in the redwood logging camps near Santa Cruz, California, where she met Jere Fryer in 1879, married, and moved to Casa Grande, Arizona Territory, to operate a hotel and livery stable. When the couple separated in 1890, Cushman returned to San Francisco, finally overdosing on opium in 1893. She was buried by the Grand Army of the Republic with full military honors.

Giselle Roberts

See also Female Spies.

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Custer, Elizabeth "Libbie" Bacon (1842–1933)

The wife of United States General George Armstrong Custer, Elizabeth "Libbie" Bacon Custer touted her husband's accomplishments and vigorously defended his reputation after his death. She became an author and lecturer in the postwar era.

Elizabeth "Libbie" Bacon was born April 8, 1842, in Monroe, Michigan, the only surviving child of Judge Daniel Stanton Bacon and Eleanor Sophia Bacon. Her upbringing was sternly Presbyterian with an emphasis on academics and deportment. She was educated at Boyd's Seminary in Monroe, which was considered one of the most prestigious "young ladies" academies in the Midwest and drew upper-class girls from several states. She attended a year at the Auburn Institute in New York, where she was able to gain experience with travel and larger urban settings. Excelling in French, art, and composition, Libbie graduated valedictorian, and her graduation paper won accolades from the *Detroit Free Press.*

Libbie was a sophisticated young woman when she married George Armstrong Custer on February 9, 1864. They visited West Point and Washington, D.C., and then joined the Michigan Cavalry Brigade in winter quarters near Brandy Station, Virginia. There were few women with the Army of the Potomac in February 1864 and fewer officers' wives. The Custers lived in the headquarters, entertained the staff officers, and rode out with the troops. When General Hugh Judson Kilpatrick ordered a raid on Richmond, Libbie found herself virtually alone in a semi-deserted cavalry camp. She moved to Washington, D.C., until the troops returned, then rejoined them in Virginia.

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Elizabeth Bacon Custer, writer and wife of George Armstrong Custer (1844–1933). (Courtesy New York Historical Society)

Libbie remained in the field with her husband; General Philip Sheridan, who usually opposed women in camp, allowed her the privilege because he felt she improved the officers' behavior. They were close to enemy lines, so she always went out with a cavalry escort, and she had the opportunity to observe pickets on duty, small emergency deployments, and prisoners being brought in. When the battle campaigns began in the spring, Libbie divided her time between a solitary apartment in Washington, D.C., and accompanying her husband into the field. In Washington, she visited the hospitals, comforting Michigan soldiers and cavalrymen from General Custer's command.

Libbie socialized with politicians, military officers, and other personages, and her intelligence, good nature, and polished demeanor won her much admiration. Her ability to win favor in the capitol was an asset, because she was able to promote her husband's talents, improving his career prospects. Her friendship with Congressman F. W. Kellogg of Michigan proved particularly helpful; the senator helped assure her Democrat husband's promotions in a Republican-inclined political landscape.

During the Civil War, Libbie learned to negotiate army life both in the field and in garrison, lessons she would utilize as she followed the cavalry west during the Indian Wars. After George Armstrong Custer's death at the Battle of the Little Bighorn in 1876, Libbie remained in mourning until her own death in at age ninety-two in 1933. She used her position as a lady and an officer's widow, effectively staunching public criticism of her husband for the duration of her life. Her books and lectures contributed to myths of Little Bighorn, and she kept the memories of the Civil War's great Boy General in the forefront of American imagination.

Dawn Ottevaere Nickeson

See also Education, Northern; Hospitals; Northern Women; Union Homefront; Wounded, Visits to.

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Daly, Maria Lydig (1824–1894)

Wartime diarist and wife of a New York Copperhead, Maria Lydig Daly grew up in a wealthy Dutch-German family and married Charles Patrick Daly, a self-made Irish American. Her diary recorded her struggle to maintain her household as well as her observations about class, ethnicity, politics, and the war. Her journal provides rare insights into the complexities of Victorian womanhood and life in a Northern city during the war.

Daly enjoyed a comfortable childhood with a good education and interaction with leading political and literary figures. Her choice of husband was unusual. Although he was a rising star in the judicial world, appointed to New York's Court of Common Pleas by age twenty, Daly was beneath the Lydigs socially. Maria waged a yearlong battle with her father for approval of the match and suggested the possibility of eloping. She maintained a fierce loyalty to the judge and helped maintain their household budget by "turning" her wardrobe and creating her own bonnets. Throughout their marriage, Maria worked with the judge's economic advisors to stabilize their income in spite of inflation. She also joined local women to discuss the causes of economic difficulties and to suggest a nonconsumption movement to boycott Southern goods. She dabbled in land speculation and in gold and silver investments, and she read extensively about economics. Careful study led her to suggest that the government fix prices and supervise the quality of food being sold in the city.

Daly shared her husband's enthusiasm for Copperhead politics. She deplored the actions of abolitionists and Republican politicians, and she blamed the two groups for the war. She sympathized with President Abraham Lincoln, a man she saw as well-meaning but incompetent. However, by the end of the war her sympathy gave way to disgust, and she openly supported her husband's work to remove Lincoln from office by supporting George B. McClellan in 1864. Her politics were tinged by racism, and she observed that the violence of the 1863 Draft Riots might help dispel the insolence she detected in the city's African Americans.

Despite her political beliefs, Daly worked to support the men of the Union army by collecting hospital supplies and sewing for the Sixty-ninth New York. She investigated the possibility of nursing but stopped when she encountered women who were as opinionated as she was about what was most needed for the men. She made a flag for an Irish regiment that she thought was being overlooked.

Daly's observations add to the complex interpretation of the effects of the Civil War on American society. She retained a lively interest in politics, society, and economics until her death in 1894.

Karen A. Kehoe

See also Diaries and Journals; Northern Women.

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Davis, Jefferson (1808–1889)

President of the Confederacy Jefferson Davis served as a United States Congressman and fought in the Mexican War before he was chosen to lead the seceded Southern states.

Kentucky-born on June 3, 1808, Jefferson was the tenth and last child of Samuel Emory Davis, a Revolutionary War veteran, and Jane Cook Davis, who together followed a traditional pattern of migration from Georgia through Kentucky to Mississippi. The Davises settled finally on a modest cotton plantation named Rosemont near Woodville. Jefferson Davis secured the best education of all his siblings, attending local schools, St. Thomas College near Bardstown, Kentucky, Transylvania University in Lexington, and finally, from 1824 to 1828, the United States Military Academy. There he formed lifelong friendships and developed an affinity for all things military.

After a series of postings on the frontier as a junior officer, he resigned his commission in 1835 to establish a cotton plantation near Vicksburg, Mississippi, adjoining that of his much older brother and father figure, Joseph E. Davis. That year he married Sarah Knox, daughter of Zachary Taylor, one of his former commanding officers; she died of fever three months later. Grief stricken and recovering from the same illness, Jefferson threw himself into farming and was a virtual recluse until he met Varina Howell of Natchez, the vivacious daughter of one of Joseph's longtime friends from Natchez. They married in 1845 and were eventually the parents of four sons and two daughters, only two of whom survived their father.

Davis began his political career in the Democratic Party during his courtship of Varina and was elected to Congress in 1845. The following summer he was chosen colonel of a Mexican War regiment that he led with distinction in the Battles of Monterrey and Buena Vista. Returning from the war a wounded hero, he was sent to the Senate in 1847, serving there until 1851 and again from 1857 to 1861. Between terms, he ran unsuccessfully for governor and was an exceptionally well qualified and able secretary of war, supervising many Washington building projects, including the expansion of the Capitol and the construction of the Washington Aqueduct. He was also responsible for real gains in the pay and size of the army, revamping the curriculum of West Point, surveying routes for a railroad to the Pacific, pushing westward the "chain of forts" for the protection of settlers, and overseeing hundreds of river and harbor projects in many states. Meanwhile, he was one of President Franklin Pierce's closest confidants, kept his eye on national and state politics, and, after leaving the War Department, was a powerful voice for the South in the years before secession.

A moderate during the secession crisis, Davis left the Union reluctantly and was more sobered than elated by his election to the presidency of the Confederacy, foreseeing "troubles and thorns innumerable" (Davis 1971–present, 7: 53–54). Balancing his own states' rights views with the need for a national effort against a common enemy, Davis strove continually for Confederate independence, often running afoul of Congress and the governors. In May 1865, Federal forces captured Davis in Georgia as he fled to reestablish the government in the West. Imprisoned for two years while his captors endeavored to try him for treason, he was eventually freed when the charges were dropped in 1868. By then he was traveling in Europe, investigating various job possibilities to support his young family.

Beginning in late 1869, he was president of a Memphis life insurance company that failed in the Panic of 1873. A few years later he accepted the offer of Sarah Ellis Dorsey to write his memoirs in a rented cottage on the grounds of Beauvoir, her estate near Biloxi, Mississippi. She died soon after, leaving him Beauvoir in her will. His *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government* did not bring financial rewards, but in the late 1870s he was able to regain possession of Brierfield, which had been sold

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Jefferson Davis had served as a war hero, U.S. representative, senator, and U.S. secretary of war before he accepted the presidency of the Confederate States of America in 1861. Despite his considerable military and political experience, Davis was unable to lead the Confederacy to victory during the Civil War. (National Archives and Records Administration)

by Joseph Davis in 1866 and subsequently became the focus of bitter family litigation. During the 1880s he continued to reside at Beauvoir and took part in various Confederate commemorations before dying of pneumonia in New Orleans on December 6, 1889. He was reinterred in Richmond in 1893.

Lynda L. Crist

See also Davis, Varina Banks Howell (1826–1906); Politics.

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Davis, Rebecca Harding (1831–1910)

Author Rebecca Harding Davis published over a dozen novels, her autobiography, and more than five hundred short stories, juvenile stories, and essays. Her work included discussions of interracial sexuality, the horrors of slavery, and the Civil War.

Rebecca Blaine Harding was born June 24, 1831, in Washington, Pennsylvania, to Rachel Leet Wilson and Richard W. Harding. The family soon moved back home to Big Spring (now Huntsville), Alabama, and then to Wheeling, Virginia (now West Virginia). Her mother's love of literature and history influenced Rebecca's intellectual development. Rebecca attended Washington Female Seminary from 1845 to 1848 and graduated valedictorian. She married abolitionist lawyer Lemuel Clarke Davis on March 5, 1863. They had three children including famed journalist and war correspondent Richard Harding Davis.

Davis's writing career started in earnest in 1861 when *Life in the Iron Mills* came out serially in *The Atlantic Monthly.* A story about the dehumanization of industrial capitalism, *Life* met critical acclaim and launched Davis's career. In 1862 she published three short stories exploring interracial sexuality and the degradation of plantation slavery. In 1867 she published *Waiting for the Verdict,* a novel portraying the war and its aftermath from both regional perspectives. Her critique from the viewpoints of both regions grew out of Davis's life in Wheeling, a border town where ambiguity governed many people's attitudes about the war. She was ahead of her time as a parlor radical, exposing the evils of plantation slavery in the South and wage slavery elsewhere; however, notions of racial hierarchy common in the proslavery rhetoric of antebellum Virginia continued to inform her understanding of race. Davis's chief legacy to literature of the

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Civil War era is an innovative literary form that links sentimentalism, realism, and naturalism, in a critique of power relations, slavery, racial identity, gender conventions, industrialism, individualism, and other cultural mainstays in the late nineteenth century.

Davis believed that the activism of the pen was more effective than the tactics used by other abolitionists and women's rights activists. In any case, Davis believed women were innately suited to write about the human condition because of their experience with conventional gender constraints. Her fiction deals with how race and gender circumscribe freedom and limit access to power. Davis integrated the personal and the political and used conventions of sentimental fiction to express historically rooted circumstance. Her characters challenge the traditional constraints. Her endings are rarely happy. Female characters who exploit possibilities to realize intellectual or artistic fulfillment generally become loners who are either punished socially or are haunted by self-doubt.

Rebecca Harding Davis died September 29, 1910.

Catherine Oglesby

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; Fiction Writers, Southern.

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Davis, Varina Anne "Winnie" (1864–1898)

The youngest child of Confederate President Jefferson Davis, Varina Anne Davis, The Daughter of the Confederacy, became a living symbol of the Lost Cause. During her lifetime, she frequently served as the official Davis family representative at Confederate veterans' gatherings. Winnie was a talented writer who achieved a measure of literary success with the publication of several books and as a correspondent for the *New York World.* Her last years were filled with sadness: Varina experienced the death of her father, a failed romance, and ill health before her own premature death.

Varina was born on June 27, 1864, at the Confederate Executive Mansion in Richmond, Virginia. Nicknamed Winnie, the baby was the sixth child of Jefferson and Varina Davis. After the fall of the Confederate government, Varina and her infant daughter eventually joined Jefferson Davis at Fort Monroe. Their company was his sole source of comfort during his incarceration as a war criminal.

After her father's release in 1867, Winnie traveled extensively with her parents. In 1876, she entered the Friedlander School in Karlsruhe, Germany. She thrived academically, excelling in French, German, literature, and fine arts. Winnie joined her parents at their Mississippi home, Beauvoir, following the completion of her education. She served as her father's intellectual companion, sharing his interests in politics, poetry, literature, and travel.

As a young woman, Winnie attended Confederate veterans' assemblies. In 1886, she accompanied her father on a Southern tour. When her father was too exhausted to attend a ceremony in Atlanta, Winnie stood in for him. Introduced as The Daughter of the Confederacy, she carried the sobriquet for the rest of her life. Veterans demonstrated a special affection for Winnie, whom they viewed as a symbol of the Old South. She demonstrated her sympathy for the Lost Cause in an essay, "The Ante-Bellum Southern Woman."

Her status as a Confederate icon became burdensome when Winnie fell in love with Alfred Wilkinson, the grandson of a prominent abolitionist. The two became engaged after the Davises overcame their initial opposition. When the engagement became public, the South erupted with criticism. Devastated by the controversy, Winnie fell into a depression and her relationship eventually dissolved.

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After Jefferson Davis's death, Varina and Winnie moved to New York in search of financial stability. Winnie continued her writing career. Her publications included a biography of the Irish patriot Robert Emmet and two novels: *A Romance of Summer Seas* and *The Veiled Doctor.* In 1898, Winnie attended the Confederate veterans' reunion during which she grew seriously ill. On September 18, 1898, Varina Anne Davis died of "malarial gastritis." The Daughter of the Confederacy was buried with full military honors beside her father at Hollywood Cemetery in Richmond, Virginia.

Karen Kinzey

See also Davis, Jefferson (1808–1889); Davis, Varina Banks Howell (1826–1906); Fiction Writers, Southern; Southern Women.

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Davis, Varina Banks Howell (1826–1906)

As the wife of a politician and the first lady of the Confederacy, Varina Howell Davis lived much of her life in the public eye. She helped husband Jefferson Davis complete his memoirs and, after his death, published her own.

Born May 7, 1826, at Marengo plantation, her maternal grandparents' home in Concordia Parish, Louisiana, Varina Banks Howell was the second child and eldest daughter of Margaret Louisa Kempe, whose father was an Irish nationalist, and of William Burr Howell, the son of a New Jersey governor and a relative of Aaron Burr. Varina was brought up at The Briars, an unpretentious house in Natchez, Mississippi. She attended a finishing school in Philadelphia and was tutored at home by Judge George Winchester.

In 1843 she met Jefferson Davis, a widower some eighteen years her senior, at the home of his older brother, a longtime friend of the Howell family. They were married on February 26, 1845, at The Briars and settled for a few months on his Brierfield plantation near Vicksburg. After Jefferson was elected to Congress, the newlyweds lived in Washington until July 1846, when he assumed command of a Mississippi regiment in the Mexican War. Afterward, he was sent to the Senate, resigning in late 1851 to undertake a losing gubernatorial campaign. In 1853, not long after the birth of Samuel Emory Davis, their first child, the Davises returned to Washington, a city Varina Davis relished. A striking and intelligent women and a popular hostess prized for her social and conversational skills, she was a particular favorite of President James Buchanan.

Although the couple's firstborn Samuel died in 1854, the family continued to grow with the birth of Margaret Howell the next year, then Jefferson Jr., in 1857, Joseph Evan in 1859, William Howell in 1861, and Varina Anne in 1864. When her husband was elected president of the Confederacy in 1861, Varina Davis was for four years the nation's first lady in Montgomery and in Richmond, finding herself constantly in the public eye and continuing to act as her husband's helpmate. Because of his ill health and particularly after his eye surgery, she was often his amanuensis and was clearly his confidant on political and military matters. In Richmond she enjoyed a well-known circle of friends, notably the diarist Mary Boykin Chesnut, but also concentrated on managing a busy household and her lively young children. Tragedy struck in April 1864 when five-year-old Joseph was killed in an accidental fall at the Confederate White House. A year later, the Confederacy in shambles, she left Richmond with the young ones, fleeing southward until captured with her husband in May 1865.

While Jefferson was imprisoned at Fort Monroe, Virginia, Varina lived for a time in Savannah, sending Margaret, Jeff Jr., and William to Canada for education and safekeeping in the care of her mother and sister. Davis's last year of confinement was cheered by the presence of Varina and their youngest daughter, who were permitted to live at the fort with him. His release in May 1867 brought little stability. As he searched for a means of livelihood, Varina Davis lived abroad, then in Memphis with him (1870–1876), abroad again, and finally

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President of the Confederacy Jefferson Davis and his wife Varina Howell Davis. (Miller, Francis Trevelyan and Robert Sampson Lanier, *The Photographic History of the Civil War," vol 9, 1911)*

(1878–1889) together at Beauvoir, their retirement home on the Mississippi Gulf Coast.

She assisted in the preparation of his memoirs and after his death in December 1889, wrote her own, two well-written and colorful volumes of reminiscences and documents, but not the financial success she wished. To have a regular income, she moved to New York City in 1892 and took a job writing for the *New York World.* A decade later she sold Beauvoir, never to return. Varina Anne's death in 1898 was another devastating loss, particularly since daughter Margaret had married in 1876 and lived in Colorado. On October 16, 1906, at the age of eighty, Varina Davis died of pneumonia and heart disease in New York; she was given a military funeral and interred with her husband in Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond.

Lynda L. Crist

See also Davis, Jefferson (1808–1889); Davis, Varina Anne "Winnie" (1864–1898).

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Desertion

Both Confederate and Union women played key roles in soldiers' decisions to desert or not, and, once soldiers decided to desert, women frequently supplied them with vital aid or, less likely, turned them in to authorities. Partially because of the urging of soldiers' female relatives, both Northern and Southern armies suffered from the pernicious effects of desertion. While the exact numbers of deserters will never be known, estimates exceed two hundred thousand for the Union and one hundred thousand for the Confederacy. Though some men headed for Canada, the West, or enemy lines, the most probable destination for deserters was their home community. And some evidence indicates that men were most likely to desert if they were connected to a household in which all adult males had entered the army and only women and children remained behind.

Encouragement by civilians was perhaps the most important factor in the decision to desert. While some women begged husbands and sons to come home, more commonly, accurate descriptions of the family's privation, such as starvation, lack of money, exploitation by speculators, and crops dying in the field, made a persuasive implicit argument for abandoning the army. Most often, deserters decided that the government had broken an unspoken agreement to care for their families. With the nation failing to hold up its end of the bargain, these men felt that they no longer owed service to the army. Enlisting in the army had meant putting the needs of a man's country ahead of the needs of his family. Now, torn between competing notions of honor—a call to nation and a call to family—deserting meant reversing these priorities and putting family first. Though deserters could face execution if caught, they often believed that their family faced death if they did not leave their units. Officers and other fellow soldiers recognized that not all deserters were equal, and they generally expressed sympathy for and leniency to those who had deserted to help their families, reserving their wrath for bounty jumpers or those who ran to enemy lines.

Desertion was inextricably bound with society's views of gender and paternalism. Men escaped the ranks to provide for their hungry families, and some soldiers feared that, if they did not desert, their spouses might leave them for a man who could take care of them. Simultaneously, women used their gender to either encourage or discourage desertion and to shield themselves from the wrath of soldiers hunting deserters. Both governments recognized that mothers had an especially powerful voice in their sons' decisions regarding desertion. Ironically, once they left the army, these men, rather than providing for their female relatives, instead often relied on these women for protection and provisions, thus reversing the main tenet of paternalism. In taking charge of deserters' welfare, women stepped out of their traditional family role of dependence and into a role of family leadership.

Some deserters simply returned to their communities and resumed their prewar lives. More likely, however, they hid near their homes. Deserters "lying out" in woods, swamps, or caves relied on women, most frequently their female relatives, for their survival. Women supplied them with food, blankets, clothing, and information. Additionally, when soldiers hunting for deserters swept through an area, these women might provide advanced warning in the form of clanging cowbells, blowing whistles, or hanging blankets outside their house as a coded message to those in hiding. Women might also give misinformation or false leads to those searching for deserters. Some women traded with deserter bands who had stolen goods from wealthier neighbors. With the aid of women, some deserters succeeded in evading capture for months or even years.

In effect, the women who abetted men in hiding had deserted the war themselves. In both the Union and the Confederacy, aiding deserters was a crime. In assisting deserters, women relied on society's gender norms to allow them to break these laws with impunity, but this strategy did not always work. Expressing their frustration at women's cavalier disregard for the law and their own failure to

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bring soldiers back into the ranks, some army officers treated women in a manner that they would not have used during peacetime. They burned women's out buildings and homes and imprisoned recalcitrant families. Soldiers also threatened women shielding deserters with bodily harm or rape, slapped or pushed them to the ground, and, in rare instances, tortured them in an effort to gain information about the location of bands of deserters. These soldiers flagrantly violated society's prescribed gender relations, thus demonstrating the extensive, though often unintended, impact of war on behavioral norms.

Not all women aided deserters. Some letters from home instructed husbands that their wives would rather hear of their death than the shame of their desertion. Southern newspapers printed appeals from The Women of the South, urging men to remain in the army, not to heap disgrace on the heads of their family's next several generations. Politicians echoed this sentiment and exhorted women to call for the husbands to remain in the army. In Georgia, state legislators, reminding their constituents of the opprobrium attached to desertion, passed legislation that would allow women whose husbands had deserted to be granted divorces. Some women did not abet deserters but instead provided information leading to their arrests. Women, especially those whose male relatives remained in the army, felt no need to harbor fugitives but instead urged that deserters be punished severely. Also, while some deserters relied on community support, others preyed on unprotected homes and communities, and women felt no need to hide these desperados. In some areas, female relatives of deserters suffered community ostracism with millers refusing to take their grain and with county relief agencies rejecting their applications for aid. In the North, the army captured eighty thousand deserters and in the South, the Confederate army nabbed twenty-one thousand. Without the aid of women, these numbers would have been lower.

John M. Sacher

See also Civilian Life; Confederate Homefront; Confederate Soldiers, Motives; Conscription; Family Life, Northern; Family Life, Southern; Foraging, Effects on Women; Honor; Impressment; Letter Writing; Military Invasion and Occupation; Morale; Northern Women; Rape; Shortages; Southern Women; Union Homefront; Union Soldiers, Motives.

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Destruction of Homes

The devastation of homes during the Civil War resulted from a number of causes, including stray artillery shells, fire, or abandonment. Empty homes were often destroyed by military or civilian populations. Due to frequent invasions by Union forces and the high number of battles fought on Southern soil, the bulk of the devastation lay in Confederate territory. However, Confederates damaged homes on Northern soil during invasions led by General Robert E. Lee in 1862 and 1863.

The precise number of homes destroyed during the war remains unknown, largely because of the indiscriminate patterns of demolition and flawed record keeping by the Confederate government. Socioeconomic status did not protect homeowners; farmhouses and plantation homes alike were ruined. While the destruction of homes by battle munitions is believed to have been largely accidental, Union forces forthrightly occupied or burned Southern homes during invasions to erode the morale of the Confederate homefront. In any case, women suffered the brunt of wartime deprivation because they and their families often became refugees. Some sought shelter with neighbors or with extended family, paid inflated costs for rented quarters, or, if neither option was available, lived in tents, under bridges, or at public dwellings that offered protection from the elements. Along with the logistical

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hardships women suffered, the destruction of homes symbolized their persecution by Federal forces and the failure of Southern white men to provide protection from enemy hostility.

Homes destroyed by munitions were more often examples of collateral damage than targets of enemy forces, simply because they were located near battlefields or in cities under siege. The level of damage from military exchange varied considerably. In some cases, houses remained standing despite the stray bullets that chipped away the exteriors and the pieces of shells lodged in roofs or in walls. However, stray shells also demolished roofs, collapsed porticos, shattered windows, and destroyed homes altogether. By May 1865, entire districts near Manassas Junction, Virginia, had been completely destroyed, with only a cement foundation or a chimney among a pile of rubble as any indication that houses once existed. Advancing or retreating armies also damaged houses near battle sites. In Antietam, owners who temporarily abandoned their homes returned after the battle to find them stripped of furniture, wallpaper, rugs, and fixtures by the troops.

Most often fire consumed houses near battle sites and along routes of enemy invasion. In 1863 and 1864, Confederate forces burned homes in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. In 1865, Confederates prepared for the arrival of Union troops in Richmond by burning public buildings to keep things out of Federal hands; many private homes also caught fire. That same year, artillery shells detonated in Charleston and started fires in parts of the city. Most fires, though, were started by Union troops during invasions in Southern territory. While the majority of Union commanders avoided torching occupied private homes, they frequently ordered the burning of public dwellings, such as mills, factories, and armories. Often these planned fires quickly spread to houses. Along their march through Georgia and the Carolinas in 1864 and 1865, troops under General William T. Sherman reportedly burned both occupied and unoccupied homes. In September 1864, fires from the war industries that Sherman's men burned in Atlanta quickly engulfed houses. In February 1865, Columbia lost a third of its buildings to fire. Private homes were not spared. After the war, Sherman was exonerated from charges that his men started the fires, yet questions surrounding the responsibility for the Columbia burning remained. Nevertheless, Southern homes were indisputably lost to Sherman's scorched-earth ideology.

The threat of military hostility and invasion spurred citizens to abandon their homes. Estimates of Confederate refugees range as high as a quarter of a million. Abandoned houses were often stripped of any valuables or burned either by soldiers or by thieves. Unoccupied houses were also seized by the military for barracks or officers' quarters. If refugees were able to return to their homes, they might find their houses occupied by squatters, either poor Southern whites, former slaves, or Northerners who relocated in the South immediately after the war.

For women, the destruction of homes was both a physiological and psychological blow. The immediate need to provide food and shelter for dependents was a duty utterly foreign to most antebellum women. However, it became a harsh reality during wartime. In addition, although prior to the war some women had never left their communities, they were forced to leave familiar surroundings to find shelter and provisions elsewhere in the face of sure destitution. Wealthy women sometimes had additional property in other regions of the Confederacy, or they could rent or buy new, if temporary, housing. Yeomen and poor women had fewer options and found shelter wherever possible. Homelessness was a strange, daunting, and immediate plight for women to manage.

The wartime demolition of homes had far-reaching consequences. From a strategic standpoint, the military tactic successfully debilitated women's morale, yet it also exacerbated the resentment of Southern women toward the Union. This resentment reverberated in the postwar years. With the destruction of their houses and the deaths of their men, women believed they had literally lost everything and saw themselves as suffering immeasurably from the consequences of a war. Homeless and refugee women became symbols of Confederate failure. After Union forces inflicted devastation on

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Southern populations and private property, women viewed Federal forces as barbaric, a sentiment that did not end with the 1865 surrender of Lee's forces. When Union armies turned women and children into homeless refugees, the psychological devastation became associated with the North, assuring that women's resentment of the Union would bleed into the Reconstruction years.

Sara Marie Eye

See also Confederate Homefront; Destruction of Personal Property; Military Invasion and Occupation; Morale; Refugees; Sheridan's Shenandoah Valley Campaign (1864); Sherman's Campaign (1864–1865); Southern Women, Union Homefront.

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Destruction of Personal Property

Concentrated almost wholly in the South, property destruction delivered a significant blow to the Confederacy's economy; yet it was equally devastating as a psychological weapon against the Southern populace. A Federal tactic of total warfare—making war on the enemy's will to fight—the extensive destruction of private property unnerved Southerners and hastened the sharp decline in the morale on the Confederate homefront.

Although Union troops inflicted the most damage in the South, Confederate troops also destroyed Southern private property through impressment. The total value of wartime property damage remains unknown, due to the unrestrained and haphazard patterns of destruction, the infinite variety of private property consumed, as well as to poor record keeping by the Confederate government. Historians' estimations of lost Southern property range from a monetary figure of $1,487,241,000 in decline of physical capital to broader estimates of a loss of one-third to two-thirds of total Confederate wealth.

The forms of destruction ranged widely, from fixed structures such as houses and barns, to personal effects of no military value, including women's clothing, silverware, and children's toys. Plantation owners, yeomen, and the poor alike were susceptible to property loss, as the misery of destruction crossed class lines. Furthermore, slave cabins were not excluded from looting, and slaves themselves were taken as impressed Confederate property after the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863. Items of monetary value were often shipped northward by Union soldiers, as gifts to Northern friends and relatives. Other personal objects, such as pianos and trunks, were chopped with axes or burned. For women, the destruction of personal property exacerbated their material deprivation while simultaneously shocking, frightening, and humiliating them. It shattered women's self-perception of being immune from military hostility. The long-term effects of this form of warfare would surface in the ideologies of women in the postwar decades.

The first military body to claim responsibility for Confederate citizens' lost property might have been the Confederates themselves. As inflation rose and perishable supplies rotted in Southern warehouses because of poor transportation systems, the 1863 defeats at Gettysburg and Vicksburg further strained Confederate resources. Consequently, Confederate troops sought to supplement their dwindling supplies with resources found in private homes as they marched across the South. In addition to livestock, Rebel soldiers took stores of dry goods, which placed additional pressure on women to provide for themselves and their families. Confederate soldiers left receipts for governmental reimbursement, and by May 1865 outstand-

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ing receipts held by the Confederate Treasury department for impressed goods stood at $500 million. Rebel soldiers also destroyed property, ruining farms and fields and removing fences as they traveled across private land. While some Southern women's resolve stayed firm, others who witnessed such impressments expressed resentment and despair over their newfound deprivation.

The amount of property destroyed by Union forces far outweighed that of Confederate impressments. In 1864, Federal strategy evolved from one of military victory alone to that of civilian and military subjugation. General William T. Sherman's March to the Sea in 1864 and through the Carolinas in 1865 encapsulated the total war ideology. The official position of the Union command on the destruction of personal property was paradoxical. Union generals officially condemned the destruction of the private property of peaceful Southern citizens and condoned only the confiscation of necessary supplies for the army, but they turned a blind eye to excessive looting and believed that, to defeat the Confederacy, the Union military had to secure the moral defeat of its citizenry. As such, the level of destruction by Union forces varied, due in part to the commander and in part to the region and its history. Parts of North Carolina that showed a high level of Union support were spared the burning that Sherman inflicted on Atlanta and Columbia. Conversely, Sherman intended to thoroughly ruin Confederate property in the Carolinas and Georgia. In Atlanta, Union troops burned thousands of bales of cotton. They confiscated pitchforks as well as flour, silverware, and watches. In South Carolina, soldiers destroyed floorboards of carriages with axes, trampled corn and grain under horses' hooves, emptied inkwells, and confiscated or killed livestock.

Southern women tried to protect what valuables they could from advancing enemy forces. Women were subjected to searches and seizures, regardless of race or class. In diaries and letters, women reported how they ripped mattresses open to fill them with clothing and blankets and save these valuable items from occupying forces. Others hid their valuables on their land in wells or cellars, or they buried them in gardens and fields. Union forces soon learned of the more common means of hiding valuables, and they used the points of bayonets to search fields for treasures. Soldiers also interrogated slaves and neighbors to find women's hiding places. Some women hid valuables on their bodies, hoping that they would not be molested by soldiers searching for treasures tucked in petticoats.

Some women were stripped of all their possessions, became homeless, and, along with their families, were reduced to beggars. With the majority of able-bodied Southern men away at battle, women were ill prepared to defend themselves or their property, and the burden of loss fell most heavily on them. Beyond the material loss of goods, the destruction of personal property demolished women's self-perception of being exempt from the abuse of enemy forces. The destruction of sentimental items and objects of family identity heightened women's sense of being wronged by Federal forces and exacerbated their resentment for the North.

Sara Marie Eye

See also Confederate Homefront; Destruction of Homes; Impressment; Military Invasion and Occupation; Morale; Sheridan's Shenandoah Valley Campaign (1864); Sherman's Campaign (1864–1865); Southern Women.

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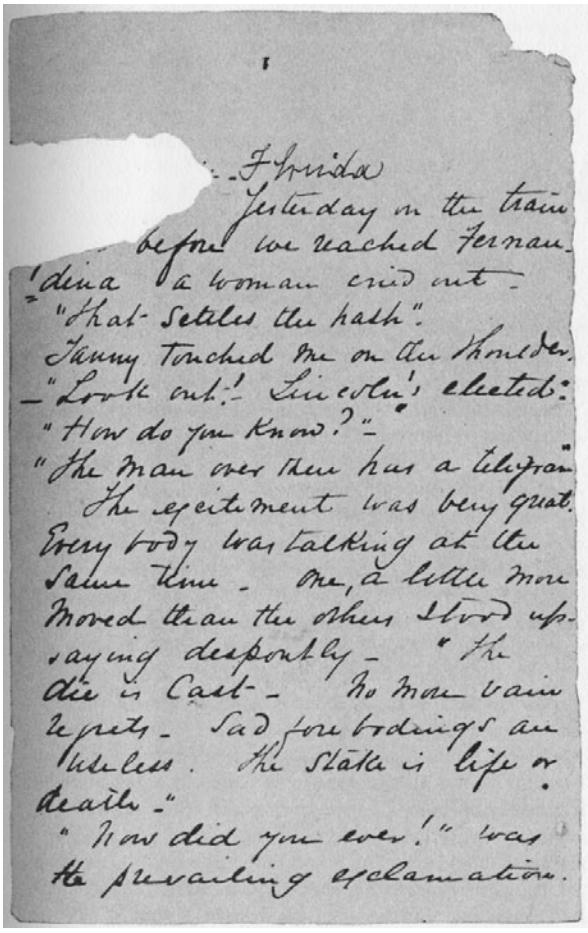
Diaries and Journals

If soldiers' diaries reveal the ugly face of war, women's diaries and journals show war's battered soul. Relating much more than daily accomplishments such as sewing and feeding wounded soldiers, they reveal candid opinions about the causes of the war, slavery, gender roles, class divisions, relationships with slaves, difficulties of surviving in contested territory, and encounters with military personnel and civilians on both sides of the conflict.

Diaries and journals often replaced open discourse in an era when publicly verbalizing political or slavery views could easily lead to arrest, and conversing about activities of one's friends and family might arouse suspicion. Fervent patriotism and religious beliefs pervade most Civil War–era diaries, with many women wishing they had been born male so that they could fight in the war. Both Yankee and Rebel women relied on God not only for personal strength and protection, but also for military victory. Secessionist women often interpreted Southern battlefield defeat as God's punishment for arrogance, whereas Northern women perceived it as punishment for slaveholding. Women on both sides of the issue typically viewed African Americans as inferior to whites, yet they record teaching certain slaves to read and write. Southerners expressed anger and sorrow when slaves left to go north, despite these same women's previous recording of physical abuse that they or their acquaintances inflicted on slaves.

Women diarists during the Civil War were overwhelmingly white, young, unmarried, Southern, and wealthy. Generally older, black, and lower-class women lacked the leisure time and literacy required to chronicle their activities. Even before the Civil War, educated young women recorded daily events in diaries and, less frequently, more philosophical thoughts in journals. Teachers encouraged girls to practice penmanship and to reflect on their required readings through journal writing. In school as in wartime, the contemplative process served the dual purpose of providing a release for youthful energy and an outlet for fluctuating emotions in a society that placed high value on proper behavior and that considered physical exercise unbecoming for young ladies.


Florida
Yesterday on the train
before we reached Fernandina a woman cried out –
"That settles the hash".
Jenny touched me on the shoulder.
– "Look out! Lincoln's elected:
"How do you know?" –
"The man over there has a telegram"
The excitement was very great.
Every body was talking at the
same time. One, a little more
moved than the others stood up
saying despondently – "The
die is Cast – No more vain
regrets – Sad forebodings are
useless. The State is life or
death –"
"How did you ever!" was
the prevailing exclamation.

Leaf from Mary Boykin Chesnut's Civil War diary. (Chesnut, Mary, *A Diary from Dixie,* 1905)

After the war began, women understood that they were living in a momentous period and realized that future generations might value their annals. They often noted their self-conscious recognition of the importance of events occurring around them in their journals. One of the most famous Civil War diarists, Mary Boykin Chesnut, grasped the significance of the insights she could relate from her position as a Confederate congressman's wife.

With war came opportunities and danger. Confederate smuggler and spy Belle Edmondson's diary outlines her clandestine methods as she risked arrest and courted a damaged reputation, conduct generally alien to women's antebellum lives. The few women who joined the military typically did not keep diaries and were more likely than

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were diarists to be uneducated and unconcerned about societal mores. Because Southern women lived in the territory that troops traversed and in which battles raged, their lives were more perilous than Northern women's lives. Stark homefront pictures emerge from diaries: fear for safety, worry, hunger, cold, absence of social order, living in reduced circumstances, living with relatives or behind Confederate lines, providing supplies for soldiers, being subjected to bodily violence and property seizure, managing increasingly insolent slaves or coping without them, and relating the harm friends and neighbors suffered from soldiers or marauders impersonating soldiers. Massachusetts-born teacher, Caroline Seabury, annotated her journey from Mississippi to safety within Union lines in Memphis, giving a rare and vivid account of war's human and financial toll on poor whites and blacks she met along the way.

Others record a semblance of prewar routine in the midst of the Civil War: attending church regularly, reading popular literature, and living comfortably in the family home. From Alice Ready's diary, readers learn that civilians maintained social ties with military officers, exchanging visits when troops were camped near town. In addition, women often severed communication with family members and friends who joined the opposing side, or they merely confided their suspicions and criticism to their diaries.

Diarists rarely wrote with the thought of publishing, and most accounts remained private for decades after the war ended. More immediately afterward, women published memoirs, usually more sensational than diaries or journals. Rebel spy Belle Boyd sought the exposure to promote her acting career and lecture tours. Union soldier and spy Emma Edmonds only wanted to illuminate her unconventional wartime activities, giving the proceeds to soldiers' aid societies. Postwar publication of both men's and women's narratives proliferated, primarily as part of the reunification process encouraged by Union and Confederate leaders. Women who became proponents of the United Daughters of the Confederacy's mission to promote the war's "true history" perpetuated the happy, well treated slave portrait, pointing to journals and memoirs as evidence of their glorious past. The accumulation of women's narratives document the evolution of a new woman, a latent feminist, determined to find acceptable public outlets for the strength, autonomy, and self-confidence gained during war. Civil War journals hint of the changes that surfaced in the Progressive Era when women came to dominate teaching and social work, to form and join clubs for intellectual and political development, and to wage their own war for voting rights.

Nancy L. Adgent

See also Chesnut, Mary Boykin (1823–1886); Edmondson, Belle (1840–1873); Solomon, Clara (ca. 1845–1907); Northern Women; Southern Women.

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Dickey, Sarah Ann (1838–1904)

Founder of Mount Hermon Female Seminary, Sarah Ann Dickey transformed a powerful will and deep Christian faith into a lifelong mission to educate freedwomen.

Dickey was born on April 25, 1838, near Dayton, Ohio. She was only six years old when her mother died, leaving Sarah in the care of relatives. Isolated on their farm, she received almost no education and at sixteen was illiterate. Dickey was determined,

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however, to become a teacher. Over the next ten years, she convinced a neighbor to help her obtain a primary education, earned a teaching degree, and taught in local schools. Obeying the dictates of a profound Christian faith, Dickey sought opportunities to use her teaching skills as a missionary. Eventually, in 1863, the American Missionary Association accepted her as a teacher in its Vicksburg, Mississippi school for freedmen. The assignment was harrowing, but it cemented Dickey's commitment to educating the newly freed slaves.

After the Vicksburg school closed, Dickey entered Mount Holyoke Seminary in Massachusetts as a working student. Graduating in 1869, she returned to teaching freedpeople. First in Raymond and then in Clinton, Mississippi, she taught in freedmen's schools. In Clinton, Dickey confronted harassment, threats, and even gunfire but became ever more determined that she would stay and teach.

Dickey's ultimate goal was to establish her own school for freedwomen. By 1873 she had enough funding to buy land and obtain a charter. Despite race riots in September, her school opened on October 4, 1875. It was called the Mount Hermon Female Seminary. Like Mount Holyoke, Dickey's school stressed domestic work, cleanliness, punctuality, and other community and personal qualities. Mount Hermon offered various levels of instruction, ranging from teacher preparation to a classically based curriculum including Latin. Most students sought teaching positions, for which the excellent reputation of Mount Hermon was an asset.

Although at first controversial, over time Mount Hermon won a measure of respect in Clinton. Dickey undertook a variety of additional missionary activities. When the local schools closed, the seminary taught local children. Dickey sometimes took in orphans and often aided needy students and their families. In 1890, she purchased one hundred and twenty acres of land and offered it on credit to freedmen for farming. Eight years before her death, Dickey attained an official title to correspond to her deep faith, becoming a minister of the United Brethren in Christ. She died in 1904 in Clinton. Mount Hermon passed to the American Missionary Association but survived only until 1924.

Fiona Deans Halloran

See also African American Women; Education, Northern; Freedmen's Bureau; Northern Women; Religion; Teachers, Northern; Wartime Employment.

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Dickinson, Anna Elizabeth (1842–1932)

Political and abolitionist orator Anna Elizabeth Dickinson gained fame during the Civil War for her fiery speeches. She highlighted injustices facing women, African Americans, and workers. In the postwar era, Dickinson also became a successful author, actress, and political campaigner.

Born in Philadelphia on October 28, 1842, Anna Elizabeth Dickinson was the youngest of five children of Quaker abolitionists John and Mary Edmundson Dickinson. John Dickinson died two years later, leaving his wife behind with two daughters, three sons, and little savings. Dickinson grew up in a modest home surrounded by newspapers, books, and political debate. For a time Mary ran a small school out of the home, and on occasion she took in boarders to make ends meet. Until she was fifteen, Anna enjoyed limited access to formal education, thanks largely to her own talents and modest assistance from benevolent Philadelphia Quakers. But clearly her greatest education came in the Dickinson parlor, where occasional guests included African American leaders Frederick Douglass and Robert Purvis, and various Quaker abolitionists.

Dickinson first entered the public arena in 1856, when she read a newspaper story about a Kentucky schoolteacher who had been tarred and feathered for publishing an antislavery letter. The irate thirteen-year-old fired off a letter to William Lloyd Garrison's abolitionist newspaper, *The Liberator,* protesting this affront to free speech. Four years later Dickinson joined a friend at a local meeting on women's rights. Upon hearing a male speaker declare that his daugh-

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ters would never have professional careers, Dickinson rose to offer an impassioned rebuttal. Her impromptu eloquence created quite a stir. Over the next several months, the diminutive teenager received invitations to speak at meetings around the Philadelphia region. In October 1860 she spoke at the annual meeting of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Association at Kennett Square, where she shared a platform with Lucretia and James Mott, Oliver Johnson, and Robert Purvis. Within a few weeks Republican Abraham Lincoln would be elected president, dramatically changing the political landscape and Anna Dickinson's professional future.

Dickinson's extraordinary Civil War career unfolded in three overlapping stages. At the outset she was a young, charismatic, darling of the abolitionist movement. In early 1862, anxious to build a career as an orator, Dickinson wrote to Garrison for advice. The antislavery patriarch took her under his wing, arranging a New England tour culminating in a celebrated appearance in Boston before Theodore Parker's old congregation. Soon she was a rising star, traveling from town to town, attracting enthusiastic audiences, earning handsome fees, and rubbing shoulders with the likes of Garrison, Wendell Phillips, and Lucretia Mott.

Dickinson's oratory combined personal charisma, radical sensibilities, patriotic passion, and a biting wit. Before long, savvy Republican operatives recognized Dickinson's great potential as a partisan orator, ushering in a new stage in her career. She spent much of 1863 on the campaign trail, earning modest fees stumping for state Republican candidates—and lambasting Copperhead Democrats—in New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, New York, and Connecticut. As her reputation spread, more than one party pundit credited Dickinson with helping to ensure crucial Republican successes.

By the war's final year, Dickinson was a true celebrity. Photographers vied to take her picture, fans clamored for autographs, young girls wrote seeking counsel, and politicians recognized that she was a woman to be reckoned with. The high point came in December 1863 when Dickinson received an invitation—signed by the vice president, twenty-three senators, and seventy-eight congressmen—to visit the nation's capital. On January 16, a huge crowd of officeholders, journalists, and celebrities, including Abraham and Mary Todd Lincoln, crowded the halls of the House of Representatives to hear the twenty-one-year-old orator. The feisty Dickinson spoke on "The Perils of the Hour," calling for continued support for the war while leveling some harsh criticism at the bemused president for his seemingly conciliatory approach to Reconstruction. In the presidential campaign to come, Dickinson would grudgingly endorse Lincoln while devoting most of her energies to attacking Democrats. Behind the scenes, a long list of prominent men and women—including Susan B. Anthony, Whitelaw Reid, Samuel Pomeroy, and Theodore Tilton—tried to influence her thinking and behavior, offering strong testimony to her political influence.

Anna Elizabeth Dickinson, orator known for her fiery speeches highlighting the injustices against women, African Americans, and workers (1842–1932). (Library of Congress)

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By the close of the Civil War, Anna Dickinson had risen to a unique position among America's public women. Although she was not the nation's first female public speaker, most of the handful who had come before had been reformers who spoke to kindred spirits. Dickinson, in contrast, had crossed over to the traditional male domain of partisan political campaigning. And, though her success produced a few female imitators, none approached her fame, success, or political influence.

As is often the case for people who rise to fame in their youth, the subsequent acts in Dickinson's life were always measured by the standard of her wartime fame, and in many senses her enduring fame reflected the significance of the Civil War in American memory. But although she would forever remain known as America's Joan of Arc for her youthful patriotism, Dickinson's public career was far from over. For a decade after Appomattox she was one of the nation's most active and highly compensated lyceum speakers. Dickinson generally selected political themes, often addressing the status of women, blacks, and workers. Meanwhile, her old allies in the women's movement and the abolitionist movement struggled to find an organizational identity and a strategic path in the postwar world. Dickinson supported woman suffrage, but she declined to take on a substantial institutional role. And she alienated Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton by backing the Fifteenth Amendment, casting her lot with black male suffrage even at the expense of woman suffrage.

In 1868 Dickinson published a controversial novel, *What Answer?*, that featured an interracial marriage between a white soldier and a biracial woman. She also wrote two other books: one an amusing collection of anecdotes about life on the road, the other a high-minded treatise on the need for education reform. In 1872 she returned to the stump to campaign for Liberal Republican Horace Greeley. A few years later, when the lyceum circuit collapsed, Dickinson turned to the stage as both an actress and playwright. Several of her plays earned money and some modest critical acclaim, and her acting attracted substantial attention, particularly when she dressed as a man to play *Hamlet*, but her career on the stage never matched her earlier successes on the platform. In 1888 Dickinson once again returned to the campaign trail, stumping for successful Republican Benjamin Harrison.

Dickinson's highly celebrated public life was lived against a backdrop of personal illness, recurring family tensions, a series of failed relationships with various men and women, and a long list of private conflicts. At one point or another she battled vigorously with Reid, Anthony, Benjamin Butler, Frances Willard, actress Fanny Davenport, and the Republican National Committee. In 1891, as Dickinson was preparing to go to court to seek back payments from the GOP, her sister Susan arranged for her to be committed to a state hospital for the insane. After several weeks of incarceration, Dickinson managed to win her freedom, and she soon embarked on a complex series of lawsuits against those responsible for her commitment, the New York newspapers that had called her insane, and her old Republican adversaries. Her multiple suits won her modest vindication but limited financial gains. Dickinson eventually moved to Goshen, New York, where she lived with her close friend Sallie Ackley and Ackley's husband George. She died there in 1932, shortly before her ninetieth birthday.

J. Matthew Gallman

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; Anthony, Susan B. (1820–1906); Antislavery Societies; Butler, Benjamin F. (1818–1893); Douglass, Frederick (ca. 1818–1895); Fifteenth Amendment; Lincoln, Abraham (1809–1865); Mott, Lucretia Coffin (1793–1880); Northern Women; Quaker Women; Stanton, Elizabeth Cady (1815–1902); Union Homefront Politics.

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Dickinson, Emily (1830–1886)

Reclusive poet Emily Dickinson wrote some of her most powerful works in response to the American Civil War.

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Emily Dickinson was born in 1830, in Amherst, Massachusetts, to Edward and Emily Dickinson. She was the second of three children, with an older brother Austin and a younger sister Lavinia. The Dickinson family was conservative orthodox Calvinist; her religious upbringing strongly influenced Dickinson's writing. An enigmatic figure, Dickinson wrote the bulk of her poetry unbeknownst to her parents and younger sister with whom she lived. Although she wrote 1,775 poems, only eleven were published during her lifetime. It was only after Emily's death, in 1886, that Lavinia discovered the treasure trove of Emily's works. Due to the efforts of family and friends, Emily's poems were published posthumously, beginning in 1890 and continuing into the twentieth century.

Born and raised in Amherst, Emily never married and lived with her family until her death. Her father was a prominent citizen and provided his daughter with an education suitable for girls of the time. She attended Amherst Academy and later Mount Holyoke Female Seminary. Known for her hermetic nature and desire for seclusion, she rarely left the comfort of her Amherst home. Although she spent her time in isolation, she maintained friendships through correspondence. It was through her poems and letters that Dickinson conveyed her thoughts on the society around her. Among those with whom Emily corresponded was Samuel Bowles, the editor of the *Springfield Republican,* and abolitionist Thomas Wentworth Higginson, who became a colonel in the Massachusetts Fifty-fourth, the Union army's first black regiment.

Emily's father dedicated his life to civil service; he was elected to the general court of Massachusetts, served twice as Massachusetts senator, and was also elected to Congress. Due to his political position, Edward Dickinson was directly involved with decisions leading to the Civil War. Her father and brother also recruited soldiers from Amherst to fight in the Union army. Additionally, the Dickinsons suffered the loss of a close family friend who was killed in battle, Lieutenant Frazer Stearns.

Perhaps it was the involvement of her family and close friends that made Emily so passionate about the Civil War. More than half of her poems were written during the Civil War. Some of them appeared in Union publications in an effort to raise money for the United States Sanitary Commission. Of the few poems published during her lifetime, six appeared in the *Springfield Republican.* Dickinson's Civil War poems express sorrow over the national conflict. Her imagery conveys battles between good and evil and questions that God would allow such evil and suffering. The interpretation of her works reveals the political, economic, social, and cultural representations of the period.

Dawn M. Sherman

See also Northern Women; Poets, Northern; Politics; Union Homefront; Wartime Literature.

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Disease

During the Civil War, outbreaks of epidemic diseases among civilians created fear, a sense of helplessness, and often death. During the antebellum era, maladies such as smallpox, yellow fever, and malaria ran rampant in several cities. Yet between 1861 and 1865, the majority of epidemic outbreaks affecting civilians occurred in the South.

Yellow fever was perhaps the most feared disease among civilians during the Civil War. Spread by mosquitoes, yellow fever was a form of viral hepatitis. Yellow fever caused severe jaundice, or yellowing of the skin, and bleeding from the mouth, nose, and eyes. The most feared complication of this disease was for the kidneys to shut down, which usually led to death. During the time of the Civil War, no effective treatment for yellow fever existed.

Aside from yellow fever's ghastly symptoms, the disease also created panic among civilian populations. When news of a yellow fever epidemic reached a city's residents, many people fled, leaving behind few healthy civilians to care for the sick or

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bury the dead. Those who fled, however, faced an uncertain future. Residents of nearby towns frequently denied admission to fleeing refugees because they were afraid of contracting yellow fever themselves.

The residents of New Orleans, occupied by Union troops by the summer of 1862, attempted to use the specter of a yellow fever epidemic to scare Federal forces out of the city. Because they had survived numerous outbreaks of the disease during the antebellum years, many New Orleanians believed that they had acquired immunity; locals argued that their occupiers were more susceptible to yellow fever than they were. The native population did their best to keep Yankee soldiers in constant fear of the dreaded disease. While children taunted the troops with chants describing the devastating effect that yellow fever would have on them, adults spoke of previous epidemics and hinted that Union General Benjamin F. Butler had secured a contract for ten thousand coffins in which to bury the disease's Federal victims. Yet despite the residents' dire predictions, no cases of yellow fever appeared in New Orleans during the war.

Yellow fever did occasionally break out in some Southern port cities occupied by Union forces, including Galveston, Pensacola, and Key West. The most serious outbreaks occurred in Wilmington, North Carolina, in the fall of 1862 and in New Bern, North Carolina, in the fall of 1864. Although a few dozen civilians eventually succumbed to the disease, the mortality rate among Federal occupiers was much higher. In New Bern, for example, 571 Union soldiers contracted yellow fever and 228 (or 48.7 percent) of them died.

Epidemic diseases also claimed African American victims. In contraband camps, freedwomen confronted the devastating effects of various diseases. Unsanitary encampments, poor food rations, and crowded living conditions caused periodic outbreaks of diseases such as dysentery, malaria, and yellow fever. Moreover, sexual contact between black women and Union soldiers led to the spread of venereal diseases. The mortality rate in contraband camps, which consisted mostly of women and children because the Union army impressed all able-bodied freedmen, was approximately 25 percent during the Civil War.

Nancy Schurr

See also Civilian Life; Confederate Homefront; Contrabands; Hospitals; Military Invasion and Occupation; Northern Women; Nurses; Rape; Refugees; Southern Women; Union Homefront; Urban Women, Southern.

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Divers, Bridget (ca. 1840–n.d.)

An Irish immigrant from a working-class background, Bridget Divers—also known as Bridget Deavers, Devens, or Devins—was likely in her early twenties when she joined the First Michigan Cavalry with her husband and perhaps her child. Most details of Divers's life remain a mystery, though it is clear that she served as a daughter of the regiment, part of a female support staff of the volunteer regiments. Daughters of the regiment served a variety of roles including ornamental mascot during parades and military reviews, cook, laundress, sutler, and nurse. Some of these women also undertook military roles on the battlefield.

Known to her comrades as Irish Biddy or Michigan Bridget, Divers earned a reputation for her willingness to remain with her regiment no matter what the dangers. Among the most famous moments of her military career came at the June 1862 Battle of Fair Oaks, Virginia, when Confederate forces surprised Union troops with a sudden attack. While many responded immediately, others panicked and resisted officers' attempts to rally them to fight. According to soldiers' accounts of the battle, the order to advance was all but ignored until Bridget Divers waved her cap in the air, urging them to

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fight to revenge her husband's death. The men rallied and drove the Confederates back.

Divers's wartime reputation also resulted from the nurturing stance she took toward the "boys" of her regiment. Several accounts detail her unwavering devotion late in the war. After a raid in which the regiment's colonel was wounded and its captain killed, Divers cared for the wounded and escorted the colonel by train to a hospital. Upon her arrival at the hospital, she discovered that the body of the captain had been left on the field. Unwilling to leave him behind, Divers reportedly rode her horse 15 miles into Confederate lines, recovered the captain's body, and brought him to the hospital. She then obtained a coffin and saw that his body was sent back home.

Divers performed another important service for the men of her regiment: coordination of their movements. She kept an unofficial directory detailing the whereabouts of the men and tracking their needs for supplies and armaments. Regimental commanders often directed inquiries about men in the regiment to Divers. Her heroism on the field, skills as a coordinator, and concern for the men of the First Michigan gained her the respect not only of the regiment but also of Sanitary Commission officials and other female army nurses.

Little is known about Divers's antebellum or postwar life. However, sources agree that. after the war. Divers, who had become accustomed to military life, joined a regiment and traveled west for duty on the frontier.

Lisa M. Smith

See also Female Combatants; Immigrant Women; Northern Women; Nurses; United States Sanitary Commission; Vivandieres.

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Dix, Dorothea Lynde (1802–1887)

The Superintendent of the United States Army Nurses, Dorothea Lynde Dix played many prominent roles in her lifetime. Her colorful career ranged from jobs as a teacher to that of a psychiatric advocate in an era when it was not popular to be proactive for the needs of the mentally ill.

Born on April 4, 1802, Dorothea was the eldest of three children born to Joseph and Mary Dix. She grew up under the stern hand of her father, a book dealer, a manufacturer, and a distributor of religious tracts, who sometimes called himself a minister though he was not ordained. The family moved often, and Dolly, as she was called, was forced to put together the booklets, stitch binding and gluing them until late at night. Her father was the dominant force in the family; her mother was weak and ineffective. Dorothea deeply resented her father's abusiveness and alcoholism, eventually running away from home at twelve to live with her paternal grandmother in Boston, Massachusetts. Her grandmother later sent Dolly to her aunt's home in Worcester for a more ladylike upbringing.

In Worcester, Dix decided to teach, opening a private school that drew many eager students. When she moved back to Boston in 1821, she opened another school, this one exclusively for

Dorothea Dix was world-renowned for her work on behalf of the mentally ill and for her services as a nurse during the Civil War. (Library of Congress)

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young girls. Dix was one of the first educators in the nation to provide a free education for poor children, which she did at night when her paying students went home. Dix also found the time to write four books: *Conversations on Common Things* (1824), *Meditations for Private Hours* (1828), *The Garland of Flora* (1829), *and American Moral Tales for Young Persons* (1832). She was well read and well traveled and became an expert on many subjects. Rejecting her father's Methodist fire and brimstone approach to religion, she joined the Unitarian Church and became an active advocate for the homeless and hungry.

In 1836, Dix contracted tuberculosis and had to take a break from teaching. She moved to Liverpool, England, for a year and then returned to the United States when her grandmother passed away. She continued to travel, however, and over the next four years regained the strength to return to teaching. Her first job after returning was as a teacher at East Cambridge Jail in 1841.

Appalled by the conditions in which prisoners were housed, she began a lifelong crusade against the treatment she had witnessed. She was outraged over the housing of felons and the mentally ill together, and in 1843 wrote a memorial presented to the Massachusetts Legislature by Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, Director of the Perkins School for the Blind. Although first rejected, her claims were soon proven to be true, and the legislature allocated funds for a large expansion of the State Mental Hospital at Worcester. She went on to write other memorials as well and established thirteen hospitals in eleven states, including St. Elizabeth's Hospital in Washington, D.C.

Dix spent another two years in Europe in an effort to reform hospitals there. She returned to America in 1856, discouraged by her lack of success overseas and glad to be back in the United States.

As the Civil War began in 1861, she turned her attentions to the deplorable conditions at field hospitals set up to provide services to the soldiers. She was distressed to see the lack of concern for cleanliness and the behavior of the doctors and nurses who treated the operating room more like a bordello than a surgical theater. Drinking and flirting seemed to be more prevalent than saving lives. Dix could not stand by; at age fifty-nine, she volunteered her services to the Union and quickly thereafter was named the Superintendent of the United States Army Nurses. Among the first items that Dix had to address were the directives to organize first aid stations, purchase supplies, set up training facilities, and recruit nurses. Performing her duties unpaid, she put together a volunteer female nursing corps that was the first in the nation and eventually included over three thousand nurses in its ranks. Dix was criticized by the army but enthusiastically received by the civilian authorities, and she soon earned a reputation for enforcing tough, unyielding standards that some nurses and doctors resented but that were effective and long lasting.

Until Dix took over, nurses had few requirements to meet and were often untrained and unskilled. Besides requiring the nurses to have extensive training, Dix also enforced a standard of dress and appearance that many protested. She wanted the nurses to be "plain-looking" because she believed it was more appropriate and professional than to have attractive young women tending to the needs of the soldiers. She also insisted that nurses wear modest clothing in black or brown and that they not wear any jewelry or hoops under their skirts. Some of the nurses started calling her Dragon Dix for her hard-nosed attitude, but her methods proved effective. The reputation of the nurses for their attentiveness and skill rose even as dissent stirred among the rest of the medical staff.

In addition, Dix made it her mission to prosecute the many doctors who operated on patients while drunk. They resented her bringing this to the public's attention. Dix clashed often with the prevailing bureaucracies, but nonetheless managed to accomplish her goals of better sanitation, better treatment for soldiers, and more attention to good surgical outcomes.

After the Civil War, Dix resumed her tireless work advocating for the poor, displaced, and mentally ill. She became overwhelmed and discouraged by the lack of progress in hospitals, and in her later years she did not like to talk about her work, her life, or her career. She did not put her name on

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most of her publications and refused efforts to have hospitals named after her.

Dorothea Dix was autonomous to the end, dying as she had lived—alone—on July 17, 1887. Dix was buried in Mt. Auburn Cemetery in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Jay Warner

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; Domesticity; Education, Northern; Hospitals; Northern Women; Nurses; Religion; Separate Spheres; Teachers, Northern; Unitarian Women; Wartime Employment.

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Dodge, Mary Abigail [Gail Hamilton] (1833–1896)

Mary Abigail Dodge was one of the earliest American women to find success as a writer and critic. Under the pen name Gail Hamilton, Dodge became a popular and controversial writer of her time. Her works include countless newspaper articles, essays, more than twenty-five books, a poetry collection, children's books, and one novel. She wrote about issues including religion, education, country life, authorship, contemporary politics, and women's issues.

Mary Abigail Dodge was born in Hamilton, Massachusetts, on March 31, 1833, the daughter of Hannah Stanwood and James Brown Dodge. Her father was a farmer, and her mother was a former schoolteacher. Though a shy child, Dodge showed an early interest in education and learning. Dodge's parents sent her to a boarding school in Cambridge, Massachusetts, when she was twelve. By the time she was thirteen, she was accepted into Ipswich Female Seminary, an academically challenging school that stressed self-reliance. Dodge graduated in 1850.

Upon graduating, Dodge taught at Ipswich before taking positions at Hartford Female Seminary and, from 1855 to 1858, at Hartford High School. Although Dodge was a gifted teacher, she still hoped to make a career as a writer. In 1856, Dodge sent samples of her poetry to the *National Era,* an antislavery publication, and the *Independent,* a Protestant paper.

Gamaliel Bailey, the editor of *National Era,* was impressed with Dodge's writing style and invited her to move to Washington to work as governess for his children. She took the position, viewing it as an opportunity to spend more time writing. In Washington, Dodge became more familiar with political circles and began writing commentaries, book reviews, and opinion pieces for publications such as the *Congregationalist, National Era,* and the *Independent.*

As she began publishing more work, Dodge developed two pen names: Cunctare and Gail Hamilton. Dodge maintained that her use of a pen name was to ensure that her personal life was private and separate from her career. Eventually she dropped Cunctare and was known for the rest of her career as Gail Hamilton.

In 1860, Dodge returned to her childhood home to care for her mother. In the country, she continued to write and steadily gained notoriety. By the early 1870s Dodge had published numerous works, including a collection of essays about rural New England life, *Country Living and Country Thinking;* two books about women's suffrage and related issues, *Woman's Wrongs: A Counter Irritant* and *Woman's Worth and Worthlessness;* and a controversial book about the publishing industry, *Battle of the Books.*

Dodge was known for the divisive opinions that she expressed in her works. Most notably, her opinion that women should focus on becoming the spiritual leaders of society did not parallel the mainstream women's suffrage movement. Furthermore,

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Dodge's critiques of the publishing industry initiated debate among writers.

In 1895, Dodge was working on a biography of former Speaker of the House James Blain when she suffered a stroke. Although she recovered enough to return to her home in Hamilton, Dodge died a year later on August 17, 1896.

Jessie Wilkerson

See also Education, Northern; Fiction Writers, Northern; Northern Women; Politics; Religion; Teachers, Northern; Union Homefront; Wartime Literature.

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Domesticity

In the antebellum world, domesticity played an important role in the changing American family. Regardless of race, class, or religion, virtually all women were touched in some way by the cult of domesticity and the middle-class ideal of "true womanhood." But no women would feel the effects of domesticity more than women in the growing urban North.

Significant economic changes took place during the first half of the nineteenth century. These developments changed the American family and made a newly emerging middle class the transmitter of society's values. The new middle class no longer had to personally manufacture what it needed for the family to survive. Husbands began to work away from the home in factories or offices, and their wives stayed at home, engaged in domestic pursuits. As men began working outside the home, they helped create a view that men should support their families while women stayed behind in a world where they were protected from the cold realities of politics and capitalism. Work became increasingly associated with men, and the home became identified as female.

The cult of domesticity grew as the urban Northern family lost its function as an economic unit and as the emergence of the market economy devalued women's work at home. The home became self-contained; families became smaller and children became what the family produced.

Middle-class women gained power through their association with the home. Most of the prescriptive literature of the time extolled the virtues of this "cult of domesticity" through stories, pictures, and editorials. Advice books, periodicals, religious journals, fiction, and popular culture all provided the new view of women's duty and explaining women's special virtues as the keepers of the family. Women were instructed to actively pursue the virtues of piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity and to exercise their power in the home. They were protected from the outside world, a rough place, full of temptations, violence, trouble, and wickedness. The prescriptive literature gave women the tools to make the home quiet and peaceful. Women were instructed to identify with their roles not only as daughters and sisters, but especially as wives and mothers. Consequently, domesticity became the most prized of women's virtues.

According to the prescriptive literature, a wife should comfort her husband by creating a cheerful home. This haven would bring him closer to God and less likely to drink, gamble, or look for his sustenance in other places. Catharine Beecher, in her 1841 *Treatise on Domestic Economy,* argued that women's subordinate place in American society was the ultimate fulfillment of democratic and Christian principles. A woman knew her place as the keeper of Christian values and cherished that place, protected by her husband or father.

Middle-class women were also responsible for busying themselves with morally uplifting domestic tasks. Books extolled housework as especially rewarding because it required good judgment and energy. Making beds not only served as good exercise, but its repetitiveness gave a woman patience and perseverance. Needlework was also considered morally uplifting, and women practiced to be the most skilled at lacework, knitting, and painting on fabrics. The advice manuals held that reading novels

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could interfere with a woman's piety, but morally uplifting novels were acceptable, as were magazines such as *Godey's Lady's Book.*

One of middle-class women's most important functions as a comforter of her family was her role as nurse. Maintaining the sickroom called for women to exercise patience, mercy, and gentleness, as well as to apply their housewifely arts. Cookbooks of the time, in addition to recipes, offered remedies for all sorts of ailments from cough to gout to women's complaints.

To fulfill her role in the home, a woman needed an adequate education that included the art of homemaking. The new public schools and higher education for young women offered housewifery courses alongside the more traditional reading, writing, and mathematics, with the idea that better educated women would make better mothers.

The cult of true womanhood stressed the fulfillment that women gained through motherhood. Religious sermons, reinforced by prescriptive literature, emphasized that there was no higher calling in the eyes of God than to be a mother. The reduced middle-class family size allowed mothers more time to devote to each child. Rearing good and faithful children, especially sons, was seen as the highest responsibility of a woman to God and to the nation.

As these ideas of domesticity for women became institutionalized, they had serious consequences for those who could not meet their rigid prescriptions. By defining the role at home as the measure of respectability, the domestic code indirectly sharpened class differences, excluding most women who had to work in the paid labor force. Southern women living on plantations may have come close to the domestic ideal, but in reality domesticity was an ideal that few women could engage in full-time during their adult lives. Women of the working classes were too busy with scraping together a living to worry too much about proper domesticity, but they were among the biggest consumers of ladies' periodicals and probably thought about middle-class life with some sort of longing. Black women, whether enslaved or free, occupied the lowest rungs of the socioeconomic scale, working outside the ideal of domesticity most of or all of their lives. Women on America's frontiers were still working at the subsistence level and were little touched by the cult of domesticity except for the occasional popular account that came into their possession.

In the cult of domesticity, a woman's place was in the home. She may have been a cultural hostage, but in urban centers of the North, she was dusting off her own pedestal.

Jill M. Nussel

See also Beecher, Catharine (1800–1878); Northern Women; Separate Spheres; Southern Women.

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Douglass, Frederick (ca. 1818–1895)

Runaway slave Frederick Douglass became an instrumental part of the abolitionist movement. He became an agent and lecturer for the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1841 and later published his autobiography to aid in the fight against slavery.

The son of Harriet, a black slave, and an unknown white father, he was born Frederick Augustus Washington Bailey (or Baily) at Holme Hill Farm in Talbot County, Maryland. Separated from his mother at an early age, he lived with his grandmother Betsey on a plantation until the age of eight, when he was sent to work for the Hugh Auld family in Baltimore. Defying state law, Auld's wife, Sophia, acquiesced to Douglass's request and taught him to read. From 1836 to 1838, Douglass worked in the Baltimore shipyards as a caulker, where he met Anna

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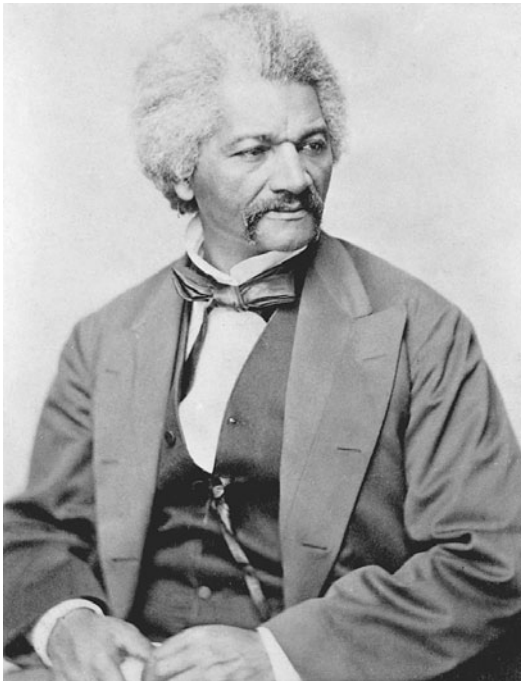

Frederick Douglass, former slave and leader in the abolitionist movement (1818–1895). (Library of Congress)

Murray, a free woman of color, who worked as a domestic. He and Murray married after he escaped to New York City in 1838. After hearing him speak at a meeting of the Bristol Anti-Slavery Society in 1841, William Lloyd Garrison arranged for Douglass to become an agent and lecturer for the American Anti-Slavery Society.

Unlike other women, such as Sarah Remond who worked with her brother Charles, Susan Paul of the Massachusetts Female Antislavery Society, and Sarah Mapps Douglass of the Philadelphia Female Antislavery Society, Anna Douglass did not participate in the lecture circuit. Instead, she supported her husband's travels and their five children by working in a shoe factory.

In addition to the abolitionist lecture tour, Frederick Douglass was also a familiar figure at Conventions of Free People of Color. In 1845, the Anti-Slavery Society assisted in the publication of the first of Douglass's three autobiographies: *The Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass: An American Slave.* The book's popularity forced Douglass to spend the next two years in England to avoid recapture. In the interim, American abolitionists raised money for his eventual emancipation.

Although abolitionists generally agreed on the principal goal of ending the practice of slavery, the movement exhibited deep philosophical divisions. Primary among them was the issue of gender equality. While both Garrison and Douglass believed that women's voices should be heard, the exclusion of women from decision making by the Anti-Slavery Society leadership precipitated the growth of same-sex antislavery societies. Douglass, however, became well-known for his outspoken stance on women's rights. Drawn in part by his friendship with abolitionist Amy Post, Frederick and Anna Douglass moved their family to Rochester, New York, in 1847. Already known as a haven for abolitionism, the women of Rochester were active in antislavery societies. Douglass was in close proximity to the leaders in the fight for women's rights, including Susan B. Anthony, Lucretia Mott, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

Although he and Garrison were in agreement on the role of women in the abolitionist movement, they parted ways in December 1847 when Douglass decided to publish his own antislavery newspaper, *The North Star,* along with Martin R. Delany and black Boston historian William C. Nell. After 1851, the newspaper became known as *Frederick Douglass' Paper.*

Douglass's personal relationships with white women, however, raised the ire of both white and black communities. One of his financial supporters was Julia Griffiths, whom he had met in England. Griffiths was one of six founders of the Rochester Ladies' Anti-Slavery and Sewing Society, which held annual festivals or bazaars that raised money for the movement through the sale of items and sponsorship of lectures by activities. The efforts not only kept *The North Star* afloat, but they also supported individual fugitives and a school for freedmen in Kansas. In 1848, Douglass brought Griffiths to Rochester as a live-in tutor for his children and wife. Citizens of Rochester objected vociferously when Griffiths began to serve as his office and business manager and personal companion.

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Consistent with the egalitarian impulse of abolitionism, Douglass advocated for the rights of women throughout his life. He participated in the first Women's Rights Convention in Seneca Falls in 1848 and signed the Declaration of Sentiments. Elizabeth Cady Stanton afterward credited Douglass's efforts for the passage of the resolution calling for women's suffrage by the Convention. In the July 1848 issue of *The North Star,* Douglass published an editorial entitled "The Rights of Women." In 1853, Douglass endorsed "The Just And Equal Rights of Women," a call and resolutions for the Women's Rights State Convention held in Rochester, and he was a featured speaker at the meeting.

During the antebellum period, Douglass was a close friend of Susan B. Anthony and her family. Between 1865 and 1870, however, Douglass split from many women's rights activists over the issue of the passage of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Douglass aligned himself with abolitionists who believed that it was more important to gain the rights of African American males than the rights of women. As an advisor to President Abraham Lincoln, Douglass protested the discrimination against black enlisted troops and fought for the adoption of constitutional amendments that guaranteed voting rights and other civil liberties for blacks. In 1866, he clashed with women's rights leaders at the convention of the Equal Rights Association over their insistence that the vote not be extended to black men unless it was also given to all women. For their part, Anthony and Stanton refused to support the Fifteenth Amendment because it excluded women. After the amendment passed in 1870, Douglass immediately called for an amendment giving women the right to vote, writing an editorial supporting women's suffrage entitled "Women and The Ballot." In 1878, he attended the thirtieth anniversary celebration of the first Women's Rights Convention, held by the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) in Rochester. He also attended the 1881 NWSA meeting held in Washington, D.C. In 1888, Anthony introduced Douglass to the audience of the International Council of Women as a women's rights pioneer.

Douglass continued to form personal attachments to white women throughout his life. After the pressure of an interracial relationship with Douglass caused Julia Griffiths to return to England, Douglass met Ottilie Assing, a German journalist, when she traveled to Rochester in 1856 to interview him. An abolitionist herself, Assing entered into a liaison with Douglass that lasted for twenty-six years. In 1884, two years after the death of his wife Anna, Douglass married Helen Pitts, a white woman from New York who was his secretary. Pitts was a graduate of Mount Holyoke Seminary and the daughter of Gideon Pitts Jr., an abolitionist colleague and friend of Douglass. Prior to her marriage, Helen had worked on a radical feminist publication called the *Alpha.* Stanton defended Douglass, who was stung by the general criticism, and Pitts against their detractors.

Relocating to Washington, D.C., during the 1870s, Douglass not only worked with his sons to publish the weekly *New National Era,* but also entered government service. The newspaper chronicled the political progress of the Republican Party and its new black constituency. In 1872, the Equal Rights Party, on a ticket headed by Victoria Woodhull, nominated him for the vice presidency of the United States. Douglass became District of Columbia Recorder of Deeds (1881–1886) and then director of United States diplomatic relations with Haiti (1889–1891). In Washington, Douglass, John Mercer Langston, and others contributed to the growth of a cadre of black intellectuals that included literate women such as Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, Maria Stewart, and Charlotte Forten.

In 1893, articulating a vision of America as a "composite" nation of many peoples and cultures, Douglass assisted Ida B. Wells in her sustained campaign against lynching. Douglass seems to have valued Wells's focus on women's rights and social justice during the 1880s and 1890s. In reaction to the exclusion of blacks from the 1893 Chicago World's Fair, Wells and Douglass collaborated on a pamphlet entitled "Reasons Why the Colored American is Not in the World's Colombian Exposition," which documented the progress of blacks

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since their arrival in America. He encouraged Wells to hire detectives to investigate a lynching in Paris, Texas, and to subsequently share her findings on a European speaking tour. He also wrote an introduction to *A Red Record,* her 1895 statistical report on lynching since the passage of the Emancipation Proclamation.

The day of Douglass's death, February 20, 1895, he had attended a meeting of the National Council of Women in Washington, D.C. During that meeting, he was recognized for his lifelong commitment to women's rights and given a standing ovation by the audience. At his funeral, Susan B. Anthony delivered a eulogy written by Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

Jayne R. Beilke

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; Anthony, Susan B. (1820–1906); Antislavery Societies; Fairs and Bazaars; Fifteenth Amendment; Forten (Grimké), Charlotte L. (1837–1914); Fourteenth Amendment; Free Blacks; Freedmen's Bureau; Garrison, William Lloyd (1805–1879); Lincoln, Abraham (1809–1865); Politics; Remond, Sarah Parker (1826–1894); Stanton, Elizabeth Cady (1815–1902).

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Draft Riots and Resistance

Wherever any kind of resistance to the draft occurred, including rioting, women could be found as active participants. So common was draft dodging and desertion, North and South, that men trying to keep out of the army could usually count on help from sympathetic neighbors, especially female relatives.

All across the North, women often took whatever steps were necessary to protect their men. In Indiana, they pelted enrollment officials with eggs. Others had more deadly intentions. In Illinois, two women fired on troopers coming to take their father and brother. Because of female opposition, officials in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, found it impossible to carry out the draft without a large detachment of armed guards. Milwaukee's provost marshal wrote that the city was controlled by mobs of draft opponents. He hastened to add that almost all the trouble was brought on by women and children, the former threatening to make use of hot water and the latter throwing rocks.

Pennsylvania's *Easton Argus* wrote that conscription was as unpopular as a plague of smallpox and conscript officers as welcome as a pack of mad dogs. Mad dogs could not have been treated much worse. When an armed conscript company rode into Archbald, a mob of angry women drove them out. In another town, twenty-five women stoned two conscript officers. A Berks County woman threw boiling water on an enrolling officer attempting to arrest her half-blind husband. Union County women rushed to the aid of a local deserter attending his sister's funeral. During the service, an army detachment arrived to arrest him. The deserter wounded one soldier before being fatally shot himself. Enraged women in the congregation attacked the injured arresting soldier and forced him to flee. The women's action reflected not only their anger at soldiers invading a church but also their view of enrollment officials.

Enrolling officers throughout the North faced violence from the civilian population. On conscription day at the courthouse in Port Washington, Wisconsin, women led one thousand antidraft protesters. When the local draft commissioner tried to turn the protesters back, some of the men and several women attacked him—pushing, kicking, and knocking him in the head. He ran to safety in the post office basement when the protesters turned their energies to breaking up the draft box. Women

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in Chicago formed part of a mob numbering several hundred that attacked enrolling officers who had arrested two men for protesting conscription. After being pummeled with stones, bricks, and any other missiles the crowd found convenient, the officers released their prisoners and made a hasty retreat.

Women also took an active role in the 1863 New York City draft riots. Angered at the government's efforts to take their husbands, sons, and fathers away from what little employment they had and leave the women to fend for themselves, women became especially violent in the factory districts where their families labored at menial jobs for dismal pay. Local women vowed vengeance against all enrolling officers and provost marshals. Some assaulted the police by grabbing stones and using their stockings as slingshots.

Boston's draft riot began when a conscript officer tried to arrest a woman who had slapped him. Her screams for help quickly brought neighbors to her aid. Soon hundreds of citizens rampaged through the city, attacking enrollment officers. When police tried to intervene, the crowds attacked them as well. A pack of enraged women reportedly trampled a lieutenant trying to report for duty. Soldiers rushed out to rescue the man, firing into the air as they dragged him back into their armory. The gunfire sent the mob of men, women, and children into a violent rage. They tore up sidewalk bricks and hurled them at the armory.

On the other side of the Mason-Dixon line, many Southern women prepared to kill anyone who tried to take their men. A Missouri woman stared down Confederates with a gun when they tried to enlist her husband. A group of Florida women behaved similarly when Confederate officials came after their deserter husbands. The women came out with hoes and axes, unhorsed one of the riders, and kept the rest occupied as their husbands escaped.

Popular support and plenty of hiding places made it almost impossible for Confederate authorities to find deserters. When patrols were nearby, women had various ways of calling for help or warning their men—blowing horns or whistles, ringing bells, or hanging out quilts of different colors or patterns to signal danger. One deserter band set up camp on an island in the Chattahoochee River just north of Columbus, Georgia. Family and friends kept them supplied until the end of the war. In North Carolina's Montgomery County, two sisters took food and supplies to their draft-dodging husbands hiding in the surrounding woods.

Draft resistance could be dangerous or even deadly. A North Carolina woman complained to Governor Zebulon Vance about the treatment state militia troops meted out to women suspected of helping their men avoid service. She wrote of officials rounding up women and violently beating them in an effort to force confessions from them and to get information on their men's whereabouts. Two women had their hands held under a fence rail while a soldier sat with his full weight on it. The wife of William Owen, leader of a North Carolina deserter band, experienced similar torture. When she refused to tell a Rebel home guard where her husband was, its commander slapped her. His men then tied her thumbs together behind her back and suspended her from a limb with her toes just touching the ground.

In spite of the danger, many Southern women continued to stand up for deserters. Two North Carolina women threatened to torch the residence of a captain who held two of their menfolk. He brushed their warning aside as an idle threat and did not release the men; his barn was torched that night.

Women played a part in draft resistance throughout the war in both the Union and the Confederacy, and their efforts affected the war in numerous ways.

David Williams

See also Civilian Life; Confederate Homefront; Conscription; Desertion; Enlistment; Northern Women; Southern Women; Union Homefront.

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Edmonds, Amanda Virginia (1839–1921)

Twenty years old when she began her journal, Amanda Edmonds chronicled her life during the tumultuous years from 1857 to 1867. It records her daily life during the Civil War and is a valuable source of information about her feelings and experiences on the homefront.

Amanda Edmonds was born in 1839, the seventh of ten children of Lewis and Elizabeth Settle Edmonds. Called Tee by friends and family, Edmonds lived at Belle Grove, a plantation of about one thousand acres in Fauquier County, Virginia. Before the war, her life was filled with social activities like balls, sewing parties, and visits from family. This happy time was interrupted by the death of Lewis Edmonds in 1857. Debts against the estate required that the family sell seven slaves, and the financial stability of Belle Grove was precarious for many years thereafter.

Events in the world intruded into life at Belle Grove as the war approached. John Brown's raid, for example, excited both comment and fear in Edmonds. She railed against Brown and rejoiced on the day of his hanging. Fears that his raid would induce a slave revolt at Belle Grove quieted over time, but Edmonds recorded the tense nights her brothers spent watching over the house.

By 1861, Virginia had seceded and was among the Confederate States of America, and Edmonds was busily sewing uniforms and watching men enlist. She noted the powerful emotions felt by a crowd of men and women when the Confederate flag was presented to a local rifle unit. While romantic, Edmonds recognized that the war would result in death, and she watched the young men around her with her mind on the future.

The great strength of Edmonds' diary is its ability to convey the tone and pace of the war for those at home. Edmonds describes the many visits from Confederate soldiers, friends, and family. Over the course of the war, she comments on the death of acquaintances, rumors, and occasionally the incursions of Union troops into Belle Grove. Her staunch loyalty to the Confederacy emerges at various points, including her satisfaction at Mosby's refusal to surrender after Appomattox. Later, she rejoices at the assassination of Abraham Lincoln.

Edmonds' diary is full of references to romance and young men, but none of her relationships lasted long. Finally, in 1870, Edmonds married Armistead Chappelear, who saved Belle Grove by paying Lewis Edmonds' debts. The couple had five children.

Amanda Edmonds died in 1921, leaving her diary as a testament to her life on a Virginia plantation during the Civil War.

Fiona Deans Halloran

See also Aid Societies; Confederate Homefront; Diaries and Journals; Enlistment; Family Life, Confederacy; Flags, Regimental; Nationalism, Confederate; Plantation Life; Sewing Bees; Slaveholding Women; Southern Women.

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Edmonds, Sarah Emma [Franklin Thompson] (1841–1898)

Few expected New Brunswicker Sarah Emma Edmonds to emerge as the Civil War's most famous female soldier, spy, and nurse.

Born in 1841 as the fifth daughter of Isaac and Elisabeth Edmonds, Sarah's disapproving father compounded the rural drudgery, isolation, and severity that characterized her early life. Despite her ability to hunt, fish, and work as hard as a boy, her father continued to punish Sarah for not being a boy. Sarah hoped that the birth of her brother would soften her father's emotions toward her and make her life easier. Relief turned to despair when her brother displayed signs of epilepsy and her father's anger toward her intensified. In 1856, Isaac betrothed Sarah to a much older and, in her opinion, unacceptable man. Rather than marry him, Sarah fled to a family friend in Moncton, New Brunswick, and worked as a salesgirl in a hat shop before making her way to Flint, Michigan, where she survived by posing as a man—Franklin Thompson—and working as a door-to-door bible salesman.

With the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, Sarah volunteered for service as Franklin Thompson and was mustered into the Second Michigan Volunteer Regiment as a nurse. She served in the hospitals and on the battlefields of Bull Run and Antietam, among others, and several times she donned the disguise of a slave to spy behind Confederate lines. Disguised as a slave, Sarah could listen to and observe Confederate plans unnoticed. In March 1862, she discovered that the Confederates planned to bluff the Union at Yorktown, Virginia. Instead of cannons, the Confederates crafted Quaker guns, that is, logs painted to look like cannons and designed to exaggerate the size of the force the Union would meet. Sarah relayed the information to the Union command, perhaps contributing to the Union victory in April 1862.

Sarah Emma Edmonds disguised herself as a man and enlisted with the Second Michigan regiment during the American Civil War. She served as a nurse and mail carrier and participated in major battles. After her true identity was revealed, she received a full veteran's pension for her war service. (Courtesy Archives of Michigan)

In the spring of 1863, Sarah contracted malaria and chose to abandon the Second Michigan Volunteer Regiment rather than seek medical help that might reveal her identity as a woman. Sarah planned to recover in Cairo, Illinois, and return to service, but she discovered that the Union army had listed Frank Thompson as a deserter. Instead of returning to her regiment, she published a highly fictionalized version of her life in 1864. *Nurse and Spy in the Union Army* details Sarah's adventures during the war, but excludes the details relating to her time disguised as Franklin Thompson. Sarah donated all the proceeds from the book to various charities, including the United States Sanitation Commission. For the remainder of the Civil War, Sarah worked for the Commission as a nurse and Franklin Thompson remained, in the eyes of his comrades and the United States government, a deserter.

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Sarah returned to Canada after the Civil War and married fellow Canadian Linus Seeyle in 1867. The two raised a family while frequently moving between Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, and Kansas. Over the course of these years, Franklin Thompson's status as a deserter bothered Sarah. In 1884, she revealed the truth to her military comrades at a reunion. Although surprised by the revelation, they supported her quest to clear Franklin's name. Many veterans offered Sarah affidavits that she used to petition the Federal government for an honorable discharge and a pension. On July 7, 1886, President Grover Cleveland granted both of her requests. Sarah received a $12-a-month veteran's pension for the rest of her life. She spent her remaining years in La Porte, Texas.

She died on September 5, 1898, of malaria, the very disease that led her to desert her military post during the Civil War. On Memorial Day in 1901, Sarah's military comrades reburied her with full military honors in the Grand Army of the Republic cemetery in Houston, making her the organization's only female member. In 1988, the United States Military Intelligence Hall of Fame inducted Sarah into their organization. Four years later, the Michigan Women's Hall of Fame followed suit. Both recognized Sarah's contributions to the United States generally and specifically to the Union military effort.

Cheryl A. Wells

See also Female Combatants; Female Spies; United States Sanitary Commission.

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Edmondson, Belle (1840–1873)

Born in Pontotoc, Mississippi, on November 17, 1840, Isabella Buchanan Edmondson was one of eight children. She became a spy and smuggler for the Confederacy in 1862, operating from her family farm near Memphis, Tennessee. Her diaries and correspondence, published one hundred and twenty-five years after the Civil War, reveal typical espionage activities. When returning from Memphis shopping trips, she shrouded hats, boots, and fabric for uniforms under her large hoop skirts; hid letters, money, and buttons in her dress bodice; and concealed morphine, chloroform, and whiskey in her wagon.

During her childhood, her parents, Mary Ann Howard and Andrew Jackson Edmondson, lived in Holly Springs, Mississippi, where her father was a surveyor, recorder of deeds, and chancery court clerk before he began farming in 1856. She excelled in music at Franklin Female College, a finishing school offering ornamental and academic courses. In 1860, the family moved to Elm Ridge, a farm just north of the state line. At the outbreak of war, Belle's brother, Jimmie, a Memphis merchant, organized Company B, One hundred fifty-fourth Tennessee Regiment, known as the Bluff City Grays, in May 1861, and he later operated a blockade runner. Another brother, Eddie, joined the Grays, subsequently becoming one of Nathan Bedford Forrest's scouts.

Ignoring Federal prohibitions against transporting Confederate correspondence and items such as quinine and newspapers, Edmondson helped individuals and the Confederate army get items across enemy lines. Edmondson received letters from areas like Kentucky and Missouri for Confederate soldiers on duty in the Deep South. Sorting them by commanding officer, she conveyed them to male accomplices for final delivery. When returning couriers brought letters from Dixie, she mailed them in Memphis to destinations in the North and West. Edmondson risked imprisonment by regularly furnishing goods and information to Captain Thomas H. Henderson of Henderson's Scouts and to Forrest. She personally presented boots she smuggled to Generals Sterling Price, Earl Van Dorn, and John Pemberton. She also designed a Confederate battle flag for General Price that featured stars inside a white Latin cross on a blue field bordered in red. Later, minus the stars, it became known as the Bowen pattern.

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While in Memphis on April 21, 1864, Edmondson learned that Union General Stephen Hurlbut had issued an order to arrest her for smuggling. Although she returned home safely using a borrowed pass, her access to Memphis and thus her usefulness as a smuggler was over. Six weeks later, she left for Oxford, Mississippi, where her younger sister Helen married Major Brodie Crump on June 23. Edmondson stayed there until late September, visiting friends and assisting wounded soldiers. After returning home briefly in early October, she rejoined friends at Waverly Plantation in Clay County, Mississippi, where she apparently remained until the war ended.

Despite her covert operations, Edmondson maintained household and social routines, participating in the usual women's support efforts. She sewed clothing for soldiers, herself, and other family members; taught her servant basic literacy; and regularly visited friends and neighbors. When wounded soldiers from the Battle of Shiloh were brought to Overton Hospital in Memphis, she fed and attended to them.

Throughout the war, Edmondson's diaries recorded backaches so severe she needed morphine and laudanum. However, she likely used the medications as much to relieve her emotional pain as her physical ailments. From childhood, her family regarded her as headstrong and unruly, and her diaries and letters reinforce that opinion, reflecting her lifelong struggle against family and societal behavioral expectations and resulting ostracism. Perpetuating her depression were wartime shortages, safety concerns, travel restrictions, concern for her soldier brothers, as well as the added strain of her smuggling activities, her beloved mother's death on August 3, 1861, and two broken engagements.

Little is known of Edmondson's postwar life. After their father died in 1872, Eddie and his family lived with his spinster sisters, Belle and Joanna, at Elm Ridge. On July 1, 1873, Belle became engaged to a "Col. H." The cause of her sudden death two weeks later remains a mystery. She is buried in the family plot at Elmwood Cemetery, Memphis.

Nancy L. Adgent

See also Blockade Running; Female Spies.

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Edmondston, Catherine Ann Devereux (1823–1875)

Wealthy slaveholder Catherine Ann Devereux Edmondston kept an extensive journal detailing her life during the Civil War.

Catherine Devereux was one of six daughters and one son born to a wealthy North Carolina planter family. In 1846 she married Patrick Muir Edmondston of Charleston, South Carolina, where she lived for a short time before returning to North Carolina. There the couple spent their time running Looking Glass Plantation, which adjoined her father's estate, and at Hascosea, their summer home. The lands were part of a $10,000 marriage settlement. At the outbreak of the Civil War, the Edmondstons owned approximately 2,000 acres of land and eighty-eight slaves.

The Edmondstons were an exceptionally close couple, perhaps because they never had children. Consequently Catherine was extremely reluctant to be separated from Patrick. Nevertheless, she saw the North as a threat to her privileged position and firmly maintained that the South should be left alone to manage its own domestic affairs, among which she regarded slavery as central. Her father, on the other hand, retained strong Unionist sympathies, and the consequent friction in the family was very troubling. Edmondston, however, remained steadfast in her opinions and was not hesitant to express her political views.

Despite her lofty rhetoric, Catherine always remained reluctant to make personal sacrifices. She was particularly averse to her husband's wartime absences, although these were relatively brief. Ini-

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tially Patrick Edmondston remained at home in charge of the local Home Guard. He later obtained a certificate of disability exempting him from military service. Catherine always maintained that her husband was too delicate and aristocratic for military service.

Catherine's war efforts were largely supervisory; she simply put her slaves to work sewing uniforms and knitting socks. Because her plantation was relatively isolated, she had few disciplinary problems with her own slaves and suffered only minor hardships. During the final months of the war, she was horrified to learn that the Confederacy was considering arming slaves. She never deviated from her firm belief in the racial inferiority of African Americans.

In April 1865 Catherine feared that Union General William T. Sherman's troops would reach her plantation. Rather than have her personal papers fall into Yankee hands, she destroyed them all herself. She was especially distraught at burning all her husband's love letters and harbored a burning resentment toward Yankees all her life for forcing her to take such a preemptive measure. Although her home remained untouched, this did nothing to soften her sentiments.

In 1872 she published *Morte d'Arthur: Its Influence on the Spirit and Manner of the Nineteenth Century.* Here she praised the chivalry and honor of Southern behavior while hurling accusations against the Yankees especially for their alleged treatment of Southern women and children. Edmondston remained a staunch supporter of Southern independence and white supremacy until her death in 1875.

Jacqueline Glass Campbell

See also Diaries and Journals; Sherman's Campaign (1864–1865).

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Education, Northern

During the Civil War, Northern women experienced not only deprivations but also new opportunities, particularly in employment and education. The expansion of professional opportunities for women was most prominent in education. During the war, women assumed places in the schools and colleges, both as teachers and as students. They not only attended school in greater numbers than ever, but they also became the backbone of the teaching force and the impetus for educational reform in both the North and the South.

During the antebellum period, educational opportunities for Northern women expanded along with the women's rights movement. The primary reason for this expansion was the popularization of schooling itself, which resulted in more girls and women going to school and the attendant growth of educational institutions such as common schools, high schools, academies, normal schools, and colleges. By 1860, private schools had become rarer and more elite. More children now went to tuition-free public schools, and the rise in school attendance created a need for teachers that could not be filled by men alone. The growing presence of women in the teaching force contributed not only to the feminization of teaching, but also to its professionalization.

At the same time, the women's rights movement and the growth of women's education spurred many women to become political actors. For example, due in part to their liberal classical education, which included the study of rhetoric, South Carolinians Sarah and Angelina Grimké began to speak out against slavery as early as 1837. While feminist women joined the ranks of the abolitionists, more conservative middle-class Northern women demonstrated a missionary zeal in their belief that education was liberating in itself. Northern free blacks, on the other hand, argued for a broadened abolitionist agenda that included the assurance of education, suffrage, equality, and civil rights for all

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African Americans, in addition to the advocation of emancipation.

By 1860, the numbers of women teachers in some localities, particularly urban areas, surpassed those of men. New England, with its well-developed school system, was in the forefront of this trend. The region was also the first to institute a normal school for the training of teachers, the first being established in 1839 in Lexington, Massachusetts.

Despite the unquestionable need for additional teachers, the entrance of Northern women into the teaching profession was governed by several factors, including prevailing nineteenth-century gender prescriptions. Women were portrayed as superior moral beings who held the elevated status of motherhood. It was believed that women's domestic responsibilities transferred easily to teaching and that their innate nurturing ability made them ideally suited for working with young children. Conversely, opposition to female teachers was based on women's alleged lack of intellectual rigor to teach higher subjects and their lack of physical strength to control older male pupils in class. These presumptions led to a hierarchical practice of grouping female assistants under male principal teachers in antebellum common schools. It also established a pattern of economic discrimination whereby women taught for a fraction of the money paid to men. By midcentury, Northern school reformers had successfully argued for inexpensive female teachers. In Massachusetts, the salary differential remained around 40 percent throughout the period, while the proportion of females in the teaching force increased from 56 percent in 1834 to 78 percent in 1860.

By the onset of the Civil War, women also began to participate in higher education in greater numbers. Available to middle- and upper-class women were various collegiate institutions, many of which featured a classical curriculum—including courses in science, psychology, philosophy, and rhetoric—similar to that of men's institutions. Forms of higher educational institutions open to women included private women's colleges, religiously oriented coeducational colleges, public and private secular coeducational institutions, public single-sex vocational institutions, and normal or teacher preparation institutes.

In the North, coeducation became dominant in public and private universities. However, many female academies were established to give women educational opportunities. Emma Willard, Zilpah Grant, and others established female academies and seminaries in New England and New York. The Troy Female Seminary, Hartford Female Seminary, and Mount Holyoke Female Seminary became models for women's institutions not only in the North, but also in the Midwest and West. In 1862, the Federal passage of the Morrill Land Grant Act gave public funding for agricultural schools and bolstered the emphasis placed on public higher education.

With the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863, Northern women educators directed their efforts southward. Capitalizing on society's view of women as nurturers and teachers, people like Josephine Griffing, an Ohio agent for the National Freedmen's Relief Association of Washington, D.C., petitioned Congress to give Northern and Western women responsibility for the care and education of recently freed slaves. Northern white and black women who linked the rights of emancipated slaves to women's rights devoted themselves to freedmen's relief during the Civil War and Reconstruction. To advance the rights of both disenfranchised groups, women lobbied the government, worked as agents of the Freedmen's Bureau, raised money for freedmen's aid, and started common and industrial schools for the freedpeople. Several thousand New England white women, most of whom were single, upper or middle class, unemployed, and New England educated, journeyed South to work and teach freedmen after the Civil War.

In addition, educated black women migrated or returned south after emancipation to aid in the transition of newly freed blacks from slavery to freedom. For example, noted lecturer Louise DeMontie, who had migrated from Virginia to Boston in the 1850s, moved to New Orleans in 1865 to open the city's first orphanage for black youth. Mary Ann Shadd Cary, who migrated to Canada in

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the 1850s, returned to the United States after the outbreak of the Civil War to serve as a scout for the Union army. Scores of other black women went south to engage in the massive effort to educate the newly emancipated blacks.

During Reconstruction, the most common, traditional, and available option open to women was teaching in freedmen's schools. In 1869, Sallie Holley, the daughter of abolitionist Myron Holley, joined Caroline Putnam in Virginia to teach at the Holley School for freedpeople. For Holley, as for other women, teaching was a natural continuation of her antislavery efforts. As Northern women remained in, or returned to, the South to teach and work for freedmen's rights, the schools they founded there planted the seeds of a school system based on the model of the Northern common school.

With the withdrawal of the Union army from the South, however, Northern women teachers were largely on their own. Although there was always a steady supply of Northern white women willing to teach in freedmen's schools, aid societies could no longer raise the funds to cover their salaries. Moreover, as the war concluded and Reconstruction ended, freedmen's aid societies turned their attention to normal schools and the training of African American teachers rather than to common schools, hoping the states would initiate efforts to develop a common school system where none had existed before the war. Typically, however, the burden fell on the freedpeople to provide their own schools and on whoever responded with money and in-kind gifts.

During Reconstruction, teaching continued to provide women of all backgrounds with important ways to serve and to support themselves. The crucial need for schoolteachers prior to and during the Civil War became exacerbated and more generalized. Hundreds of the black and thousands of the Northern white women who were initially drawn to the war effort later taught in the rural areas of the South. Due to immigration and westward expansion, urban and rural America required more teachers. Begun in the North, tested in the crucible of the Civil War, the common school and the feminization of teaching would be diffused throughout the South.

The end of the Civil War brought about the realization that the women's rights movement of the antebellum period had been supplanted by the push for African American rights. This was confirmed at the 1868 American Equal Rights Association annual meeting, where women who had devoted themselves to the causes occasioned by the war learned that the antebellum support for women's rights had been diverted, for political reasons, to the cause of black male suffrage. Despite this setback, women who entered colleges and universities in substantial numbers in the decades following the Civil War would eventually reinvigorate the women's rights movement.

Jayne R. Beilke

See also Cary, Mary Ann Shadd (1823–1893); Education, Southern; Grimké (Weld), Angelina (1805–1879); Grimké, Sarah Moore (1792–1873); Northern Women; Teachers, Northern.

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Education, Southern

During the antebellum period, the South had no system of common schools. By the end of the Civil War, however, women's efforts had been largely responsible for the establishment of a nascent system of public schools and the creation of a professional role for women in the field of teaching. In

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addition, the efforts of both Northern and Southern women on behalf of recently emancipated slaves also furthered the shared national cause of women's rights.

Within the Southern planter culture, women received an education consistent with their social status. Private tutors, generally male, traveled among plantations teaching elite children. During the antebellum period, girls and women of the planter class attended private schools and academies staffed largely by graduates of well-known Northern private schools. During the 1850s, numerous female colleges, which grew out of female academies and seminaries, were founded in the South. Southern schools were unique in that they offered women a classical liberal curriculum that included mandatory instruction in both Latin and Greek, for the purpose of understanding Western civilization. Southern women also studied rhetoric, although they were not expected to engage in public oratory. Elite Southern women were expected to symbolize a gentility worthy of their elevated social class and culture, so they were also taught ornamental subjects such as fancy needlework, dancing, music, drawing, and painting. Since Southern women in general, however, were not expected to work outside the home for reasons other than economic necessity, Southern schools did not prepare them for the teaching profession. White lower- and middle-class Southern women received little or no education; their lack of education was considered consistent with their social class.

Educational opportunities for African American women in the South were not only limited, but forbidden by law. A few private academies for African American girls had been established in large cities

Students at Wesleyan Female Institute in North Carolina, 1854. (North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library at Chapel Hill)

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such as Washington, D.C., and Baltimore for the children of free persons of color. The education of slaves, however, was forbidden by the Slave Codes established by each Southern state (and some Border States) that restricted slaves' rights to assemble, bear witness against whites, travel without permission, and so forth. Slaves as well as owners were punished if the Codes were violated. Ironically, however, the slave system itself provided educational opportunity. Skilled workers were given relevant instruction in mathematics and reading in order to perform their work. In addition, social interaction with white children at a young age enabled some children of slaves to learn the alphabet. And house slaves who lived and worked in close proximity to educated whites learned informally.

The haphazard nature of Southern education was further disrupted by the Civil War. In Northern cities such as Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, benevolent societies were formed to promote the work of abolitionist missionaries. Sponsored by organizations such as the American Missionary Association, they raised funds, sent supplies south, and recruited and supported teachers. In 1865, these efforts were undertaken and coordinated by the Union army through the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (Freedmen's Bureau). The most numerous participants in this movement were Northern unmarried women called Yankee Schoolmarms, who taught in freedmen's schools. By 1870, the Freedmen's Bureau had placed about seven thousand teachers in the South, instructing some quarter of a million students. The curriculum not only included rudimentary literacy and numeracy, but also the inculcation of New England Puritan, or middle-class, values such as industriousness, self-reliance, and cleanliness.

The first schools for newly freed slaves were missionary efforts by the American Missionary Association and the Freedmen's Bureau. Local and Northern teachers taught in crowded night schools, Sunday schools, and common schools attended by emancipated blacks of all ages. Women constituted three-quarters of these teachers, and about one-eighth of the total number of teachers were African Americans. Charlotte Forten, the daughter of James Forten, a prosperous free black Philadelphia sailmaker, was among the first contingent of Northern teachers to travel to the South Carolina Sea Islands as part of the Port Royal Experiment in early 1862. The Port Royal Experiment was a New England–based program designed to prove that freed persons could produce more cotton on government-managed and Northern-owned plantations than they had as slaves. The Port Royal education program instilled Northern values in its students, along with remedial instruction. An African American, Forten taught freed people on the South Carolina Sea Islands between 1862 and 1864. Hired by the Port Royal Relief Committee of Philadelphia, she taught rudimentary skills to children during the day and she taught adults at night. Threatened and harassed by local Southerners who resented the Northern women's interference, the teachers were often left to fend for themselves in a hostile environment. Exhausted by the work and inhospitable conditions, Forten left South Carolina after eighteen months and returned to the North.

The experience of serving the recently emancipated freedpersons was an education in itself. While women abolitionists were intellectually familiar with the rhetoric of antislavery and fugitive slave narratives, they came to know "the blasting effects of the system" (Slaughter 1869) only after they had arrived in the South. Hailing from Philadelphia, Laura Towne was a white woman who went south as part of the Port Royal Experiment and frequently disagreed with the men's oppressive supervision of the experiment. Although white women generally left the South to return home, Towne and her companion, Ellen Murray, stayed in South Carolina for the remainder of their lives.

Although advanced education for African Americans lagged behind that offered by white schools for several decades, the first black colleges and training institutions began during the Civil War era. Many African American teachers who had been trained at Oberlin College or elsewhere created their own institutions to help expand educational opportunities among black Americans. Anna Julia Cooper, Fanny Jackson Coppin, Nannie Helen Burroughs, and others joined Booker T. Washington and

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W.E.B. DuBois as educational leaders of African Americans and eventually founded their own schools. Nannie Helen Burroughs, founder and longtime head of the National Training School for Women and Girls in Washington, D.C., was particularly interested in providing opportunities for black working-class women by professionalizing jobs in domestic service and manual training. While DuBois and Washington argued over what kind of education blacks should receive—classical liberal or vocational, respectively—women generally negotiated an educational practice that served both the vocational and professional needs of the African American population. Among the historically black colleges and universities founded between 1865 and 1870, Bethune-Cookman College, Spelman College, the Institute for Colored Youth, and Howard University all served African American women who pushed for a share of the educational opportunities for blacks that had opened up as a result of the Civil War and emancipation.

Having survived the Civil War, many white Southern women were faced with the reality of having to support themselves and their families economically. One-fourth of the Confederate army was dead, slaves were emancipated, and many plantations and towns were burned or otherwise destroyed. Southern women had to negotiate a new landscape. The need for employment led to the growth of normal (teacher training) schools and the addition of vocational and professional courses to the curriculum. Salem Female Academy in North Carolina remained open during the Civil War, and male institutions such as Trinity College, now Duke University, began to accept women. Out of necessity, white Southern women began to take their place in the teaching profession. North Carolina's Statesville Female College inaugurated a teaching department, and Hollins College in Virginia established scholarships for future teachers. Southern women founded schools, taught school, and gave music lessons at their homes.

Women's involvement in the South during the Civil War was educational in another way. Some women used the Freedmen's Bureau to advance women's rights. In addition to providing relief to contrabands, women in the Freedmen's Aid movement empowered themselves politically and socially; through their work with the movement, female abolitionists also furthered the realization of women's rights. In fact, the fractures within the Freedmen's Aid movement contributed to variants of feminism that came to fruition in the postbellum period. After Reconstruction, the dialogue associated with feminism was diffused in the North through the growth of women's organizations such as the New England Women's Club, the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity, and the Children's Aid Society. Likewise, black women who remained in the South developed similar organizations such as the National Association of Colored Black Women. But while white women in the North turned their attention to universal suffrage, black women in the South were confronted with the expectation of working to improve the conditions of their race as a whole.

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See also Coppin, Fanny Jackson (1837–1913); Forten (Grimké), Charlotte L. (1837–1914).

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Election of 1860

The election of 1860 was the most anticipated presidential contest in American history. Even casual

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observers recognized that its outcome would probably determine whether the Union continued. Women and men of both regions watched the election carefully, frequently commenting on its implications to each other and in their journals and letters.

Throughout the 1850s, many Southerners threatened to secede if someone committed to free soil and pushing the idea of preventing the expansion of slavery into the Western territories was elected president. After 1855 the new, free soil Republican Party gained popularity across the North as it broadened its appeal among voters, emphasizing that free soil would break the political power of Southern planters and preserve the West for whites and farmers. By 1860, Republicans believed they could win the election because they needed no Southern votes to carry the electoral college, due to much greater population growth in the free states.

Before their Chicago convention, the leading Republican candidate was New York Senator William Seward, but many delegates considered him radical, especially on the issues of slavery and abolition, and feared he would cost the party Northern votes. Instead, Abraham Lincoln was nominated on the third ballot. A free soil moderate, Lincoln's rags-to-riches life story was perfect for American politics. A former Whig, he also came from a crucial swing state, Illinois, which Republicans needed to win. In their convention, the Democrats—the nation's only national party—divided over the selection of a presidential candidate and a policy for slavery in the territories. Most Northern Democrats supported Illinois Senator Stephen Douglas, who championed popular sovereignty—allowing residents in the territories to decide whether to have slavery. A majority of Southern Democrats, however, did not trust Douglas or popular sovereignty after the policy failed in Kansas Territory in the mid-1850s. A second convention failed to reunite the party, and two Democrats ran for president: Douglas from the North and Kentucky's John C. Breckinridge from the South. Finally, a new organization formed just for the election. The Constitutional Union Party hoped to attract moderates from both North and South who wanted to avoid disunion and a possible civil war. John Bell, a slave owner and senator from Tennessee, was the Constitutional Union Party's nominee.

The presidential campaign was really two campaigns: Lincoln versus Douglas in the North; Breckinridge versus Bell in the South. Republicans emphasized free soil, a high tariff to promote American manufacturing, and policies intended to facilitate western settlement. Douglas stood by popular sovereignty and claimed to be the only national candidate capable of uniting the country, and he actually campaigned across the South despite numerous death threats. Breckinridge personally disavowed secession, but most Southern Democrats pledged to leave the Union if Lincoln was elected. They wanted Federal protection for slavery in all the territories. The Constitutional Unionists vaguely promised to support "the Constitution of the Country, the Union of the States, and the enforcement of the laws."

Lincoln won less than 40 percent of the popular vote, but nearly two-thirds of electors by carrying all the free states. He was only on the ballot in five slave states, finishing last in each. Douglas won only Missouri and three New Jersey electors, although he received the second-highest popular vote total. Bell and Breckinridge split the remaining slave states. In the wake of Lincoln's victory, Americans waited to see what the angered Southerners would do.

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See also Lincoln, Abraham (1809–1865); Politics; Secession.

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Election of 1864

United States President Abraham Lincoln insisted that the election of 1864 take place despite the Civil War. Lincoln reasoned that, if it were postponed, as many people thought it could or should be, the Southern effort to overthrow majority rule and deny the fair workings of American democracy, as Lincoln characterized the secession and the war, would succeed. Instead, Lincoln's reelection became the war's final turning point, ensuring a Union victory.

The progress of Union forces in 1864 as well as Lincoln's war leadership, especially the Emancipation Proclamation and the enrollment of African American troops, dominated the 1864 presidential campaign. Northern forces made painfully slow progress in Georgia and Virginia, suffering fearful losses. By September 1 the Union had suffered over one hundred thousand casualties, pushing war weariness to new depths in the North. Some Republicans schemed to replace Lincoln, believing he could not be re-elected, given the worsening military situation. Most Republicans, however, defended their war record. The platform included ringing endorsements of Lincoln, the Emancipation Proclamation as "a deathblow at this gigantic evil" of slavery, and the use of African American men in combat. Republicans made one fateful change to their ticket, replacing Hannibal Hamlin with Tennessee's Andrew Johnson as the vice president. This choice for vice president appealed to Unionist, prowar Democrats because Johnson was the only Confederate-state senator who had remained in his Federal office in 1861.

Democrats nominated former Union General George B. McClellan for president. Divided between Peace and War wings, the Democratic Party never quite constructed a harmonious campaign strategy. All Democrats criticized Lincoln's military leadership and blamed Republicans for Union losses, but they disagreed about how to proceed. McClellan favored winning the war first, then negotiating a peace. The party platform, however, called for peace first, Union second, if possible. Most controversial was a plank declaring the war a failure, something written by Peace wing leader Clement Vallandigham. Democrats agreed on matters of slavery and race, opposing emancipation, and they attacked Republicans as radical advocates of racial equality. Lincoln's occasional suspension of habeas corpus and the breakdown of prisoner exchange were other issues agitated by Democrats.

Republican prospects looked bleak in late August, but finally the Union armies made some progress. Most important was the successful capture and occupation of Atlanta by General William Tecumseh Sherman's forces on September 3, much to Lincoln's relief and gratitude. Not all states voted on the same day, and in October Lincoln carried Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana, and the election ultimately delivered a huge Republican landslide. Lincoln won the electoral college 212 to 21; Republicans controlled the Senate 42 to 10 and the House of Representatives 145 to 40. Union soldiers voted overwhelmingly for Lincoln; the men who actually had to do the fighting wanted to see the war finished. Lincoln and Secretary of War Edwin Stanton furloughed home thousands of soldiers in closely contested states as well as those from states whose Democratic-controlled legislatures, such as Indiana's, did not allow absentee voting. Close analysis suggests that soldiers helped Republicans carry New York and Connecticut, and possibly Indiana and Maryland. In a supremely symbolic act, venerable abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison cast his first ever vote for president when he supported Lincoln. Almost certainly the election of 1864 represented the Confederacy's last real chance to win the war, through a Democratic victory and negotiated settlement. After the results became public, a stream of deserters left Confederate armies.

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See also Politics; Lincoln, Abraham (1809–1865); Sherman's Campaign (1864–1865); Union Homefront.

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Elmore, Grace Brown (1839–1912)

Diarist and ardent Confederate Grace Brown Elmore kept a detailed journal of life in South Carolina during the Civil War.

Elmore was born into a privileged Southern family. Her mother, Harriet Chesnut Elmore, was the daughter of Governor John Taylor of South Carolina, one of the founders of the city of Columbia; her father, Franklin Harper Elmore, began his career as a lawyer and later served in the United States House of Representatives. In 1840 Franklin Elmore was appointed president of the Bank of South Carolina and moved his family to Charleston. Grace was the fourth youngest of a family of twelve, eight of whom survived to adulthood. When her father died, Elmore's mother moved the family back to Columbia, where she spent most of her life. Although her late father's estate provided Elmore with financial independence, she was not autonomous. Elmore frequently expressed her frustrations over the limitations imposed by the patriarchal society in which she lived and expressed an aversion to marriage.

Elmore was well educated and deeply religious. She led a happy and privileged childhood, largely under the care of a slave woman whom she called Mauma Binah. There are few details of her life during the decade before the war, but five months after the outbreak of hostilities Elmore began her two-volume journal. Like other women of her race and class, Elmore was involved in fundraising for the Southern cause to which she remained deeply committed. Her diary contains many reflections on Southern men's duty and commitment to war and on the ironies that men, whom she felt had not fulfilled their roles, still depended on women on the homefront.

Elmore was deeply attached to her slaves, and never wavered in her commitment to slavery as an institution that served the needs of both blacks and whites. Despite her expressed gratitude to the loyalty of the slaves who remained with her, she firmly maintained that they were, and always would be, her property. In the final months of the war, her tone turned increasingly racist.

Elmore's diary gives a particularly detailed account of General William T. Sherman's attack on Columbia in February 1865. The consequent devastation of the city caused Elmore to become even more devout in her faith in God and the Confederate cause. When Elmore heard that Lee had surrendered, she was filled with grief for the South, with pity for newly freed African Americans, and with fear of Yankee vengeance. In the wake of war, Elmore briefly questioned but never rejected her faith. Instead she turned her acerbic tone to blame Yankees and blacks for all that she had lost.

In the postwar years, Elmore suffered financial hardships that forced her to live with her siblings, with whom she had always had strained relations. When her sister opened a school, Elmore took a position as a teacher. Although she had expressed a desire for independence, she resented having to work for pay and did not see it as liberating. Her life seemed increasingly burdensome, especially when compared with her privileged upbringing. In her later years, Elmore moved to Jacksonville, Florida, where she died in 1912.

Jacqueline Glass Campbell

See also Diaries and Journals; Sherman's Campaign (1864–1865); Southern Women.

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Emancipation League

Formed in 1861 by Boston abolitionists, the Emancipation League urged President Abraham Lincoln to make freeing the slaves a primary war goal. This group also helped to promote the creation of African American military units, such as the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts.

The first meeting of what would initially be called the Boston Emancipation League took place on September 5, 1861. In attendance were a group of Boston's most famous abolitionists, including William Lloyd Garrison, Samuel Gridley Howe, Wendell Phillips, Frank Sanborn, George Stearns, Edmund Quincy, and Frank Bird. The nascent organization soon agreed on a primary objective and a set of short-term goals. The objective was to educate the public about the centrality of slavery to the successful prosecution of the war. To do this, the League intended to solicit articles and editorials from a variety of abolitionist writers and then distribute the material to Northern newspapers. The League's approach proved popular with abolitionists throughout the North. New leagues formed in Washington, D.C., New York City, and Rochester, New York. Like the Boston League, these groups sponsored lectures, produced editorials, and worked to disseminate the emancipation message.

In 1862, the Emancipation League began to push the Federal government to create an emancipation bureau. Arguing that a national bureau could help to create order in dealing with emancipated slaves and in ensuring employment for them, members of the League urged Lincoln and the Senate to address the looming problem of the freedmen. As it had done with public opinion, the League emphasized education in its campaign for an emancipation bureau. It sent out a questionnaire to men in charge of freedmen in the Union Army and Treasury Department, and then it compiled the data into articles highlighting the chaos of the present system. The results of this survey served not only to undergird the League's arguments, but also to provide valuable information on the status of the freedmen.

The Emancipation League never had an easy relationship with the president. It criticized Lincoln for not committing to emancipation soon enough or enthusiastically enough, and it flirted with John C. Frémont and alternate Republican candidates in the election of 1864. During the Johnson administration, it pressured the president to include suffrage for freedmen in his reconstruction plan. In every case, the League found presidential leadership disappointing on questions of abolition and civil rights for black Americans.

The League officially ceased to exist during the Johnson administration. Deeply committed to voting rights for black Americans, it decided that public opinion and official action could be moved with the same tactics the League used for emancipation. Changing the name of the organization to the Impartial Suffrage Organization underlined this new focus, but the organization's tactics remained the same. Under its new rubric, editorials, articles, and lectures supporting black civil rights poured forth. Thus, while the Emancipation League ceased to exist in 1866, its energy and personnel simply shifted toward new goals, much as the sentiment behind abolition began to shift after the war toward a variety of new issues.

Fiona Deans Halloran

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; Antislavery Societies; Civilian Life; Election of 1864; Emancipation Proclamation (January 1, 1863); Freedmen's Bureau; Garrison, William Lloyd (1805–1879); Lincoln, Abraham (1809–1865); Union Homefront.

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Emancipation Proclamation (January 1, 1863)

This document, first announced on September 22, 1862, by President Abraham Lincoln, is commonly hailed as the instrument that initially freed the slaves in response to a series of events and developments, both political and military. It is an unusual document in that it freed the slaves only in territory behind Confederate lines in states that had seceded from the Union; it left the slaves behind Federal lines in bondage in the seceded states, as well as in slave states loyal to the Union such as Missouri and Kentucky. The Emancipation Proclamation did not

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free all of the slaves. It did not even declare slavery to be illegal, and it enjoined slaves to refrain from violent insurrection. The Federal government simultaneously enacted an endorsement enlisting black men into the army and navy.

Lincoln had been working on the document for some time, but he did not show it to his cabinet until midsummer 1862. There were mixed reactions, including Postmaster General Montgomery Blair's contention that it would make the Republicans lose the upcoming midterm Congressional elections. Secretary of State William Seward suggested that the president keep the proclamation quiet until the North had won a victory, lest it seem like a last shriek of desperation. When at last General George McClellan's army delivered the first serious check to Confederate General Robert E. Lee by ending his invasion of Maryland at the Battle of Antietam, Lincoln felt that this was victory enough. On September 22, 1862, five days after the battle, Lincoln preliminarily announced the proclamation, stating that it would become law on January 1, 1863, partly in the hopes that some Confederate states would give in and comply rather than suffer the consequences of forced emancipation.

Lincoln made changes in the preliminary proclamation and in the final Emancipation Proclamation that he signed into law on January 1, 1863. In the former, Lincoln mentioned his former pet projects of compensated emancipation and colonization, ideas he had promoted for years. As a member of the House of Representatives, in 1848, he had proposed a measure to end slavery in the District of Columbia, but it would have to be gradual, voluntary, and compensated. But the final draft of the Emancipation Proclamation made no mention of these proposals. The final document also authorized the use of African Americans in the armed forces, another item that did not appear in the preliminary announcement.

This proclamation has been an object of critical controversy since that time. In his own time, the Radical Republicans, with abolitionist fervor, continually protested Lincoln's lack of decisive action to free the slaves. Critics of Lincoln point to the Proclamation as a cynical political ploy from a president who was more interested in placating the Border States, conservative Republicans, and War Democrats than he was in freeing the slaves—that this was merely a military measure designed to keep the British out of the war by redefining it as a war against slavery. Others have called it an empty gesture, freeing only the slaves that the Federal Army had no power to free. On the other side, supporters, then and now, point out that the document thereafter defined every move of the Union army: Every time new Southern territory was occupied, emancipated slaves would be free in the practical sense. By defeating Confederate armies and occupying Southern territory, the Union armies necessarily freed slaves as a military by-product. Regardless of the Confederates' original war aims, their cause had been redefined into a war fought to keep their slaves in bondage, simply by resisting Federal invasion. The essential character of the war had been changed from a mere civil war to a struggle to free those in bondage. Sympathizers with the South, such as those in Great Britain, could no longer seriously entertain the possibility of helping the Confederacy. Aiding a new nation in a struggle for independence had some public relations appeal; aiding a nation in keeping its slaves in chains would never play well with British public opinion.

More recently, scholars have pointed out that Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation was only one more step in a process that had been begun by the slaves themselves, the so-called contrabands who had been escaping to Union lines since the beginning of the war. The two Confiscation Bills in Congress gave the Union army the right to seize and liberate the property—including escaped slaves—of those in rebellion against the government. Lincoln defended the partial liberation defined by the proclamation by pointing out that he, as president, had no constitutional authority to free the slaves but that he could take measures as commander in chief to punish those in rebellion against the Federal government. Whether he did this because it gave him a legal excuse to abolish slavery, as he had always wanted, or he reluctantly executed this half measure only in response to abolitionist and Radical pressure remains a matter of debate.

Randal Allred

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See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; African American Women; Antietam/Sharpsburg, Battle of (September 17, 1862); Border States; Contrabands; Freedmen's Bureau; Lincoln, Abraham (1809–1865); Politics; Slave Families.

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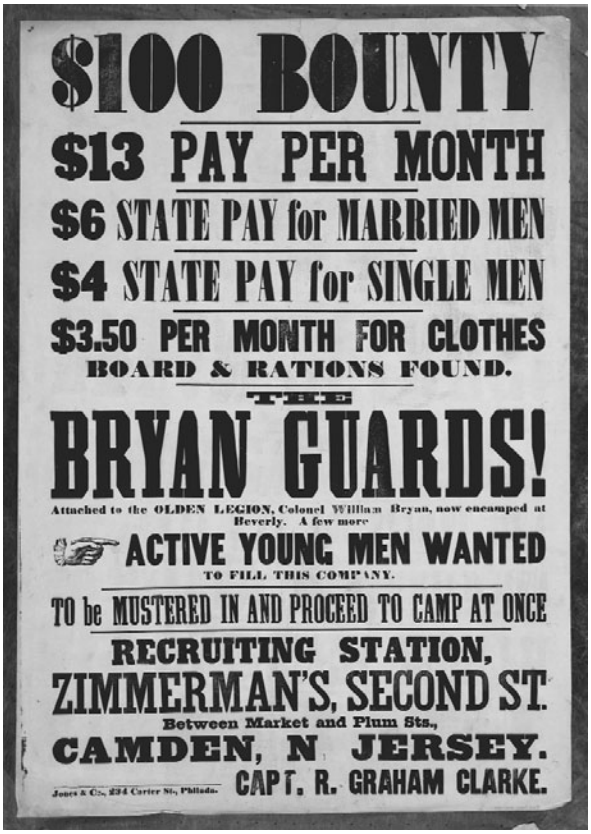
Enlistment

In both the South and the North, women had a vital role to play in the enrollment process. After the firing on Fort Sumter in April 1861, both sides mobilized for war by calling for volunteers. Almost no one, regardless of gender, considered women enlisting in the army to be a viable option, though some women disguised themselves as men to serve. In forming their armies, the Union and Confederacy mobilized soldiers as members of community units, and the entire community, both men and women, participated in the enlisting process. During subsequent enlistment drives, community pride was at stake, with towns competing against one another to enroll more men into the army. For both women and men in the North and the South, the patriotic zeal of the summer of 1861 eclipsed any prior lukewarm feelings regarding the need for war. The excitement of community competition and the social activities surrounding enlistment also overshadowed the harsh reality that some of the enlistees would not return home.

Politicians, prospective recruits, and women themselves recognized that women had a key role to play in the enlistment process. Women aided the process both tangibly and intangibly. Extending their traditional domestic duties, they raised money, donated their own valuables, rolled bandages, made cartridge bags, collected supplies, and made quilts,



Civil War poster advertising for recruits: $100 Bounty, $13 Pay per month, $6 State pay for married men, $4 State pay for single men, $3 per month for clothes, board and rations. (ac03077 / Collection of The New York Historical Society)

blankets, and tents. They also sewed uniforms. In 1861, the standard Union blue and Confederate gray had not yet emerged, and communities improvised their own styles and designs with gray being the most common choice of both sides. Most significantly, at least from a symbolic point of view, women also sewed the flags that the male members of their community would carry into battle.

To accomplish traditionally domestic tasks on a widened scale, the women of some communities formed committees. Generally, the wife of a prominent politician or army officer presided over the organization, which might meet in a local church. At these meetings, women would work alongside each other in a public display of their domestic abilities. Thus, from the early days of the

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war, women's contributions moved from a private to a public sphere. Although not an intentional move from the domestic sphere, these committees demonstrate the unintentional transforming effects of war. Many of these committees stayed in existence after enlistment drives to become soldiers' aid societies or to help care for soldiers' families.

Although some female diarists lamented that they could not enlist and bemoaned their position as women, more commonly women realized that they had a vital role to play in encouraging men to join the army. Women could use the romantic sentiments of the period as a form of intimidation to encourage men to enlist. Some women proclaimed that they would marry only soldiers, not cowards; they would marry a soldier or be an old maid. According to one popular Confederate song, "None but the brave deserve the fair." Others postponed engagements until after enlistments. Married women declared similar sentiments, asserting that they would not keep a husband who did not join the army. In other cases, some of which are perhaps apocryphal, women sent petticoats, bonnets, and hoopskirts to men who declined to serve their nation.

Women recognized that the enlistment of a male relative challenged their family's way of life and its economic security. Some women chose to put their families ahead of their country and urged their male relatives to remain at home. Yet, more commonly, women who feared the possible death of a male relative or the disruption of their domestic life realized that the shame of a healthy male failing to enlist would be cast on the whole family. Additionally, women had long been expected to subordinate their needs to those of society and their husbands, and they recognized that manhood required fighting for one's country. Thus, many women who had reservations about their husband's or son's service kept these concerns to themselves. While perhaps privately fearing the death of a relative or the difficult circumstances that the family left behind would face, publicly they appeared resilient, attempting not to cry at the departure of their loved ones. Those women continued to epitomize the expected feminine values of self-sacrifice and patient suffering that put public duty ahead of private interest. A Confederate poem, "I've Kissed Him & Let Him Go," demonstrated the sacrifices that women made for the army. While postwar speakers who spoke of mothers regretting not having more sons to provide to the army exaggerated, they probably did not miss the mark by much. Women from the Border States often faced an even more difficult balancing task than those of either the North or the South. In some cases, they found themselves attempting to mediate a family divided, with a son wishing to fight for one side and a husband supporting the other.

On the formal day of enlistment or departure, the community cemented its ties to its soldiers with a parade and a public gathering. Women crowded the parade route or the railroad station and cheered for, waved handkerchiefs at, and presented cards and flowers to the departing soldiers. A combination of excitement and sadness pervaded these events, with women trying to stifle tears, lest they unman the men they were sending forth.

The ceremonial presentation of a flag provided women their most public role in the enrolling of their sons, brothers, and husbands into the army. In this highly ritualized ceremony, the departing unit was given a flag sewn by the women of their community. In some cases, even the material symbolized the connection between soldiers and the women of the community, with the flag being made from a dress of the wife of one of the company's officers. The flags varied, some having political slogans such as "The Union as Our Fathers Made it," "Let Us Alone," or "The Rights of the South at All Hazards." Others contained local or regional symbols combined with national emblems. Though women remained publicly silent in most of these ceremonies, in others, an elite woman of the community gave a brief speech after unfurling and presenting the banner. They urged the enlisting soldiers to consider the flag, which was sewed as a labor of love, to be a reminder that the community's thoughts and prayers were with them and that the soldiers battled for their homes, their communities, and their country. Thus, the soldiers should protect the flag as they would protect their families, and, likewise, to dishonor it was to dishonor their entire community, including its women. The ceremony

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continued with a picnic or banquet with the women of the community cooking meals for the men they were sending forth to battle.

In the initial enlistment process in 1861, Northern and Southern women played similar roles, though evidence suggests that Southern women were given more credit for enlistments than their Northern counterparts. As the war continued, the roles of women in the two regions diverged, with Southern women coming to increasingly oppose the enlistment of their male relatives. This divergence stemmed from a combination of factors: the relative scarcity of men on the Southern homefront (whereas the North enlisted approximately half of its white, male, military age population, the South enlisted 75 to 85 percent of its eligible soldiers); the presence of the Union army in the South, which rendered Southern women more vulnerable to physical attack and to material privation than their Northern counterparts; and the increasing likelihood that the South could not win the war. As they had to do at the onset of the war, women continued to balance national and military needs with family and community needs, but, for Southern women more than Northern women, this balance shifted evermore to the family side of the ledger, leading more and more Southern women to oppose further enlistments. With the nation failing to protect their families, some Confederate women felt less and less inclined to hold up their end of the bargain.

John M. Sacher

See also Aid Societies; Border States; Confederate Homefront; Evans, Augusta Jane (1835–1909); Flags, Regimental; Fort Sumter (April 12–14, 1861); Honor; Music, Northern; Music, Southern; Nationalism, Confederate; Nationalism, Union; Nonslaveholding Southerners; Northern Women; Poets, Northern; Poets, Southern; Sewing Bees; Slaveholding Women; Southern Women; Union Homefront; Wartime Literature.

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Eppes, Susan Branch Bradford (1846–1942)

Floridian Susan Bradford Eppes recorded her Civil War era experiences in her memoir, *Through Some Eventful Years.*

Born on March 8, 1846, at Pine Hill Plantation, located north of Tallahassee, Florida, Susan Branch Bradford was the daughter of Dr. Edward and Martha Lewis Branch Bradford. Her maternal grandfather, John Branch, had served as governor and senator from North Carolina, as Secretary of the Navy, and finally as territorial governor of Florida. Susan's father worked as a physician before retiring from the medical profession to spend most of his time administering his several plantations in north Florida. By the time of the Civil War, Edward Bradford owned several thousand acres of land and one hundred and forty-two slaves.

Susan briefly attended a local female seminary, but she received her education primarily from a succession of tutors. As the member of a privileged social class, she spent the antebellum years enjoying social events and other luxuries. The secession crisis and Civil War altered the frivolity of her life. The Bradfords strongly supported the Confederacy. Susan and her family remained in the vicinity of Tallahassee throughout the war. Although north Florida was spared the worst of the fighting, the residents still suffered through the trials associated with life on the homefront.

Following the war, Susan married Nicholas Ware Eppes, an ex-Confederate officer. Together they had six children, five of whom survived to adulthood. The couple lived with Susan's parents after their marriage, and Eppes eventually took over the administration of the family plantation. He also served a number of terms as county Superintendent

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of Public Instruction. Eppes' brutal murder on September 3, 1904, provoked many rumors. Although three African American men stood trial for the crime, some believed that Nicholas was killed as a result of a conspiracy of corrupt state officials who feared Eppes might reveal their dealings.

Following her husband's death, Susan withdrew for a time from the public eye, though she eventually regained her position as one of Tallahassee's social elite. She became active in organizations like the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Daughters of the American Revolution.

In her later years Eppes authored two books relating to her experiences in Florida during the antebellum and Civil War years: *The Negro of the Old South* and *Through Some Eventful Years.* In addition, she wrote a number of historical articles and a volume of poetry. Like many Southerners, Eppes romanticized the antebellum plantation South.

While Eppes devotes considerable attention to life among the plantation elite during the 1850s, a large portion of *Through Some Eventful Years* deals with Florida's secession and the Civil War. She offers a detailed account of the state's January 1861 Secession Convention, the organization of military units at the war's outbreak, the role of Florida's Confederate women in supporting the war effort, the frustrations of dealing with wartime shortages, her father's establishment of a makeshift military hospital at Pine Hill Plantation, her recollections of the battles of Olustee and Natural Bridge, and the collapse of the Confederacy and the Federal occupation of Tallahassee. Part of the volume is written in the form of a diary, although the location of the original is unknown, and it was likely written from memory decades after the events actually occurred. As a result a number of details and dates are incorrect. However, *Through Some Eventful Years* remains a valuable source on Civil War–era Florida.

Susan Bradford Eppes died in Tallahassee on July 2, 1942. She was buried in her family's plot at Pine Hill Plantation.

David Coles

See also Aid Societies; Confederate Homefront; Hospitals; Plantation Life; Secession; Shortages; Slaveholding Women; Southern Women.

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Evans, Augusta Jane (1835–1909)

Augusta Jane Evans Wilson was one of the nineteenth-century South's most popular female authors.

Born in Columbus, Georgia, on May 8, 1835, Evans spent most of her childhood and preteen years in San Antonio, Texas, which provided her with the inspiration for her first novel, *Inez: A Tale of the Alamo.* In 1849 Evans moved with her family to Mobile, Alabama, where she lived until her death May 9, 1909. Her works with their dates of publication are as follows: *Inez: A Tale of the Alamo* (1856); *Beulah* (1859); *Macaria; or, Altars of Sacrifice* (1864); *St. Elmo. Or, Saved at Last* (1866); *Vashti; or, Until Death Us Do Part* (1869); *Infelice* (1875); *At the Mercy of Tiberius* (1887); *A Speckled Bird* (1902); and *Devota* (1907).

While many literary critics and reviewers panned her work along with that of many other domestic novelists, some, like O. J. Victor of the *Cosmopolitan Journal,* consistently praised Evans's work in reviews and editorials for her adherence to traditional sentimental values. More important, Evans's readers responded to her novels with enthusiasm. Though most of her works have been forgotten today, scholars consistently identify two of her books, *Beulah* and *St. Elmo,* as national best sellers for their periods of publication. Indeed, G. W. Carleton, Evans's publisher, was so sure of her popularity after the publication of *St. Elmo* that they sent her an advance of $25,000 for any novel she had to submit, sight unseen. Evans's works provoked loyal fans to name or rename homes, towns, steamboats, hotels, and pets as well as countless children in honor of her heroes and heroines. Eudora Welty may have even been one such loyal fan. In *The Ponder Heart,* Welty named the heroine who owned the Beulah Hotel Edna Earle Ponder.

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Despite the best-selling status of *Beulah* and *St. Elmo* and the generally prolific nature of her authorship, Evans is best-known for her third novel, *Macaria.* She wrote the novel on scraps of paper while she kept watch over Confederate soldiers' bedsides at Camp Beulah, a makeshift Civil War hospital near her home. Because it was published during the war and appeared initially only in the South, *Macaria* did not sell enough copies to warrant best-seller status. Even so, this war-themed novel contributed significantly to Evans's reputation as one of the leading literary women of the nineteenth-century South. One of only several books published in the South during the war, *Macaria* was arguably the most popular book in the Confederacy. Published on crude brown wrapping paper in 1863 by the Richmond firm of West and Johnson, more than twenty thousand copies eventually circulated throughout the South during the war. Filled with celebrations of the Southern way of life, tributes to the heroism of Southerners, the glorification of Confederate politics and victories, and criticisms of the demagogic North, *Macaria* delighted Southern men and women. The novel was so popular that it generated several romantic war legends. One such tale was based on a passage of the novel in which the hero survived because an enemy bullet hit the ambrotype of his lady love that he carried in his pocket. Similarly, the legend holds that a volume of *Macaria* had saved a Confederate soldier's life when a Yankee bullet struck it as he carried it over his heart. *Macaria* remained a continual favorite among Southerners for many decades after the war, being reprinted in 1867, 1869, 1875, 1887, 1888, 1896, and 1903. Over the years, and especially in the later editions, *Macaria* was altered to remove the most vitriolic denunciations of the North and some of the more obscure analogies, gaining it greater acceptance among Northern readers.

Even during the war, *Macaria*'s publication and popularity were not limited solely to the South. A few months after its Southern debut, Michael Doolady obtained a copy of it through the blockade and promptly published and sold five thousand counterfeits to Evans's Northern fans. While many such fans lauded it for its typically sentimental virtues, others did not receive *Macaria* as graciously. Northern General G. H. Thomas considered it so damaging to Northern morale that he banned it among his troops. Thereafter, if one of his soldiers was found with the novel, it was confiscated and immediately burned.

Although only the final hundred and twenty pages of the four-hundred-page novel dealt with the war, Evans clearly wrote the whole of *Macaria* in its context. In fact, it is the novel's treatment of the war that Southerners, male and female, probably found the most compelling. *Macaria* had a little something for everyone. For its male readers, it contained detailed descriptions of Southern heroism in the Confederate victory at first Manassas, the glowing account of which was provided to Evans by General Pierre G. T. Beauregard. The purely propagandistic elements decrying the North as the betrayer of the United States' heritage of democracy undoubtedly appealed to Southern politicians. Furthermore, the traditional sentimental trappings of the love story certainly pleased the female audience. Moreover, *Macaria* was a call to arms for Southern women. It gave them a portrait of exemplary feminine wartime behavior in the character of Irene Huntingdon, a beautiful and intelligent young woman born into a life of wealth and privilege, who gave everything up to serve the Confederacy when her beloved, Russell Aubrey, died in battle.

Although none of Evans's novels are purely autobiographical, *Macaria* perhaps comes closest with its nontraditional ending in which the heroine chooses to remain single because her true love dies in the war. In 1861, three years prior to the publication of *Macaria,* Evans had been engaged to James Reed Spaulding, a Northern journalist whom she had met several years earlier. She ended this engagement when the war erupted because she believed their opposing political positions—he was as pro-Northern as she was pro-Southern—would impede any chance for a happy marriage. While writing *Macaria* in the midst of the war and after the end of this engagement, Evans noted in letters to several friends that she had sacrificed love and her chance at matrimony for the Confederacy. As the war progressed well beyond the romantic notion of

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one decisive battle, the combination of the rising death toll among Southern men and her ever increasing age must have made her chances for true love and marriage seem increasingly slim. Despite all this, in 1868 Evans did marry, finding a spouse in Colonel Lorenzo Madison Wilson, a Confederate veteran several years her senior. They had been married over twenty years when he died in 1891.

A number of scholars have labeled *Macaria* a protofeminist novel, interpreting Evans's decision to keep her heroine Irene single as a feminist act. For these scholars, the nontraditional ending of an otherwise traditional domestic novel signals a significant transformation for Evans. Others disagree. They argue that such conclusions ignore important evidence. First, Evans's overall portrayal of women's proper place and duties in *Macaria* and in all her other works was consistently traditional. Never in any of her novels or in her own life did Evans advocate the overthrow of the traditional gender roles of the patriarchal system. Rather, she recognized the validity of nineteenth-century gender prescriptions. Second, any variation from this theme in *Macaria* was less a symptom of her own change in beliefs and more the result of the historical context of the war. In a region in which tens of thousands of young men would die before the war's end, these scholars argue, Evans empathized with the many Southern women who would face the dilemma of manlessness. For these scholars, Evans's *Macaria* is a traditional work of domestic fiction that recognized a grim future for the postwar South, asserting that, when marriage is impossible as it was for many Southern women during and after the war—and as it seemed for Evans herself—women can find happiness, fulfillment, usefulness, and perhaps even glory in their lives as single women. Her use of a heroine who chooses to remain unmarried was a reaction to the time in which she wrote and an attempt to deal with an emerging South in which many women would find themselves unable to attain the prescribed goal of marriage and domesticity.

Jennifer Lynn Gross

See also Confederate Homefront; Fiction Writers, Southern; Southern Women; Wartime Literature.

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Ewell, Elizabeth "Lizinka" McKay Campbell Brown (1820–1872)

Wealthy, independent, and from a prominent Tennessee family, Lizinka Campbell married Confederate General Richard Stoddert Ewell in 1863 and frequently accompanied him at camp. Following the war, her land holdings were the key to the family's financial success in stock breeding.

Daughter of George Washington Campbell and Harriot Stoddert, Elizabeth McKay Campbell was born in Saint Petersburg while her father was serving as U.S. minister to Russia. Nicknamed in honor of Czar Alexander's wife, Lizinka grew up in Nashville, Tennessee, as the daughter of a prominent statesman.

Richard Stoddert Ewell was Lizinka's cousin, the son of her mother's sister. The two spent time together during Ewell's first term at West Point in 1837 and the couple corresponded in subsequent years. In 1839 Lizinka married slaveholder James Percy Brown, an attaché in the American Embassy in Paris. They were married for five years and had three children before Brown committed suicide in 1844. Lizinka returned to Nashville with her children and spent the next two decades as a wealthy widow, having inherited vast tracts of land in Tennessee, Mississippi, and Missouri from

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her deceased husband, father, and brother. She had endured great personal loss but was left one of the most wealthy and influential women in the nation.

When Union forces took Nashville in March 1862, Lizinka fled to Virginia. Tennessee's military governor, Andrew Johnson, took up residence in Lizinka's house. When Richard Ewell fell wounded and lost his leg at the Battle of Groveton that fall, Lizinka came to Ewell's side and nursed him during his months of recovery at their cousins' estate of Dunblane in Virginia. The couple then moved to Richmond, where they married at Richmond's St. Paul's Episcopal Church on May 25, 1863.

After Ewell resumed command, Lizinka traveled with him in Virginia and organized her husband's affairs in the field, garnering resentment from her husband's officers. Ewell and his men suffered a series of tactical losses, and he was captured after the fall of Richmond in April 1865. After his capture, Lizinka set about reclaiming the majority of her landholdings that had been seized by the Johnson government. She directly and successfully petitioned the president, who restored her land titles within six months. Following Richard's parole, the couple settled in Tennessee on what would become known as Ewell Farm.

In the postwar years, Ewell Farm became a prominent stockbreeding plantation, being the first to introduce Jersey cattle to the South and also to breed some of the first harness racing horses in the country. In 1872, both Richard and Lizinka Ewell contracted a respiratory infection and died within two days of each other.

Kristen L. Rouse

See also Civilian Life; Confederate Homefront; Courtship and Marriage; Family Life, Confederate; Military Invasion and Occupation; Nurses; Southern Women.

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Factory Workers, Northern

As the Civil War forced Northern industries to increase the production of war materials, factories expanded and adapted. As men joined the armies and inflation soared, many Northern women took manufacturing positions to support themselves and their families. The factories they entered were becoming increasingly demanding places to work. To meet wartime needs, operators sped up the production process, required lengthened hours and work weeks, adopted machinery that allowed them to cut some positions, and turned a blind eye to increasingly hazardous health and safety conditions.

By 1861, native and immigrant women were firmly established as industrial workers in Northern factories, comprising 50 percent of all industrial workers and a much higher percentage of those in some industries. In spite of such numerical dominance, employers strictly limited the positions available to women to the least skilled and lowest paying.

Northern women's presence in factory work increased throughout the war as employers recognized them as effective workers who could be paid less than men for the same work. Increasing industrial capacity to arm and outfit Union troops, the largest group of fighting men ever assembled by the United States government up to that point, required a rapid shift from peacetime to wartime production. Some areas of manufacture, such as the tent industry, adapted quickly and profitably to the challenge and hired additional women workers to carry out its work.

Factories that had turned out sailcloth prior to the war soon turned to tent making for the Union armies. Women, who had made up the majority of antebellum sailmaking workers, now found work in central production facilities sewing tents, by hand or with sewing machines. Some male tent makers feared the intrusion of women into the factories and complained when women performed what had been men's work.

Not all sewing took place in factories. Some was performed by women hired by subcontractors to assemble products in a shop or their own homes. Subcontractors made their profits by paying seamstresses little or nothing, and this practice effectively lowered wages. Across the North, needlework became some of the most poorly compensated work. Union widows and soldiers' wives flooded into the needle trades, and the oversupply of workers caused wages to plummet while wartime inflation soared. Many women worked through contractors, who pocketed profits while women starved.

The plight of Northern women in needle trades became an issue of public concern. Consequently, male trade unionists, philanthropists, and the women themselves organized in attempts to improve factory work wages and conditions. They created protective associations and trade unions in several cities. Such associations were occasionally able to achieve small improvements in wages and conditions in New York, Philadelphia, and Detroit. Although female protective associations and unions made minimal gains during the war, they laid the

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groundwork for postwar labor organizations that helped increase pay and improve labor conditions.

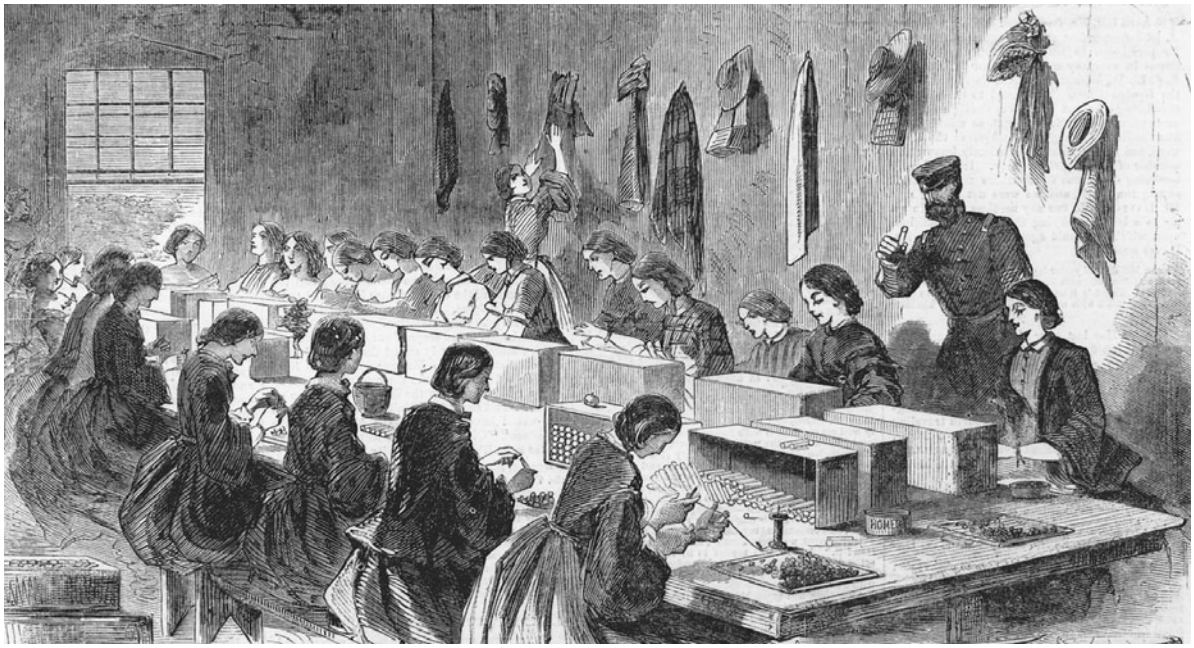
In some cases, struggling working women appealed directly to the Secretary of War and President Abraham Lincoln for help. They outlined their grievances, asked that government wages be increased to keep up with inflation, and requested that the government avoid the use of contractors and limit its profits. In Detroit, a protective association organized women and established a price scale and cooperative workrooms. Other associations trained women for new, higher-paying occupations such as operating a sewing machine. They also successfully pushed for protective legislation.

Northern women found more profitable work in other wartime industries, but these options presented greater threats to life and limb. In the summer of 1862, the Allegheny Arsenal hired young women to make cartridges in Lawrenceville, Pennsylvania, where the government did nothing in response to reports of hazardous conditions at the facility. On September 17, 1862, a spark from a wagon wheel ignited gun powder in the factory, causing an explosion in the ammunition room. Seventy young women, most between the ages of sixteen and twenty, were killed in the blast, the worst industrial disaster of the war.

War industries did well, but others languished. In some cases women who had worked in antebellum factories lost their positions during the war or saw their wages decline. Textile factories in Indiana found the war period to be one of decline rather than expansion. The blockade and restrictions on obtaining Southern cotton forced them to curtail production and the hours of workers, most of whom were women. Some factories even closed for short periods. Women workers, the first laid off and the last rehired, were forced to seek charity and relief services to survive.

African American women were some of the most distressed workers of the war. During the war they were generally excluded from factory work because employers feared racially motivated violence. White female factory workers, who feared competition, often physically assaulted Northern black women.

Theresa R. McDevitt



Filling cartridges at the United States Arsenal at Watertown, Massachusetts, *Harper's Weekly*, July 20, 1861. (Library of Congress)

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See also Allegheny Arsenal, Explosion at (September 17, 1862); Civilian Life; Factory Workers, Southern; Free Blacks; Immigrant Women; Northern Women; Union Homefront; Urban Women, Northern; Wartime Employment.

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Factory Workers, Southern

During the Civil War, thousands of black and white women worked in Southern factories. The wartime need to clothe, house, and arm the Confederate forces fostered an expansion of old and the creation of new manufacturing establishments and opened more positions to potential laborers. Economic necessity pushed more and more white women into industrial work to provide for themselves and their families. As enslaved males were impressed to work nearer the front, enslaved women took their places in factories. As the war progressed, increasing numbers of women took up places in Southern factories.

The antebellum economy of the South was overwhelmingly agricultural, but by 1860 the region had twenty thousand manufacturing establishments employing one hundred and ten thousand workers. Enslaved and free women and children made up a significant percentage of factory operatives, but they were generally restricted to the least skilled occupations with the lowest compensation.

White women were particularly well represented in textile production. In the antebellum era, poor families in the rural South attempted to improve their economic condition by moving to mill towns for work in nearby textile mills. There, women and children made up the majority of the workforce but were restricted to the lowest-skilled positions. Frequent fires, epidemic levels of communicable diseases, noisy machines, choking fibers, as well as heat and poor ventilation made working hazardous as well as uncomfortable. In addition, the pay these workers received barely provided for basic necessities.

African American slave women labored in many industries, including the production of textiles, hemp, and tobacco, as well as the milling of sugar, grist, and rice. The gendered division of labor that governed white factory workers did not apply to black women. As a result, slave women were compelled to perform the same heavy work as men in iron working, lumbering, building levees, and railroads.

The war spawned new industries, and mills already employing women expanded production dramatically to produce war goods, such as uniforms, blankets, and tents. Needing a way to provide for their families, women and their children entered factory employment in greater numbers than they had during the antebellum period. Jobs available to women remained the lowest paying and least skilled. Enslaved women in factories found strict controls on their forced labor and a deterioration in their already poor housing, clothing, and food allowances.

Life as a Confederate factory worker proved exhausting and often dangerous for women. The drive to produce goods for civilian and military consumers quickly led factory operators to extend workdays and workweeks, speed up production, and turn a blind eye to the safety and health concerns of their workers, particularly in hazardous new wartime industries. As production quotas increased, operators extended the workday from twelve to eighteen hours and the workweek from five to six days. Work was also sped up, and workers were directed to tend more than one machine. Conditions were increasingly unhealthy and hazardous.

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Furthermore, disruptions caused by enemy forces became added threats to workers in Southern factories. Invading troops commonly destroyed factories and the housing where operatives lived, and they sometimes forcefully removed female factory workers from their jobs and homes.

Munitions work was one of the most dangerous of the new wartime industries that employed women. An 1863 explosion in Richmond's Confederate States' Laboratory, where several hundred women worked making munitions, cost nearly fifty women and girls their lives. The casualties included girls as young as ten and young women in their early twenties. An investigation into the tragedy, the Confederacy's worst homefront disaster, discovered that the negligence of a young Irish female factory worker caused the explosion. However, it also revealed that poor safety conditions had increased the amount of damage caused—both to the factory and to the lives of its female workers.

Factory work in the Confederacy could also be dangerous as a result of the war itself. In some instances, wartime workers found themselves suddenly unemployed and without housing when invading troops reached them. In a dramatic episode in July 1864, hundreds of textile workers, many of them women, in the cotton and wool mills of Roswell and Sweetwater, Georgia, found their lives forever changed when General William T. Sherman's forces swept through the area. Invading Union troops destroyed the factories and the mill housing where textile employees lived. More surprising was Sherman's order to have the factory employees evacuated and sent north to Indiana. He considered these women traitors and wanted to prevent them from working in other factories to supply Confederate troops. Although the evacuation and transportation of factory workers was rare, women's loss of employment during the war was less so. By the end of the war, the destruction of textile mills by both retreating Confederates and invading Union soldiers was common.

Enslaved women found the war period offered even worse conditions for them than did the antebellum era. As male slaves were impressed for warfront work, African American women were sent to replace them in iron furnaces, in cotton and woolen mills, and in the production of war-related goods such as friction matches, army boots, shoes, hats, and saddles. With their work closely supervised and physical punishments common, black women were expected to do more than they had before, even as their already low housing, food, and clothing allowances were cut due to scarcity.

Theresa R. McDevitt

See also African American Women; Confederate Homefront; Factory Workers, Northern; Roswell Women; Southern Women; Urban Women, Southern.

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Fairs and Bazaars

A popular method of raising money for charitable purposes, nineteenth-century fairs and bazaars were planned and carried out by charitable people, but they were dominated by women. They combined the opportunity for social interaction and using domestic skills with charitable work. Wartime fairs and bazaars generally raised money for soldiers or freedmen and allowed women to gain management skills.

Fundraising bazaars were often elaborate affairs in both regions. Planning began months before the

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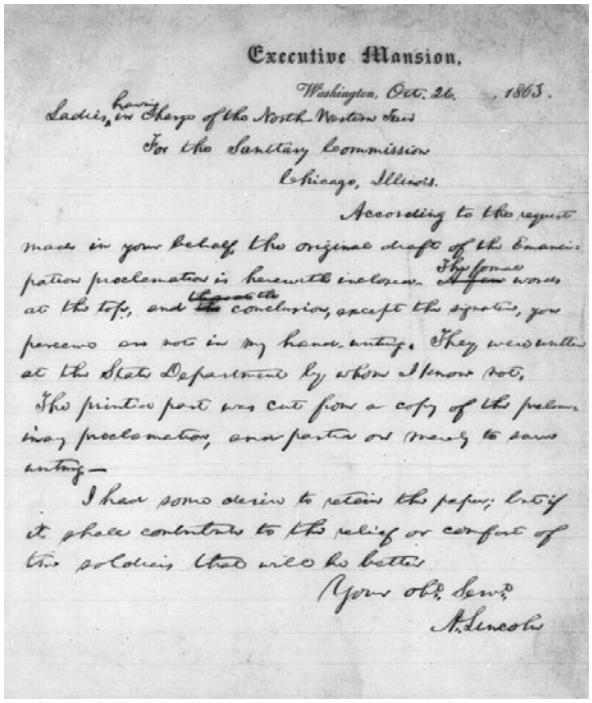
occasion. At meetings, participants determined goals and elected general managers for the event. Representatives of as many charitable groups as possible attended the meetings, which provided opportunities to catch up with old friends and make new ones. Women planned their own participation carefully. Some agreed to staff booths to sell handmade goods. Others served as hostesses for meals or entertainments, or they participated in concerts, plays, or tableaux. Planning committees recruited women to solicit and collect donations of money or materials or to invite dignitaries to attend. They chose the dates of the events and the location, and set entrance fees. All these activities reflected antebellum methods used to support charities.

In many ways the labor that Southern and Northern women performed for fairs was an extension of their domestic responsibilities. Many fairs and bazaars were organized around food. Strawberry festivals, oyster suppers, harvest meals, teas, and dessert tables formed the core of most fundraising efforts. Even the smallest event had some food or beverages for sale. Women collected, prepared, and sold food. The women added tables filled with handmade articles for sale. These items showed off their sewing and artistic skills just as the foods highlighted their culinary skills. Women sold items that included embroidery-covered caps, pen wipers, cigar cases, slippers, feathered items, hair jewelry, and shell, wax, paper, or feathered flowers. In the South, women highlighted items that demonstrated their resourcefulness in the face of shortages. At many bazaars specific groups of women sponsored themed tables. Planning the elaborate displays took many hours but often proved fun and satisfying for participants.

The planners of fairs called on the men of their towns to help. Men who had particular skills donated their talents for entertainment. If the community had a brass band, the men were invited to perform. Businessmen were asked to display their most modern items and encouraged to donate things for auctions. Women also solicited farmers to donate produce for the food tables. Men were also expected to purchase entry tickets for themselves and their families as well as many items and as much food as their wallets allowed.

During the Civil War, the number of charities receiving the money made by Southern and Northern women increased. Orphans, impoverished families, and churches continued to be the beneficiaries of donations from the affairs, but most of the efforts raised funds to support the troops. Initially women held small events to raise money for shirts, blankets, food, or medicine for local men who went to war. Eventually, most local Northern groups realized that they could be more effective working for the national aid societies, like the United States Christian Commission (USCC) and the United States Sanitary Commission (USSC). Without an overarching organization like the USSC, Southern fairs were locally managed and money was usually distributed to individual Confederate regiments.

In early 1863, the women of Lowell, Massachusetts, held a fair to support the USSC. They contacted every charitable group in the town for help. Each group agreed to sponsor some part of the



Executive Mansion.

Washington, Oct. 26, 1863.

Ladies, now in Charge of the North-Western Fair for the Sanitary Commission Chicago, Illinois.

According to the request made in your behalf the original draft of the Emancipation proclamation is herewith inclosed. The four words at the top, and the conclusion, except the signature, you perceive are not in my hand-writing. They were written at the State Department by whom I know not. The printed part was cut from a copy of the preliminary proclamation, and pasted on merely to save writing—

I have some desire to retain the paper, but if it shall contribute to the relief or comfort of the soldiers that will be better.

Your obt. Servt.

A. Lincoln

Abraham Lincoln to Ladies in Charge of North-Western Sanitary Fair, Monday, October 26, 1863. The Letter accompanied the original draft of the Emancipation Proclamation, which Lincoln donated for exhibit at the North-Western Sanitary Fair. (Library of Congress)

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undertaking, and the successful effort provided almost $5,000 for the USSC. The fair in Lowell set off a wave of giant fairs across the Union.

The women of the Northwest Branch of the USSC at Chicago began planning their first fair in the fall of 1863. They invited representatives of patriotic and charitable groups throughout Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin to attend their two-day organizing meeting and mailed nearly twenty thousand flyers to members of the groups as well as to town halls, newspaper editors, and ministers. The managers of the fair hired six buildings for the two-week event and planned a dining hall with more than a dozen tables that would be set and restocked up to five times a day during the fair. The ladies solicited donations of artifacts from the war and received captured swords, battlefield mementoes, flags taken from Rebel units, as well as tattered and torn ensigns from highly decorated units. Even President Abraham Lincoln responded by donating a copy of the Emancipation Proclamation. Beginning on October 27, 1863, five thousand people a day poured into the fairgrounds. Each paid 75¢ to visit the curiosities gathered in the halls, taste the many delicacies donated, play games, view floral displays, and attend concerts and speeches. The women raised nearly $79,000 through the Chicago fair. For the remainder of the war, other large fairs were held throughout the North.

Fairs in both regions provided the funds to establish soldiers' homes and homes for the soldiers' orphans. The events tested the abilities of women and encouraged their creativity in many fields. Women wrote and published newspapers, ran post offices during the fairs, kept detailed records and accounts, and negotiated for the purchase or rental of halls. In addition, participating women published accounts of their events and handled the press, dignitaries, and crowds. Their efforts provided comfort for needy men, women, and children, and they helped make charitable organizations financially strong.

Karen A. Kehoe

See also Columbia Bazaar (January 17–21, 1865); Confederate Homefront; Fundraising; Northern Women; Southern Women; Union Homefront; United States Christian Commission; United States Sanitary Commission

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Family Life, Confederate

The American Civil War exacted as heavy a toll on the families of Confederates as it did on the buildings, farms, and factories on which those families depended. The material burdens created by supporting Confederate armies, the physical necessity of sustaining slavery without men to police the institution, and the hardships and deprivations caused by Union invasion, confiscation, and hard war challenged every family and destroyed many. The nature of the war, especially the Union occupation of parts of the South and the Confederacy's defeat, challenged the intellectual and social basis of the Southern family. Before the war, many Southerners thought in terms of households—an extended group of people joined by their common dependency on a single head. But the war forced Southerners to abandon the obligations that brought indirect blood and nonblood relations under their roofs and led most white Southerners to reconceptualize their domestic space in terms of their immediate families. Both femininity and masculinity underwent significant changes during the war, and both changed shape once again at the war's end. The contingencies of war forced women into new occupations and roles, and the defeat of Confederate armies undercut the central element of prewar masculinity: protection of one's dependents. The political, economic, and, above all, racial challenges provided by Reconstruction compelled

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white Southerners to rebel against the changes in family organization created by the war and to recreate a traditional, hierarchical model of family life.

The nearly total absence of adult-age white men on the homefront marked the most important social effect of the war. In communities all across the Confederacy, enlistment rates for the armies routinely ran to 60, 70, or even 80 percent of eligible men. Women thus bore the brunt of sustaining their families. In addition to the pre-existing duties of raising children and household management, women were obligated to assume more active roles as income earners or, for rural families, as full-time farmers. These new duties concerned many women who believed in the prewar division of paid and unpaid labor between men and women. Many elite women looked with scorn on white women who resorted to paid work. The sight of women walking through the streets of major towns on their way to work in the mornings at factories, offices, and shops unsettled many observers. Eventually, however, social conservatives reconciled themselves to the changes, arguing that, if victory required the transformation of gender roles, they would accept the new conditions.

Among the most problematic new domestic responsibilities that women faced was the management and control of slaves. In slaveholding families, women were now responsible for the oversight of all slaves. They had to enforce rules, including physical punishment, something that women did not formerly do and that most did not like. Women were not the only ones who noticed this problem. Slaves often exploited signs of weakness among female masters, as women knew all too well. Letters to soldier husbands from wives left alone to manage slaves reveal the women's awareness that they did not command the respect that men did.

The burden of new responsibilities weighed even heavier on women because their prewar duties became vastly more difficult during the war. By mid-1862, the most pressing issue was ensuring a steady supply of food. The demands of Confederate armies took precedence for the nation, and huge volumes of foodstuffs were transferred to camps and battlefields across the region. Previously commonplace items, like coffee, sugar, and fresh fruit, became rare and eventually unobtainable in many places. Confederate women exercised significant creativity in inventing substitutes for daily items, but the absence of satisfying and nutritious food was felt by all families. Prices rose continually throughout the war, exacerbating the problems of scarcity. Despite the difficulties of securing food, clothing, and shelter, women struggled to maintain family connections by writing to distant relatives, by spreading news and stories of loved ones, and by convening with local friends and family to celebrate events whenever possible.

Location profoundly affected how Confederate families experienced the war. Unlike the soldiers, who moved around, most white families remained in their home communities. People who resided in the interior parts of the Confederacy, such as central and western North and South Carolina and central and southern Georgia, did not see Union troops until late in the war, if ever. Many of these communities suffered the same strains of scarcity and high prices as communities closer to the centers of military action, but they did not have to contend with the added problem of occupation. Families in northern and central Virginia, east and central Tennessee, and northern Alabama, by contrast, experienced persistent Union invasion and occupation from the early days of the war. Places that were permanently occupied, such as New Orleans, remained reasonably stable, and families could usually obtain food and news and mail. But places along the shifting borders between Union and Confederate territory saw the harshest conditions. Periodic raids from troops of either army kept civilian institutions perpetually suspended. As a result, churches, schools, and courts all discontinued their activities or held them irregularly. Raids likewise consumed most of the agricultural products of these regions, exacerbating the problem of scarcity. The solution to such problems in these areas required Confederates to adopt more flexible attitudes toward their relationships with Union soldiers than most of them would have preferred. In the lower Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, for instance, Confederate civilians traded with enemy

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soldiers to obtain the necessities of life, rejoicing in opportunities to gouge Yankees who were desperate for tobacco and ignoring the ethical problems raised by cooperating with their oppressors.

For families who felt the shock of invasion too often or suffered under the anxiety of what trauma such an event would bring, abandoning their homes became an alternative. The first refugees were the wealthy planters and their families who abandoned the South Carolina Sea Islands in the wake of the Union navy's capture of the region in November 1861. Unlike many other refugees, the Sea Islanders often had second homes at inland locations, so their movement was more of a relocation than a flight. For most refugees in the Confederacy, leaving one's home meant a leap into the void. The effort to hold together household possessions, slaves, and children in the confusion of movement often overwhelmed people. The reports of refugees vividly capture the chaos of flight, as slaves sought opportunities to escape and household goods spilled from overstuffed caravans. Many travelers lost their slaves in flight. Becoming refugees thus often precipitated the very event that Southerners anticipated the Yankees were planning to force upon them: the loss of their slaves, homes, and worldly possessions.

Surprisingly, the turmoil of war did not dim Southern notions of domesticity. Women labored to maintain regular household routines as much as possible, and both families and soldiers focused on the themes of domestic affection in their correspondence. If anything, soldiers developed more highly attuned romantic sensibilities. Long days in camp, surrounded by other lonesome men, led most correspondents to focus their attention on the glories and memories of their loving families. Soldiers lamented their missed families and homes. Few could think of anything beyond the return to normalcy that home promised, and soldiers filled letter after letter with plaintive reminiscences of times together and dreams of a reunited future.

The fact of asserting that their families were the center of their lives and that their identities as husbands and fathers were the most important to them personally had profound ramifications for how soldiers understood their military duties. The majority of soldiers conceptualized their families as the main reason for their sacrifice, but, as those families suffered hardships, soldiers differed in their responses. Some men, responding to pleas from their wives or children that they abandon the armies and return to protect them, deserted and assumed what they took to be their primary obligation: ensuring the survival of their family. The perceived need for desertion seems to have been more common for the men whose families were exposed to Northern armies late in the war, though it never affected a majority of men in uniform. Many North Carolina and Georgia soldiers received requests for help from home in late 1864 and early 1865, and some subsequently deserted.

Far more men, however, stayed in the army, and their decisions were, more often than not, based on supporting their families as well. These men believed that they could most effectively protect their loved ones by sticking with the armies and saw the preservation of the Confederacy as a crucial precondition for the success of their domestic lives. The more hardship families suffered, the more it strengthened the sense among some soldiers that they must not give up. Even as families might have preferred that their soldier husbands or fathers return home, soldiers understood a renewed obligation based on the sacrifices of loved ones at home. The shared sense of sacrifice, something that was hardly avoidable for most Confederates by 1863 given the scarcity of food, bonded civilians and soldiers together in a deep commitment to creating a truly independent Confederacy.

The unexpected situation in which men felt they could protect their starving families by remaining in the armies was not the only unpredictable outcome of the war and its effect on Confederate families. Women themselves had substantially reshaped the contours of Southern femininity through their willingness to adopt new duties traditionally reserved for men. Ultimate defeat in the war made clear that Southern white men had failed in their basic masculine duty of protecting their dependents. These two elements put the system of gender relations on which the Southern family rested under great strain. One possible outcome could have been the

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creation of a new system of gender duties, with public and private responsibilities balanced more evenly between men and women. Instead, in the postwar era many white Southerners embraced a return to an extreme version of prewar gender relations. The shock of defeat and the necessity of shoring up the idea of hierarchy in a suddenly emancipated society overwhelmed the movement toward shared duties that started during the war.

The conservative turn in gender relations could also be seen in the shape that Southern families assumed in the aftermath of the conflict. Throughout the conflict, enslaved African Americans had seized opportunities to find freedom—running away to the Union army or the North and actively aiding the Union army as it entered the South—and most Southern whites interpreted this behavior as a betrayal. Long conditioned to regard slaves as docile and obedient, whites were shocked and angered to find an effective enemy in their midst. As a result, most of them interpreted emancipation as absolving them of any future responsibilities toward African Americans. The effort to subjugate black Southerners in the postwar world required nearly unanimous participation by whites. This solidarity grew out of and strengthened the renewed commitment to a hierarchical form of gender relations.

The conservatism that dominated Southerners' postwar recreation of gender roles also influenced the size and shape that their families assumed. The violence and hardships of war burned away much of the Southern household. Confederate defeat, by repudiating the central value of Southern masculinity, compelled men to draw much narrower boundaries around their homes in the postwar era. The households that had characterized the antebellum period became the families of the postbellum period. The result was a fracturing of one of the antebellum South's most important social institutions. The new family included only whites, and the bonds among members were cemented by an affection strengthened by the absences and hardships caused by the war. It was this institution, a family born of war, that carried the white South through Reconstruction and into the era of Jim Crow.

Aaron Sheehan-Dean

See also African American Women; Civilian Life; Confederate Homefront; Destruction of Homes; Destruction of Personal Property; Domesticity; Food; Guerrilla Warfare; Military Invasion and Occupation; Nationalism, Confederate; Nonslaveholding Southerners; Shortages; Slaveholding Women; Southern Women.

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Family Life, Union

The initial impact of the war on the Northern family was the separation of family members from one another. Fathers, husbands, and brothers enlisted and prepared to leave for camp, and mothers, wives, and sisters assisted their new recruits in support of the cause. Victorian ideals about gender roles and the family shaped how Union soldiers and female civilians participated in and were affected by the war.

By the mid-nineteenth century, middle-class husbands and wives gradually viewed one another as partners in a companionate marriage. In addition, children were regarded as individuals who required love and nurture. As parents became increasingly conscientious about child rearing and child development, a new division of sex roles emerged within the family. The father assumed the position of sole breadwinner for the family and the wife reared the children. Men provided the economic support and protection for the home, while

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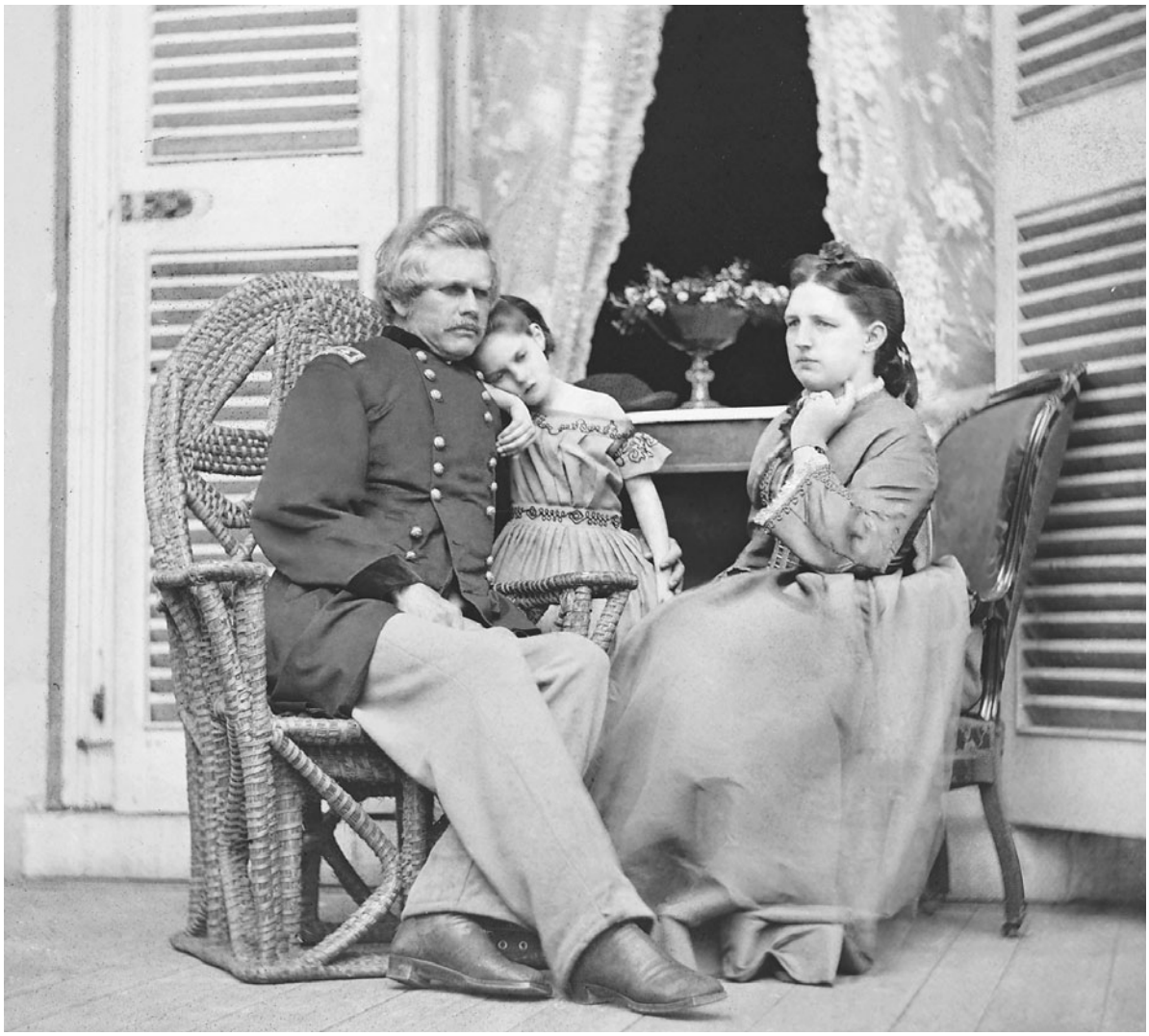

Union Gen. Edward O. C. Ord with his wife and child at the residence of Jefferson Davis. In the doorway is the table on which the surrender of Gen. Robert E. Lee was signed, April 1865. Gen. Ord was a career officer. He and his wife, Mary Mercer Thompson, had thirteen children. (Library of Congress)

women emotionally nurtured, spiritually guided, and physically refreshed family members.

The antebellum North had many classes of people, however. The working-class family had much in common with the middle-class family. In these households, the two-parent, nuclear family was the norm; the wife seldom worked for wages outside the house; the division of labor was gender based; and family members treasured the sanctity of the home. Most of these similarities derived not from emulation, but rather from economic necessity. Home ownership and a gendered division of labor allowed families autonomy within the household and gave them a place to reassert family and class obligations. The lifestyles of working-class families differed from middle-class families most in their use of the streets. Members of working-class families scavenged, hawked, sold goods, and socialized outside their homes.

Black families utilized similar techniques to ensure the family's survival. The two-parent, male-headed, nuclear family was the dominant house-

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hold among free blacks. African American families, like their white counterparts, provided both emotional and physical support for their members. They recognized the sanctity of marriage and had a gender-based division of labor. Although similarities existed between working-class and African American families, racism and economics further defined the lives of African Americans. Racism in the North affected the type of employment blacks could get, where they lived, and their access to education and transportation. These factors in turn ultimately influenced a family's income, status, and survivability. The two greatest sources of support for black families came from the African American community and from the emotional strength and hope gained from religion.

Nuclear family, male-headed households responded to President Abraham Lincoln's call for troops on April 15, 1861. A whirlwind of activity began as Northern citizens gathered for local war meetings. Across the North, white and black, old and young, men, women, and children met to discuss the impending war. As the protectors of hearth and home, men enlisted in local regiments, and the women of their families helped them get ready for battle.

Women also took on their own tasks in preparation for war. Following the tradition of antebellum benevolence work, Northern women created soldiers' aid societies to send their men to war with supplies. Women also presented the men of their communities with a regimental flag at ritualized farewell celebrations attended by most of the town. Over the course of the Civil War, tens of thousands of women would work for soldiers' aid societies as their part in putting down the rebellion.

Children, too, felt the impact of the war and were perhaps its most innocent victims. They were inundated with war news and the patriotic fervor that swept through their towns. Boys and girls quickly took up the cause by scraping lint at their local aid society, participating in concerts to raise money for society supplies, and contributing their meager savings or clothes for runaway slaves or contrabands. Some also began their own juvenile societies. Children enjoyed dressing in military garb or wearing patriotic ribbons, visiting the local recruiting camps and watching the soldiers drill, and cheering local regiments as they marched off to war.

But families learned that the festivities ended as the last soldiers marched out of town. With their men gone, it fell to the women to maintain the family, household, farm, and business. These multiple duties put tremendous pressure on women during the war. Not only did many women become single parents overnight, but they also had to continue their own household chores while taking on the responsibility for their husbands' work. Some women reveled in the expanded responsibility and freedoms attached to male authority. Many became good farm and business managers, thereby relieving their husbands' concerns about the prosperity and security of home. Other women dreaded the public interaction with men that business required, as well as the anxiety created by dealing with business finances. In addition some were simply not suited to this work and willingly gave up the duties when their husbands returned home. Because farming and business had primarily been the purview of men, women generally relied on male relatives on the homefront to guide them in money matters and farming decisions. Women also wrote letters to their husbands seeking advice on plowing, planting, weeding, and harvesting crops, as well as on basic home maintenance. However, the unreliability of the mail and the inability of husbands to understand wartime circumstances on the homefront, eventually led women to trust their own opinions. The deaths of loved ones brought the greatest hardships, leaving permanent emotional and physical scars on families.

Wives, mothers, daughters, and sisters used letters to stay in contact with their soldiers. Letters represented not only communication with family and friends, but also an essential psychological link with loved ones. In their correspondence, soldiers treated relatives to a taste of military life, and civilians responded with domestic details. Letters connected the soldiers to their homes and families by allowing them an outlet through which they could reveal the woes of war and receive news of the world outside the army. In addition, soldiers' families felt

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connected to the cause through their volunteers. They followed the battles through reports in local newspapers and through letters from loved ones. Because mail could be slow and newspapers often printed faulty information, the war caused much stress for families at home. Too often newspapers reported men dead when in fact they had survived a battle. In other instances, the papers reported the reverse: that someone who had died had survived.

Along with these psychological difficulties, many soldiers' families suffered physical hardships. Many civilian families depended on their soldier's pay to sustain them. A private in the Union army earned $13 a month at the start of the war and saw an increase to $16 a month toward the end of the war. Because the paymaster averaged a six-month backlog on pay, by the time the soldier was paid, he and his family had often accrued debts that needed immediate attention. Likewise, some soldiers gambled and drank their money away, leaving their families destitute.

Wives tried to supplement the family income through paid work. However, because of household chores and child care duties, women were not always successful. Some soldiers' aid societies paid poor soldiers' wives and widows to sew shirts and knit socks for the soldiers. For example, the wives and daughters of soldiers in Chelsea, Massachusetts, received 11¢ per shirt. Each woman usually made four shirts a day, but still made hardly enough money to survive with inflated war prices. The most destitute soldiers' wives received food from sympathetic aid societies.

The desperate times faced by white families could not compare to the destitution experienced by black soldiers' families during the war. When Lincoln called for troops in 1861, Northern blacks, like their white counterparts, gathered in war meetings. However, when African Americans offered their services, they were turned away. They bided their time, and, after the passage of the Emancipation Proclamation and the Enrollment Act in 1863, black men were finally allowed to enlist in the Union army. As had white men and women, black families answered their country's call. African American men enlisted in colored regiments, and black women worked in soldiers' aid societies, joining existing societies or forming their own. As did white soldiers, black enlistees kept in contact with loved ones through the mail. Black families could also learn about their soldiers in the pages of African American–owned newspapers like Philadelphia's *Christian Recorder* or New York City's *Anglo-African.*

African American soldiers and their families faced a difficulty specific to their race. Pay became perhaps the most destructive issue for African American soldiers. Despite the fact that Northern black men had enlisted with the promise of receiving the same pay as their white counterparts, the soldiers soon discovered that this equality was not a reality. The paymaster offered black soldiers a salary of only $10 a month with $3 deducted for uniforms. White Union soldiers received a higher pay rate and had no uniform deduction. Out of principle, many black soldiers refused to accept the pay offered, believing that their refusal would serve the cause of freedom and equality. Unfortunately, the soldiers' gesture put pressures on their families, who were struggling to make ends meet. Families sent letters detailing their difficulties; some were starving and freezing, while others ended up in the poorhouse. Not until August 1864 did Congress rectify the situation, passing a bill that provided equal pay for black soldiers. In the meantime, black women, already at the bottom of the pay scale, had to turn to help from the black community.

In spite of the fact that African American men were risking their lives on the battlefield for the Union, blacks were routinely subjected to racism at home. The Enrollment Act allowed for the enlistment of black soldiers, but many Northern whites did not agree with the idea. Some civilian whites took out their frustrations with Lincoln's policies on black men and women. In addition, most Northern restaurants, hotels, schools, streetcars, and trains were segregated, and blacks were denied equal access to jobs and housing. Racism figured prominently in the July 1863 New York City draft riots when working-class Irish mobs targeted African Americans. In a violent backlash against Lincoln's

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Emancipation Proclamation and the Enrollment Act, hundreds of black citizens were forced from the city, fearing for their lives. After four days of violence, the mobs had killed eleven blacks, destroyed and looted numerous black homes, and burned the Colored Orphan Asylum.

The exigencies of war shaped family life for all in the Union—white or black, middle or lower class. Women of all ages, classes, and races equipped and sent their men to war and then took on the additional work of the homefront household. They aided the war effort through work in soldiers' aid societies and by sending letters to remind soldiers of the goodness of home. They often endured psychological hardships brought on by having a loved one in harm's way. Many lower-class and black women suffered physical hardships when their husbands' pay was delayed. Overall, Northern women felt the sacrifices and hardships that war brought and worked to preserve their families throughout the conflict.

Patricia Richard

See also Aid Societies; Civilian Life; Domesticity; Draft Riots and Resistance; Free Blacks; Fundraising; Girlhood and Adolescence; Letter Writing; Northern Women; Shortages.

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Farm Work

Farm families confronted a major problem during the Civil War. In particular, they had to determine who would raise the crops and livestock when the men were away. Women had always participated in farm work, although the extent to which they did so varied by ethnic group, socioeconomic status, and location. On many farms, women were responsible for some dairying, poultry care, and occasionally assisting with fieldwork during planting and harvest seasons when they could be spared from other household, family, or profit-making obligations.

With as many as one-third of Northern farm laborers and a smaller but still significant portion of owners and tenants in military service, it was inevitable that women would help fill the void. In 1863, a writer for the Illinois Agricultural Society urged women to put on thick-soled shoes, sunbonnets, and their "other dress" to take the place of men. Women informed their husbands of their willingness to take on all duties during the war, including raising crops, paying taxes, and otherwise supporting the war effort. As a result, during the Civil War, Northern food and fiber production soared even as many rural communities lost manpower. While mechanization played an important part of the solution to the labor problem, farm women were critical workers in the fields and farmyards and also important decision makers on Northern farms. The women who labored on Northern farms helped preserve the Union by doing more fieldwork or even adding new tasks to their already heavy burden of taking care of homes, raising children, producing and preserving food, and making clothes.

Contemporary observers noted the important role that women played in Northern agriculture. In 1863 Mary Livermore of the United States Sanitary Commission, traveling through Wisconsin and Iowa, commented on the prevalence of women in the fields, as well as their ability to bind sheaves with precision and their skill in using horses to thresh grain by treading. The *New England Farmer* reported in 1863 that women seldom worked in the fields before the war, but thousands took on the tasks necessary during wartime. Throughout the Northwest, women

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operated reapers, bound and shocked sheaves, and loaded grain during the summer small grain harvest. One Milwaukee correspondent reported, after a trip to Wisconsin's "northern counties" in 1864, that the fields were filled with women and children doing farm labor. That year an editor of a Green Bay paper noted that the work of immigrant farm women made up for the loss of male laborers to the armies. European-born women, unlike many native-born women, shared a tradition in which they regularly performed fieldwork. This work was stigmatized in peacetime but became an asset in wartime.

Correspondence between wives and their soldier husbands details the specific accommodations they made on the farm to meet the crisis. In New York, Rosella Benton and her children conducted tillage, planted field and garden crops, harvested, milked seven cows, and made good money selling butter and eggs. Benton hired men to help with the most physically demanding labor of haymaking, but she hired a girl to do housework while she did the barn chores and fieldwork. Similarly, Iowan Sarah Carr Lacey supported her family by milking nine cows and selling butter at high wartime prices after her husband enlisted in 1862. In addition to taking care of a garden and milk cow on her family's Iowa farm, Maria Sharp struggled to chop enough wood to warm her family, took in washing for other families, and stripped sorghum cane for molasses. The Roberts sisters of western New York conducted all the family harvesting, haying, dairying, and cheese manufacturing on their farm.

Not all women did as much farm work as Benton, Lacey, Sharp, or the Roberts women. Officers' wives or women who married men with large estates frequently engaged tenants to run the farm in their husbands' absence. Women sometimes made arrangements with tenants, although the men cautioned their wives not to rent to Copperheads. Mary Vermillion's husband, an infantry captain, stated that he would rather let their farm remain idle than rent to a Copperhead. Women frequently relied on their fathers or in-laws as farm labor.

There was more to farm work than simply tending crops and livestock. Managing the farm was also work, and women often assumed responsibility for this critical task, even instructing hired men and tenants. In most cases, the degree to which women managed the family farm varied with the degree of cooperation from the absent husband. Rosella Benton not only did much of the physical labor on the family's New York farm, but she also made important decisions about marketing products. The longer they were separated, the less her husband John made management suggestions, recognizing that he was not in the best position to understand the situation back home. Other women were passive about managing the farm, relying more on the absent husband or soliciting advice on marketing livestock and other issues from kin and neighbors.

The war was a time of increased production in the Northern states in spite of manpower losses due to military service. While historians have attributed much of these increases to the mechanization of farming, particularly the rapid spread of the mechanical reaper, it was still important to have people to sow, bind, and thresh the grain. Furthermore, most farm work was done by hand, most notably raising the corn crop, tending livestock, and growing truck crops. Immigration to the North continued during the war and provided some of the labor needed to meet domestic and foreign demand for Northern commodities, but women's contributions played a decisive role in keeping farms intact and productive during the war.

Joe L. Anderson

See also Immigrant Women; Northern Women; Plantation Life; Rural Women; Union Homefront; Wartime Employment.

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Felton, Rebecca Ann Latimer (1835–1930)
Reformer, journalist, women's activist, temperance reformer, writer, orator, and teacher, Rebecca Ann Latimer Felton was the first woman to serve in the United States Senate. She and her family spent the war in Georgia, narrowly avoiding the devastation of Sherman's March through the state.

Born June 19, 1835, in De Kalb County, Georgia, Rebecca was the daughter of Charles Latimer, an area merchant and planter, and Eleanor Swift. In 1852 she graduated from Madison Female College, and the following year she married William Harrell Felton, a Methodist minister and physician who had already served in the state legislature.

They lived in Cartersville, Georgia. Of their five children, only one survived to adulthood. A daughter died in 1857, at the age of one. Two sons died during the Civil War—one from measles, the other from malaria. The Civil War and the lack of supplies and treatment available during the war may have contributed to both deaths.

Felton was very concerned about the issues of slavery and secession. Although William Felton favored the Confederacy, Rebecca was not a secessionist—she was dismayed when her son, John Latimer, appeared in Rebel garb. She claimed to own one of the few existing copies of the original proceedings of the Secession Convention of 1861, and she opined that Georgia was the crucial state in the formation of the Confederacy. After Georgia seceded, the Feltons assisted their community in the war effort; William served as a Confederate surgeon at a military camp, and Rebecca sewed shirts.

The Civil War complicated the Feltons' lives, just as it did those of other Southerners. They had to make do without everyday conveniences, including certain foods, cooking supplies, and materials for clothes. Due to the Federal blockade, Felton, like her fellow Southerners, had to substitute sweet potatoes and other foods for coffee. In the late summer of 1863, several soldiers wounded in the battles at Chickamauga arrived in Cartersville; Rebecca attended to the injured.

In March 1864, the Feltons moved to Macon in the hopes of avoiding more battles. However, during the summer they found themselves raided by those under the command of General George Stoneman. About this time, measles became an epidemic at the farm, causing seven deaths in two weeks, including that of the Feltons' son, William Jr. In the fall of 1864, Rebecca went to Crawfordsville, Georgia, to nurse her ill mother; she narrowly avoided William T. Sherman's army. As Sherman approached, she took her children to Quitman, Georgia, near the Florida border. On the way, Felton saw Federal prisoners being transferred from Andersonville to other prisons.

Rebecca Latimer Felton, the first woman to serve in the U.S. Senate (1835–1930). (Library of Congress)

When Rebecca returned to Macon, a wounded Confederate soldier was in one of the beds. In the following months, several others visited the farm, including Confederate officers demanding food, deserters, and liberated slaves. When the Feltons returned to Cartersville, theirs was one of the few homes still standing.

In January 1866, the Feltons founded a school in the Methodist church, at which Rebecca taught three classes and gave piano lessons. Because education had virtually ceased during the Civil War, her students ranged from children to soldiers.

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Following the Civil War, Felton served as the press secretary and campaign manager for her husband in his campaigns for the United States House of Representatives, where he served from 1875 to 1881. She also supported her husband in his final unsuccessful 1894 bid for a Senate seat. Both Feltons spoke out against convict labor and leasing, a practice that allowed women and children convicts to be housed with men; convicts worked at lumber mills, plantations, and railroads and they were housed in camps.

In 1885, the Feltons purchased the Cartersville *Courant,* a weekly newspaper that Rebecca edited. A dedicated feminist, Rebecca advocated female admission to state universities. She published her strong opinions via articles and editorials in the *Jackson Herald,* in the *People's Party Paper* (Atlanta), and later in a column in the *Atlanta Journal* (1899–1920s). At times her outspoken nature became a political liability to her husband.

Rebecca Felton also published a number of memoirs. In her first, *My Memoirs of Georgia Politics* (1911), she recounted the legislative history of Georgia, its 1861 Secession Convention, the politics of Reconstruction, as well as presidential and other elections from 1844 to the end of the nineteenth century. She also described the debates of the Confederate Congress, the early Confederacy in Montgomery and its move to Richmond, and the life of Alexander H. Stephens, vice president of the Confederacy. In *Country Life in Georgia* (1919), she detailed her childhood and early married life in Georgia. This volume included vivid descriptions of her escape from Sherman's March to the Sea, Southern women in the Civil War, and slavery in the South.

In November 1922, she became the first woman to serve in the United States Senate, appointed by Governor Thomas Hardwick upon the death of Thomas E. Watson. She filled the position for only twenty-four hours, until a successor was elected.

Although Rebecca was known for her reformism in convict labor and woman suffrage, she retained the traditional regional views on race issues. She blamed the freedmen for the demise of the Southern farm. During the 1890s, with the increased accusations of the rape of white women by black men, she applauded the subsequent lynchings, fearing the alleged rapists. She linked such rape with black voting, whiskey, and interracial lusts.

Rebecca Felton died January 24, 1930, in Atlanta.

Ralph Hartsock

See also Confederate Homefront; Disease; Military Invasion and Occupation; Nurses; Secession; Sherman's Campaign (1864–1865); Shortages; Southern Women.

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Fiction Writers, Northern

During the American Civil War, female authors in the North created a litany of writings for public consumption. Many of these authors used poems, short stories, and novels as explicit political commentaries on the state of public affairs; others created literary forms that seemed unconnected to the war.

Most Northern women writers during the Civil War came from urban, white, middle-class families. Like their prominent male counterparts, including Walt Whitman, Herman Melville, and Ambrose Bierce, female writers benefited from a public audience that was eager for written news and entertainment. Unlike their male counterparts, however, female authors were constrained by a society that typically expected women to refrain from expressing independent and political ideas in public. As a result, most female authors carefully balanced the content of their writing with the era's gender norms.

During the war, the literary marketplace expanded to include new venues, even as established venues expanded their circulations. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper,* created out of the secessionist turmoil, was one of many outlets for

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war-related short stories. By the end of 1860, it boasted a circulation of one hundred sixty-four thousand. Other established periodicals had impressive circulations as well. *Harper's Weekly* printed and sold more than one hundred fifteen thousand copies in 1861, and *The Atlantic Monthly* circulation grew to thirty-two thousand copies by the middle of the war. Some local publications had even greater reach. The *New York Ledger,* for example, had a readership of about four hundred thousand at the start of the war. Traditional publishing houses also expanded to capitalize on the widespread interest in the war, which led to the publication of hundreds of volumes of poetry, anecdotes, incidents, documents, illustrations, and pamphlets. Northern women created many of them. In July 1861, for example, Mary J. Webber and Phebe Anne Coffin Hanaford published the patriotic poems of prominent antebellum writers in *Chimes of Freedom and Union.* In addition to including established male writers like Oliver Wendell Holmes and John Greenleaf Whittier, the volume also contained the poetry of several women, including Harriet Beecher Stowe, Lucy Larcom, Rose Terry, and Lydia Sigourney.

Sarah Josepha Hale's *Godey's Lady's Book* offered a unique venue for female authors. When the war began, it had a national circulation of one hundred fifty thousand, which gave it one of the nation's largest readerships. In addition to providing a forum for Hale to promote social causes through her own fictional and nonfictional accounts, *Godey's Lady's Book* served as a place for women to read the writings of other women. Although Hale published the writing of men as well, the magazine contained many songs, recipes, short stories, household hints, and other articles of interest to middle-class women. The wartime disruption of the mail limited the number of Southern readers, but the magazine did not become explicitly political. Even as it consistently published short stories about the war and was colored by sectional overtones, Hale insisted that the volume remain a national publication.

In contrast to Hale's experience, the expansion of the literary market rarely translated into economic security for female authors. Most women writers received significantly lower rates than their male counterparts, although Fanny Fern was the highest-paid newspaper columnist when the war began. Even accomplished female writers often discovered that publishing provided insufficient and unreliable wages. Louisa May Alcott, for example, could not translate her literary successes into a full-time occupation. Although she published several articles in magazines like *Atlantic Monthly,* became a playwright for a United States Sanitary Commission version of "Scenes from Dickens," and achieved fame for her fictionalized account of her wartime nursing experiences, she found it necessary to work as a governess to support her family. The financial limitations of fiction writing were further magnified by the inability of most writers, male or female, to find an outlet for their prose. Many authors submitted their writing to newspaper and magazine editors without any expectation of receiving payment, hoping that they could create a relationship that would eventually result in future payments. Most of these expectations never came to fruition.

Louisa May Alcott, U.S. novelist, short-story writer (1832–1888). (National Archives and Records Administration)

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The marketplace did more than govern which writers got published or paid; it also often shaped what was written. Female writers who wanted to benefit from the maturity and growth of the Northern literary market often had to write their poetry, short stories, songs, and other fictional accounts to suit the tastes and expectations of the editors of the large periodicals and publishing houses. Presumed marketability, a desire to foster nationalism, and the era's Victorian sensibilities typically determined what was and what was not published. As a result, Northern women tended to publish literature that conformed to conventional gender norms and that was highly patriotic. Such catering to the marketplace was especially true at the start of the war, as otherwise ordinary women routinely published poems in their local newspapers to celebrate the forming of military companies, the departure of loved ones, and the values of national pride. Women also participated in the widespread and often maligned attempts to create new national hymns.

Most of the literature created by Northern women during the war can be categorized as domestic fiction, literature written by and for other middle-class women. These works rarely ventured far from the daily private lives of women, emphasizing romance and married life. Much of this literature drew heavily on the era's Victorian cult of true womanhood, even as the authors flaunted their own literary skills, educations, and intelligence. These sentimental novels, as they were called, often contained subtle indictments of the restrictions placed on women as well as the problems faced by strong-willed women in a society that demanded their submission.

During the Civil War, many Northern female authors increasingly prioritized public affairs in their fictional accounts. Following in the path of Harriet Beecher Stowe's antislavery *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), these women used their fiction to pursue political ambitions. Rebecca Harding Davis, for example, published several wartime stories for *The Atlantic Monthly* that detailed the cruelties of slavery and the restrictions suffered by married women in American society. Through her writing, Davis also exposed the dangers of industrialization and the brutality of the war. Other writers offered social commentary through their published fictional accounts. Several magazine editors urged women to write stories that explicitly challenged men to do their duty. Some of these pieces, like many written by Fanny Fern, were considered nonfictional accounts. Others, like Kate Sutherland's "The Laggard Recruit" used the genre of fiction to urge action.

Much of the literature created for and by Northern women adhered to the cult of true womanhood even as it entered the political sphere. These works often emphasize the wartime importance of women on the homefront. Many female authors, following the framework of their male counterparts, emphasized the importance of women's domestic responsibilities during the war. Poems and short stories extolled the virtues of sewing uniforms, knitting socks, and supporting enlistment. They also penned hundreds of war romances, where young women typically struggle, come to embrace the enlistment of a loved one, and then eventually marry the sweetheart. In this way, female authors helped create and spread the prevailing wisdom that women had to sacrifice their needs and even their men on behalf of the nation.

The prejudice against the literary abilities of women and against women who would dare to voice their opinion led many women to write anonymously or to use masculine pennames. Literary critics routinely ignored the writing of women, especially works that could be characterized as Victorian sentimental novels. When critics assessed their merits of female fiction, these critics often chastised the authors for directly or indirectly engaging in the masculine world of politics, academics, and ideas in general. Even prominent authors chose to write under pen names when their topics ventured too far from accepted feminine literature. This was the case for Louisa May Alcott, who published short story thrillers and sensationalized newspaper accounts about personal vengeance. Consequently, Northern newspapers published hundreds of poems and short stories that were written by anonymous female authors.

A few female Northern writers offered critiques of the war through their fictional accounts. In "The

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Volunteer's Wife," for example, Carry Stanley pointed to the difficulties that working-class women would face when their husbands left for the war. Others pointed to the suffering that women faced when wartime casualties mounted, frequently declaring that the death or suffering of soldier also literally killed or wounded a woman. Elizabeth Stuart Phelps's "A Sacrifice Consumed," published in *The Atlantic Monthly,* used a fictionalized and semi-autobiographical account of a woman who lost a husband at Antietam to force readers to recognize the heroism of common women who sacrificed their happiness for the war.

As casualties mounted, Northern women turned to writing for economic needs as well as to fulfill a psychological need. They published solemn tributes to defeat, rejoiced in victories, and lamented fallen soldiers as martyrs. Women contributed their poems to many periodicals, leading *Harper's Monthly* and others to create a poet's column to capitalize on the desire to consume these messages. One poem, "Kiss Me, Mother, and Let Me Go," by Nancy A. W. Priest was republished in several periodicals and published in poetry collections during the war.

Female authors also increasingly created stories that emphasized the active roles of women during the war and that often directly challenged the era's gender conventions. Rather than placing women on the sidelines, the fictional and semi-fictional accounts portray women as central characters in the war. Like many earlier literary works, these accounts frequently blurred the distinction between fact and fiction, allowing female authors to critique society through the words of a third party rather than through the first person. Northern newspapers routinely contained fictionalized stories about wartime experiences that drew on the experiences of cross-dressing spies, scouts, and soldiers. Sarah Emma Edmonds's *Unsexed; or, the Female Soldier* (1864) sensationally augmented the author's personal experiences in the Union army with fictional details and anecdotes. Other works drew on women's firsthand knowledge of the war, especially information gathered by female nurses. Even authors of newspaper accounts of female soldiers shaped their details to suit the literary and social conventions of the era. Similarly, Louisa May Alcott's *Hospital Sketches,* published first in serial form and later as a book, relayed both firsthand and fictional accounts of female nurses and a dying soldier. In this work, like other semi-fictional accounts, fictional characters experience and discuss the experiences that female nurses like Alcott faced during the war.

Northern women writers continually shaped homefront views about the Civil War as they produced a widely circulated literature for the reading public. Throughout the war, these authors used their skills both to support the Union and to subtly criticize policies or society.

Andrew K. Frank

See also Alcott, Louisa May (1832–1888); Davis, Rebecca Harding (1831–1910); Domesticity; Edmonds, Sarah Emma [Franklin Thompson] (1841–1898); Female Combatants; Female Spies; Fiction Writers, Southern; Hale, Sarah Josepha (1788–1879); Larcom, Lucy (1824–1893); Music, Northern; Northern Women; Nurses; Phelps, Elizabeth Stuart (Ward) [Mary Gray Phelps] (1844–1911); Poets, Northern; Politics; Separate Spheres; Stowe, Harriet Elizabeth Beecher (1811–1896); Union Homefront; United States Sanitary Commission; Wartime Literature; Willis, Sara Payson [Fanny Fern] (1811–1872).

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Fiction Writers, Southern

The Civil War presented Southern women fiction writers with a new topic and a new purpose for their writing. As Augusta Jane Evans wrote in *Macaria; or, Altars of Sacrifice* (1864), because Southern women could not take up arms and join the battle, they had to contribute to the Confederate cause in other ways. For Evans and a small group of her contemporaries, this call to action meant contributing to the war effort through writing patriotic stories that bolstered the cause by inspiring both men and women to rally behind the Confederacy in whatever way possible.

While Evans was arguably the most popular writer of the wartime South, the war did not make her popular. Like many other women wartime writers, Evans was already an established author in the antebellum era, having published a national best seller, *Beulah*, in 1859. Similarly, Maria McIntosh's wartime novel, *Two Pictures; or, What We Think of Ourselves, and What the World Thinks of Us* (1863), was, in fact, her ninth and final novel, following a series of popular works in the 1840s and 1850s. In the antebellum decades, Southern white women writers, like their Northern counterparts, had focused on sentimental or domestic storylines that upheld nineteenth-century notions of women finding happiness and meaning through marriage and family. Beyond just the home and nuclear family, antebellum Southern women writers romanticized the larger household of the plantation. But the Civil War brought an opportunity to move beyond the domestic scenes of the plantation household and engage larger, more political issues related to the Confederacy, the Federal government, and even military strategy, all from a Southern woman's point of view.

Augusta Jane Evans, nineteenth-century Southern novelist (1835–1909). (Cirker, Hayward and Blanche Cirker, eds., *Dictionary of American Portraits*, 1967)

The war changed women's lives, and, although Confederate women writers supported the Southern cause, they also wanted to give a perspective on the war that acknowledged its devastation and its impact on the lives of women and families. The focus of most wartime fiction by Southern women dealt with the question of women's changing roles: their potential contribution to the Confederacy and consequently their changing roles within the family. McIntosh's *Two Pictures* was a direct response to the image of the South and, in particular, of Southern women put forth in Northern novels, such as Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852). McIntosh dealt with the theme of marriage, but in a less traditional way. In her story, an elite Southern woman and a Yankee man marry, but rather than representing the happy union of the two cultures, their marriage emphasized the role of Southern women in bringing the North around to see the superiority of the Southern system. In the novel, the Yankee husband settles into his role as planter and master, and he ends up justifying slavery to his Northern colleagues. Such portrayals of Southern women counter the perception that white women of the slaveholding class saw slavery as a necessary evil. During wartime, with the future of their society on the line, these novelists argued that Southern

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women could be counted on to uphold the values of the Southern way of life with slavery at its center.

Unlike almost all antebellum novels by women, however, marriage was not necessarily at the center of Civil War stories of women's self-realization. The reality of war was that many women would inevitably be single or widowed, or that they would have disabled spouses due to the heavy human costs of the war on the Southern white male population. Approximately one-fourth of the South's young men were killed in the war and as much as another fourth returned wounded or disabled. Writers like Evans began with the assumption that women's energies would have to move from the family to the war, and she also explored the postwar implications of the South's dependence on its women. In Evans's *Macaria,* it is the single woman who is available to serve the Confederacy. The main character, Irene, is a woman who, by avoiding a "loveless marriage," is better able to serve the nation and the cause. Irene belongs to nobody; so she can dedicate herself to the Confederacy's soldiers. In her novel, Evans brought home the powerful message that the Confederacy depended not only on its soldiers, but also on its women. But if the single woman could be of more use to the cause, she also had the freedom now to search for a wider role in general. The war was an opportunity for women to prove their usefulness to the south, and also to seek self-realization. The characters in women's wartime fiction find different ways to be useful, just as the novelists themselves had done. Through the publication of novels, writers such as Evans found their own paths of "womanly usefulness" by producing literature. The novels served both as wartime service and artistic contribution to the South's new culture.

While novelists such as Evans and Florence O'Connor, author of *Heroine of the Confederacy; or, Truth and Justice* (1864), presented a Southern feminist vision of female independence and self-realization, envisioning new roles for women both within and outside the family, Southern writers were also careful to distance themselves from association with the image of the Northern woman writer as a woman's rights activist. Although many women writers in the North also downplayed their abilities and justified their writing in terms of social rather than individual benefit, O'Connor, for example, explicitly assured her readers that she was only writing to tell the correct history of the South and was not to be seen as a "female politician." And, though these Southern women writers went on to make arguments similar to those of Northern women's rights activists about a woman's duty to serve all of humanity and even about her individual right to do so, there were, of course, limits to their social reform vision, most notably that they were fighting for a cause that upheld racialized slavery. Evans may have drawn on the language of Northern liberal reformers in the years leading up to the Civil War, but she ultimately praised and fought to save a Southern vision of hierarchy and inequalities based on race and class as well as on gender. Besides having her strong-minded female character reject the idea of universal suffrage, the Southern cause that Evans and other writers fought to defend depended on the enslavement of other human beings.

Women wartime novelists such as Evans and Kentucky's Sallie Rochester Ford, author of *Raids and Romance of Morgan and His Men* (1864), addressed not only the wartime experience and unique perspective of Confederate women, but also ventured into commenting on Federal politics and military action itself, previously a topic for male writers. They told how the North had brought an unjust, cruel, and unconstitutional war to the South and detailed Northern attacks on the South, along with examples of Southern military strength, through accounts of specific battles. In the interest of accuracy as well as immediacy, Evans, for example, wrote in 1863 to General Pierre G. T. Beauregard regarding the earlier battle at Manassas, asking for him to proofread her account. Seeing the importance of her work in boosting Southern morale and inspiring hope in a Southern victory, Evans had no qualms about approaching a powerful general about her writing in the midst of war itself.

In *Raids and Romance,* Ford went even further in describing border battles that the Confederacy had

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lost. Ford's purpose was not only to accurately report on the battles, but also to comment on the particulars of Confederate strategy. Her accounts also emphasized the brutality of warfare. Florence O'Connor as well highlighted the human cost of war and, of course, the North's responsibility for the needless and continued bloodshed.

As promoters of the Confederacy, these writers were involved not only in winning a war, but in the project of building a nation. Even if the war had never come or if it ended soon enough, Southern writers emphasized that the social and cultural differences between the North and the South were too great to continue as one nation. They supported the creation of the Confederacy and the idea of escaping from the North altogether. Women writers linked the political and the cultural in arguing that the South had been too long held back by the North, who had now brought the war to a peace-loving South. Writing before the end of the war, these authors exhibited optimism about a Confederate victory and looked forward to the chance for the South to thrive on its own. Of course, predictions that the South would ultimately win the war were born not just of patriotic optimism. In addition, the novels served to encourage and justify those fighting and risking their lives for the cause in military service.

Popular women authors were immensely important in shaping the contemporary view of the war and in creating a Southern literary culture. Wartime Southern writers were not only telling a Southern story, but, in the process, they were also creating a Southern infrastructure for literature. On the eve of the Civil War, the center of publishing and printing activity was in the North, as was the Federal mail service. Southern newspapers were so desperate that they had to advertise their need of paper and ink. Southerners not only had to create their own stories, but they had to create the means to distribute them; and, without mail, they were also cut off from any Northern reading material. Southerners wanted to be independent of Northern writers and literary tastes, but, with the literary infrastructure concentrated in the North, it was difficult even to produce Southern writers. Some Southerners celebrated the separation from the North in this regard and how it would spur Southern cultural and creative work.

Women wrote not only novels, but also poetry, songs, and stories for newspapers and journals. Of course, the work of many women in telling stories about the war and about the South remained hidden away in private rather than in public forums. Southern women's diaries, journals, and letters are filled with their first-person accounts of the war and its impact on families, as well as perspectives on slavery, on the Southern cause, and on national politics. But novelists were able to take those perspectives and those female insights to a larger public audience. Of course, fiction writing was popular from the 1820s onward, and many wartime novelists had published before the war, but the exigencies of war itself provided new material and new justification for women's cultural work.

Although the South would eventually lose the war, women novelists worked to tell a correct history of the South's involvement in the war and thus began a tradition, continued in the postwar years, of Southerners telling their own version of the story and celebrating what became a Lost Cause.

Tiffany K. Wayne

See also Civilian Life; Confederate Homefront; Courtship and Marriage; Diaries and Journals; Domesticity; Evans, Augusta Jane (1835–1909); Fiction Writers, Northern; Letter Writing; Nationalism, Confederate; Poets, Northern; Poets, Southern; Politics; Separate Spheres; Slaveholding Women; Southern Women; Stowe, Harriet Elizabeth Beecher (1811–1896); Widows, Confederate.

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Fifteenth Amendment

Conflicts over the Fifteenth Amendment resulted in a twenty-one-year split (1869–1890) in the woman suffrage movement.

After the 1868 presidential election, Congress continued to focus on several unfinished Reconstruction issues. The Fourteenth Amendment had granted black men citizenship, but not voting privileges. As a condition of readmission into the Union, former Confederate states gave black men the vote, but Congress feared they would eventually be disenfranchised by Southern states where Democrats had regained control. Thus, Congress began drafting an amendment to enfranchise black men. Seeing an opportunity to enfranchise women, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony circulated woman suffrage petitions for an amendment that granted women voting rights.

Members of Congress introduced many versions of the Fifteenth Amendment. Some, like Congressmen George W. Julian and Samuel Pomeroy, were open to the idea of universal suffrage. Julian introduced an amendment to grant voting rights to all citizens without regard to race, color, or sex, and Pomeroy's bill enfranchised black men and women, but Congress did not debate these bills. Most opposed including woman suffrage in the amendment, fearing that the issue would jeopardize the enfranchisement of black men. Thus the amendment did not include woman suffrage.

To ensure that Congress and the states would vote in favor of the amendment, Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts asked abolitionist Abby Kelley Foster to campaign in favor of the Fifteenth Amendment. She agreed. She held fundraisers for the campaign and sent copies of the *Standard,* the journal of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to each member of Congress and state legislators. On February 26, 1869, Congress passed the Fifteenth Amendment, prohibiting states from denying voters the ballot on the grounds of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. Outraged, Stanton published several anti–Fifteenth Amendment articles in the *Revolution,* a feminist newspaper headed by Stanton and Anthony.

By contrast, members of the New England Woman Suffrage Association supported the Fifteenth Amendment. The association also favored woman suffrage but was willing to delay women's enfranchisement until black suffrage was achieved. Unlike Stanton and Anthony, the women of the New England association carefully avoided sparking any debates about black suffrage and the Fifteenth Amendment, choosing instead to petition state legislatures on the issue of women's enfranchisement and to lobby for legislation enfranchising women who lived in the District of Columbia and the territories of the United States.

The approach of the New England association did not sit well with Anthony and Stanton, who saw Reconstruction as a chance for change. Woman suffrage had its best chance of passage during Reconstruction, they believed. They feared that, once the debates over citizenship and voting for black men had been concluded, it would be years before the issue of woman suffrage would be revisited by Congress. The New England association viewed the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment as a progression in the securing of democratic rights for women, thus making it less difficult to pass woman suffrage. By contrast, Stanton believed that the inclusion of the Fifteenth Amendment in the Constitution would render women politically powerless, making it much more difficult to enfranchise women.

Working against the passage of the amendment, Stanton and Anthony used racist and elitist arguments. Stanton, for instance, suggested that it was unacceptable for Chinese immigrants and freedmen to make laws governing educated middle- and upper-class women. Anthony spoke in favor of limiting the franchise to those who were educated and intelligent.

In addition to their anti–Fifteenth Amendment campaign, Anthony and Stanton convinced Congressman Julian to draft a woman suffrage amendment to the Constitution. He introduced this amendment, the Sixteenth Amendment, on March 15, 1869. Recalling their success in the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment, Stanton and Anthony circulated petitions favoring the passage of the amendment. They also toured several Western states, organized new suffrage associations, and identified many new allies for the cause of woman suffrage.

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These women were invited to the spring convention of the American Equal Rights Association.

At the May 1869 meeting of the American Equal Rights Association, the debates were fierce, and some of the delegates turned against Anthony and Stanton. Stephen S. Foster objected to Stanton's and Anthony's connection to George Train, a Democrat opposed to black suffrage, and he called for Stanton and Anthony to step down as officers of the association. Frederick Douglass chastised Anthony and Stanton for the use of racist arguments against the Fifteenth Amendment, and he introduced a resolution to support the Fifteenth Amendment. Anthony objected to Douglass's comments and introduced an anti–Fifteenth Amendment resolution and another favoring educated suffrage. Lucy Stone rose and objected to Anthony's anti–Fifteenth Amendment resolution, speaking in favor of the amendment. In the end, the association defeated Anthony's anti–Fifteenth Amendment resolution in favor of Douglass's resolution to support the Fifteenth Amendment.

Once the Equal Rights Association came out in favor of the amendment, Anthony and Stanton recognized that the association had overlooked women's enfranchisement in favor of black suffrage. They concluded that women needed a separate organization run entirely by women, and they formed the National Woman Suffrage Association. The association favored the passage of a Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution to enfranchise women, and it opposed the Fifteenth Amendment.

Not all feminists supported the National Woman Suffrage Association. Lucy Stone and other female abolitionists opposed the formation of a new association. These women favored the Fifteenth Amendment and the enfranchisement of black men, and they were afraid that Stanton and Anthony's campaign against the Fifteenth Amendment would single-handedly defeat the amendment. In November 1869, this faction of the suffragist movement formed the American Woman Suffrage Association in Cleveland. Delegates elected Henry Ward Beecher president and Stone chair of the executive committee. Unlike the National Woman Suffrage Association, which hoped to secure women's enfranchisement through an amendment to the U.S. Constitution, the American Woman Suffrage Association chose to secure women's enfranchisement through state campaigns.

On March 30, 1870, the Fifteenth Amendment became part of the United States Constitution, and abolitionist reformers rejoiced because equal rights for the black men had been achieved.

Jennifer Ross-Nazzal

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; Anthony, Susan B. (1820–1906); Douglass, Frederick (ca. 1818–1895); Fourteenth Amendment; Kelley, Abby (1811–1887); Stanton, Elizabeth Cady (1815–1902); Stone, Lucy (1818–1893); Thirteenth Amendment.

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Flags, Regimental

Regimental battle flags were some of the most visible evidences of women's involvement in the Civil War. For most regiments, a ladies' aid society or auxiliary was organized to make uniforms or other clothing items and to sew the regimental or company flags. The ladies often made the flag from silk from their own dresses if commercial fabric was scarce; the banners often portrayed slogans, devices, and emblems of local historical or patriotic significance. The attachment and devotion that each regiment felt toward its colors was symboli-

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cally linked to their devotion to the ladies at home and to the community: an iconic representation of a soldier's most sacred connections. Most often, there was an elaborate public ceremony when the flag was presented by the ladies to the regiment.

Regiments were raised locally, and the distinctive esprit de corps of each unit found representation in the regimental flag. Although United States regulations called for each regiment to carry a national flag along with a blue army flag carrying the seal of the United States, units on both sides of the Mason-Dixon line showed a high degree of individuality in their regimental colors. Some flags, such as the green banner of the famous Irish Brigade, became beacons on the battlefield.

Some flags were made by contract with private manufacturers, often drapers or sail-makers who adapted their businesses. Later in the war, most flags were manufactured at government depots. Northern regiments commonly used the national flag with the regiment's name stitched into a middle stripe. This was also common with Southern units with the Stars and Bars, the first Confederate national flag. The battle flag, the more familiar Southern Cross, was also commonly used later in the war, with the regiment's name stitched across the middle. Some units used a state flag with regimental designation and battle names sewn in, such as the First Texas Infantry. Some Confederate armies had approved patterns. For instance, the Army of Northern Virginia used a square battle flag with white trim around the edge. In both armies, it became common to list on the flag the names of engagements fought. Wool and even cotton duck or canvas, being cheaper and more available than silk, became common fabrics for flags.

For many units, individual companies began the war with their own flags and retired them only when the regiment adopted its own colors. The Perote Guards of the First Alabama Infantry Regiment, for example, had their own flag sewn and presented by Miss Martha Crossley, Miss Queen Gamble, and unnamed others who officially presented it to the Guards on September 1860 at the

Photograph shows Major General G. K. Warren and staff posed in front of a tent and flag with "5" on it between 1861–1865. (Library of Congress)

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entrance to the Methodist church in Perote. When the Guards were mustered into the First Alabama Infantry, the company flag was retired. The flag of Company C of the Fourth Alabama was a white field and a magnolia wreath with the words "Magnolia Cadets" painted on, and it was sewn and presented by two of Mary Todd Lincoln's half sisters, Elodie Todd and Martha Todd White (Alabama).

Randal Allred

See also Aid Societies; Northern Women; Southern Women.

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Fogg, Isabella Morrison (1823–1873)

Isabella Fogg was a volunteer nurse during the Civil War, first for the Maine Camp and Hospital Association based in Portland, Maine, and later for the Maine Soldier's Relief Agency and the United States Sanitary Commission (USSC). Her letters to agency officials provide an informed, objective assessment of the desperate situation among wounded and displaced soldiers. Her writings describe the Union's failure to provide troops with the bare minimum of food, clothing, and medical attention, responsibilities that civilian relief organizations strained to accomplish.

In 1861, Fogg left her home in Calais, Maine, to visit her son Hugh, who was with the Sixth Maine Regiment in Washington, D.C. While there, she saw the need for hospital workers and volunteered for duty in the Capital's hospital through the Maine Camp and Hospital Association. After she rallied her hometown residents to conduct a letter writing campaign, Maine's governor appointed Colonel John Hathaway to manage the state's Soldier's Relief Agency, headquartered in Washington.

Learning that the wounded soldiers left behind on a battlefield when the Federal Army moved on were in more dire need than those in Washington's hospitals, Fogg and other volunteers persuaded Maine relief groups to allow the women to go to the field. Beginning in November 1862, Fogg traveled through the Maryland and West Virginia countryside searching abandoned buildings and tents for needy soldiers. She followed the Union army as it advanced toward Richmond, caring for Union and Confederate soldiers who were wounded or taken prisoner during the battles at Antietam, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, and Fredericksburg. In addition to collecting food, clothing, and quilts from area residents, Fogg set up temporary stations where wounded were fed during stops on the way to hospitals.

In 1863 Fogg joined the USSC. When her son's wounded leg required amputation, she went to Baltimore to care for him. She returned to her duties and continued lobbying the Maine legislature for additional relief funds, which were allocated in the winter of 1864. The next year, while serving aboard the *Jacob Strader* hospital boat on the Ohio River near Louisville, Kentucky, she fell, permanently injuring her spine. Union officers, including Generals Ulysses S. Grant, Joshua Chamberlain, and George Meade petitioned Congress to give her a pension. In February 1866, they awarded her $8 per month, increasing it to $20 the next year.

Nancy L. Adgent

See also Aid Societies; Antietam/Sharpsburg, Battle of (September 17, 1862); Chancellorsville, Battle of (April 29–May 6, 1863); Food; Fredericksburg, Battle of (December 13, 1862); Gettysburg, Battle of (July 1–3, 1863); Hospitals; Hospital Ships; Letter Writing; Northern Women; Nurses; Politics; Union Homefront; United States Sanitary Commission; Wartime Employment.

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Food

During the Civil War, women struggled to secure food to feed themselves and their dependents. With most able-bodied men enlisted in the armies, the planting, harvesting, and processing of agricultural products became women's responsibilities. Many women on both homefronts reduced their consumption of foodstuffs in order to supply soldiers with provisions to give them strength. Though women in both the North and the South experienced deprivations during the war's four years, food was not rationed in the North and the shortages were less severe. Class and geography played ultimate roles in who starved and who managed.

At the beginning of the Civil War, U.S. President Abraham Lincoln established blockades that prevented the importation of foodstuffs to the Confederate states. Initially, this meant that Southern women lacked luxury items like chocolate, tea, and coffee. However, as the war progressed, staples grew scarce. Upper- or plantation-class women suffered little, and many threw lavish parties, boasting coffee, pastries, and other items that were either not available to or beyond the means of the general populace. Evidence of economic difficulties or food shortages rarely appeared in the letters and diaries of urban and planter-class women. Planters pledged to feed the soldiers' wives and children, but they often broke those promises, instead selling food to speculators whose high prices made it impossible for the women of other classes to afford food.

Union farmers produced an abundance of grain during the war, and the North experienced no rationing, but women across the Southern states dealt with the scarcity of foodstuffs almost from the war's onset. Fertile land in the South was dominated by the cotton cultivation, and little land remained available for food production. In 1861, a massive crop failure in northwest Arkansas, which provided most of the state's grain, habituated women to hard times. The following year, wheat, oat, and corn crops failed, and a hog cholera epidemic diminished the meat supply. Prior to the war, Georgia faced similar agricultural and livestock disasters that caused it to be the worst affected of the states by food shortages and also the most dependent on imports from the North for its survival.

Tennessee women experienced the least wartime food shortages because their state was the South's main source for food. The state provided the Confederacy with half its pork supply and produced the most corn and second-largest amount of wheat in the region. New Orleans imported most of its foodstuffs from Tennessee and Kentucky, but grain and packed meat came from the Northern states.

Part of the Federal campaign to quell the rebellion meant the destruction of food crops in the South. Accordingly, Generals Ulysses S. Grant and Benjamin F. Butler destroyed or appropriated agricultural products bound for Richmond and Petersburg, Virginia. In 1864 and 1865, General William Tecumseh Sherman's troops destroyed foodstuffs all along their march through Georgia and the Carolinas.

Diets in the South varied based on area, class, and race. Staples of the slave diet were pork, corn, and molasses, which typified the poor white diet in the South as well. Seafood was plentiful in the coastal areas along the Carolinas, Georgia, Florida, and the Deep South. The scarcity of salt affected the preservation of meat. Corn was a commodity, and distilleries bought the majority of the corn crops for liquor production.

Throughout the war, inflated food prices and shortages forced women to be creative with their recipes and resourceful with their supplies. Substitutions became common. Women made teas from herbs, and they often used peanuts and acorns to replace coffee and chocolate. Demonstrating the importance of food substitutes, two of the few books published in the Confederacy were cookbooks. *The Confederate Receipt Book* (1863) offered inventive substitutions for items no longer available. *Resources of the Southern Fields and Forests* (1863) taught women to forage for nuts, berries, and other nutrient rich plants in their backyards. Women and their families subsisted on wild greens, poke sallet, dandelion, and lamb's quarter.

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Women expended as much energy protecting their food supply as they did procuring it; they buried meat and hid it under landings so that something was left after scavenging soldiers took their fill. When hosting enemy soldiers in their homes, both Northern and Southern women introduced the men to alternate foodways. Northern soldiers were especially fond of Southern cookery, a blend of African, Native American, and English ingredients and techniques. Their devotion to the cuisine created opportunities in the North for newly freed slaves to become professional cooks.

In 1863 the Confederacy impressed a 10 percent confiscation levy on livestock, wheat, corn, oats, sugar, rye, buckwheat, sweet potatoes, Irish potatoes, tobacco, peas, bean, and peanuts. Women's scanty resources dwindled further because soldiers often impressed more than the 10 percent level. Additionally, women were angered by planters who hoarded food and whose stores were impressed at lower levels. Small landowning women could not retaliate, whereas those in planter class, given their political connections, were often unmolested by soldiers.

To help their families survive, women did whatever they could to procure food. Some left their children behind as they traveled from plantation to plantation pleading for provisions. Often, they stole to provide for their children when their pleas for assistance fell on deaf ears. In the spring, after exhausting their winter supplies, women in most Southern states took up arms to liberate staples located along rail lines where food was amassed. As early as July 1861, women rioted in New Orleans. In Georgia, women rioted for food in 1862 and 1863. Other food-related uprisings occurred in Mobile, Alabama, in Salisbury, North Carolina, and in Richmond, Virginia.

With supply lines cut and transportation routes halted, women in urban areas had few food options. Lack of land or experience with gardening prevented them from growing vegetables to meet their needs. Some women in urban areas consequently exchanged sex for food.

Though there were few reasons for celebrations during the war years, women saved what little ingredients they could to celebrate holidays. They served tea and ginger cakes, which otherwise were rare. Sorghum grown in their own fields also helped them provide cake for celebrations. Others saved what they could to pay exorbitant prices for holiday foods. For example, at Christmastime in Savannah in 1864, turkeys ranged in price from $50 to $100.

With the destruction of their homes, many rural women fled to the cities for the protection that populated areas offered them; this influx of refugees corresponded with critical food shortages. When Union forces captured a city, it became their responsibility to feed its inhabitants. Officials dipped into military supplies to assuage the shortages of the citizenry's foodstuffs. Likewise, refugees, mostly women and children, flocked to army posts where supplies were abundant.

Four years of biting hunger and malnutrition, coupled with their useless pleas to governors and local officials for relief, diminished some Confederate women's patriotism. Letters sent to husbands focused on the lack of food, causing some soldiers to desert so that they could attend to business at home. Food shortages on the homefront played a large role in reducing the Confederacy's manpower and thus contributed to the loss of the war.

Rebecca Tolley-Stokes

See also Aid Societies; Bread Riots; Confederate Homefront; Destruction of Personal Property; Domesticity; Fairs and Bazaars; Family Life, Confederate; Foraging, Effects on Women; Prostitution; Rural Women; Shortages; Southern Women; Southern Union Homefront; Urban Women.

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Foraging, Effects on Women

Both the Union and Confederate armies used foraging to obtain supplies from the civilian population during active military campaigns. Because the majority of men were serving in the armies, women faced this military practice more than other civilians. Foraging soldiers sometimes took their official task too far, posing a sexual and physical threat to civilian women. Their exposure to foraging transformed many Southern women into stalwart defenders of their cause, and their nationalist passion reinforced their support for war.

The use of foraging by military forces was not a concept new to the American Civil War. The practice existed in military campaigns throughout history, and civilian populations became thereby intertwined with active combat. Soldiers obtained supplies from the countryside during the American Revolution as well as during other conflicts on the continent. However, Civil War foraging shocked nineteenth-century Americans, who had a romanticized notion that civilians were to be protected from the horrors of combat and that women in particular should not experience the dangers of military campaigns. Perhaps this belief stemmed from the concept that war was a gentleman's duel over a political idea, in which women had no place or voice.

Early in the conflict, many military men saw foraging as a drastic measure. Union soldiers' early foraging focused mainly on the issue of escaped slaves within their lines. Southern property owners requested, and often obtained, the return of their chattel. Many campaigns saw military officers take efforts to protect enemy civilians, especially women, from the effects of armies on the march. For example, in 1862 Confederate General Robert E. Lee issued orders to prevent his men from foraging in Maryland for humanitarian and political reasons. His actions were mirrored by Union officers such as Don Carlos Buell and George B. McClellan, who also pursued a genteel approach to civilians.

As the war continued, each side increasingly viewed and treated the other's civilian population as the enemy. Union columns, operating deep in the South, forced Confederate civilians to face the brunt of their foraging and other destruction. In 1862, Union General John Pope identified the Confederate civilian population as part of the active rebellion against the United States. By 1863, military foraging became an accepted means for obtaining supplies during a campaign. Union officers and soldiers also began using foraging to punish civilians for the actions of their political representatives and their roles in the Confederate war effort. The military campaigns of 1864–1865, especially those led by Generals Philip Sheridan and William T. Sherman, utilized foraging to reduce the enemy's desire to fight.

Foraging affected civilian women on both physical and emotional levels. Through these military actions, soldiers hoped to destroy their opponent's will to fight by placing their families in danger. As the heads of many wartime households, women had to make decisions to protect the physical safety of their families. They struggled with these decisions, knowing that no choice ensured their personal safety or that of their property. Women who moved their families to a safer location often ran the risk of returning to destroyed homes and of otherwise losing possessions. In most cases, foragers, or bummers, would not destroy occupied dwellings but would steal what they wanted from the family. Women who hid valuables, monetary or otherwise, often faced angry soldiers who took out their frustrations on the family's possessions or slaves.

Many women used their femininity to appeal for protection from invading troops. They played on their sex and their status as mothers to convince enemy soldiers and officers to protect them. In addition, although far from home, many soldiers advised their wives on the course of action needed to protect themselves, their families, and their property. For example, members of the Masonic order often instructed their wives to find a Union officer who belonged to the Masons and appeal to him for protection. Soldiers also urged their wives to hide valuable property and papers.

However, requests for help often fell on deaf ears. In many cases, women found themselves forced to find food for their family. Many became refugees, moving to a nearby town or city in the hopes of finding a safe haven and sustenance. In

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rare cases, invading soldiers posed a physical threat to Southern women and their families. The South's female slaves had no protection from invading troops, and they were subjected to physical violence and rape by both Union and Confederate soldiers throughout the conflict.

In many instances, foraging did not break civilians' will to fight. Instead, foraging parties often had an opposite effect, on an emotional level, than intended: the trauma of the destruction of their homes and possessions by foraging parties served to strengthen the resolve of many civilians.

White women prepared themselves emotionally for invasion. Through newspapers, personal correspondence, and gossip, they followed the progress of enemy armies and prepared their homes. When foraging parties arrived, many women protected their families and slaves, becoming verbally belligerent to the soldiers. In addition, once the invading armies moved on, women worked to restore their families' harmony, and provide for their children and relatives.

Instead of destroying the enemy's will, foragers' actions frequently served to personalize the war for civilians. Just as Union soldiers' destruction of Southern homes and property could reinforce Confederate nationalism, so the thievery of Southern soldiers reinforced the beliefs of Southern Unionists.

After the Civil War, Southern women who had experienced the effect of foraging parties on their homes became some of the most vocal proponents of the Lost Cause. Their experiences during invasion led many to see Yankees as inhuman, and reunion as impossible.

William H. Brown

See also African American Women; Civilian Life; Confederate Homefront; Destruction of Homes; Destruction of Personal Property; Family Life, Confederate; Honor; Military Invasion and Occupation; Morale; Nationalism, Confederate; Plantation Life; Rape; Refugees; Rural Women; Sheridan's Shenandoah Valley Campaign (1864); Sherman's Campaign (1864–1865); Shortages; Southern Unionists; Southern Women.

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Ford (Willard), Antonia (1838–1871)

Arrested and imprisoned as a Confederate spy, Antonia Ford was among the many women who served as clandestine agents or informants during the Civil War. Like other women, Ford used feminine wiles to further the Confederate cause.

Ford was born in Fairfax Court House, Virginia, the daughter of a prosperous merchant and slaveholder. Educated at Virginia's Buckingham Female Collegiate Institute, Ford graduated in 1857 with a degree in English Literature. The Ford home served as a social center for lawyers, military men, government officials, planters, and entrepreneurs who came into Fairfax to conduct business. Its location near Washington, D.C., made the area one of flux between secessionist and Union sentiments. The charming and well-bred Antonia Ford was pro-secession.

Fairfax changed hands frequently during the Civil War. During the Peninsular campaign, the Ford house was alternately used as a boardinghouse by Confederate and Union officers. Confederate General Pierre G. T. Beauregard used it to house officers for the Army of Northern Virginia before the First Battle of Bull Run. Ford also befriended J.E.B. Stuart.

When the Ford home shifted to Union control, Ford cultivated friendships with the men and passed along information she gained from casual conversations. Stuart trusted her surveillance and jokingly awarded her a commission as an aide-de-camp of his staff in October 1861. Ford also made herself useful to the Grey Ghost, John Singleton

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Antonia Ford, Confederate spy (1838–1871). (Library of Congress)

Mosby, a Stuart scout who organized the Partisan Rangers in 1863 and who staged highly successful raids and strategic small strikes of guerrilla warfare, disrupting supply lines while harassing and distracting Union forces.

One night in early March 1863, almost certainly acting on Ford's information, Mosby's men raided Fairfax Courthouse, capturing Union Brigadier General Edwin Stoughton as he slept, as well as dozens of Union soldiers, a stable of excellent horses, and the unit's weapon supply. When captured, Stoughton was heavily intoxicated after an evening at the Ford home. Secretary of War Edwin Stanton sent a U.S. Secret Service chief detective to investigate. A female operative infiltrated the Ford household and gained Antonia's confidence. On the strength of the information she gathered, as well as physical evidence, Ford was arrested for espionage and imprisoned without trial in Washington's Old Capitol Prison. After a brief release in May 1863, she was rearrested and returned to the prison, where she remained until September.

Ford's captor, Major Joseph C. Willard, was a successful businessman and, with brother Henry, proprietor of Washington's Willard Hotel before he entered wartime military service. The Willard Hotel, located two blocks from the White House, was the temporary home to many prominent American political and literary figures, as well as to visiting world dignitaries. Willard, who was eighteen years her senior, fell in love with Ford at their first meeting, and he worked feverishly for her release. After he escorted her home from prison, they began to court secretly. When Willard resigned his commission in March 1864, they eloped, marrying almost exactly a year after Mosby's raid on Fairfax Courthouse.

Their happy marriage was marred by Antonia's problems with childbirth. After successfully giving birth to a son in 1865, she lost two more boys at birth. In February 1871, at the age of thirty-two, Antonia died from complications from childbirth in Washington. Willard was devastated and never remarried.

Barbara Bair

See also Bull Run/Manassas, First Battle of (July 21, 1861); Confederate Homefront; Female Spies; Southern Women.

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Fort Sumter (April 12–14, 1861)

Fort Sumter, in Charleston, South Carolina's harbor, heard the first shots of the Civil War in the early morning of April 12, 1861. After thirty-three hours of shelling, Major Robert Anderson, a Southerner himself, surrendered the Federal fort to Confederate General Pierre G. T. Beauregard on April 14. The attack on Fort Sumter exacerbated the already fragile sectional crisis and propelled Northerners

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and Southerners to arm themselves for what would become four years of bloody war.

After the secession of the lower South, the newly formed Confederate government seized Federal arsenals, forts, and outposts across the South. By March 1861, only four Southern military installations remained in Federal hands: two forts in the Florida Keys, Fort Pickens in Pensacola, and Fort Sumter. Nestled in a hotbed of secessionism, Sumter became the symbol of Federal oppression. The nation wondered whether President Abraham Lincoln would use force to defend Sumter and its eighty-man garrison.

Lincoln decided to reinforce Anderson even at the cost of provoking the South. On April 9, 1861, Confederate President Jefferson Davis ordered Confederate forces to surround and take control of the fort before Federal supplies arrived. At four-thirty in the morning of April 12, Confederate artillery opened fire. Major Anderson surrendered after suffering an intense artillery bombardment that destroyed portions of the fort and started fires in the interior. A one-hundred-gun salute by departing Federal forces produced the battle's only casualties: one dead and five wounded (one mortally).

Although women played no direct role in the battle, the women of Charleston actively participated in the controversy that surrounded the fall of Sumter. For days, women watched the harbor to catch a glimpse of the first shots of war, hoping to witness the moment the South began its fight for independence. After Sumter fell, Charleston's women participated in the victory celebrations and praised the virtues of the Confederacy.

The Confederate capture of Fort Sumter caused Lincoln to call for seventy-five thousand volunteers to suppress the Southern insurrection. Many in the North overwhelmingly supported war, and Lincoln's call for volunteers forced all to take sides. Teetering on the brink of secession since the beginning of 1861, Virginia seceded only three days after Sumter fell. North Carolina, Arkansas, and Tennessee soon followed, citing Lincoln's call to arms as their reason for finally abandoning the Union.

The women gazing over Charleston Harbor could not have known the changes that the events at Fort Sumter and the Civil War would bring. War brought women into new professions such as nursing, civil service, and teaching as well as expanded responsibility at home when the control of land, slaves, and money fell into their sphere. The four years of conflict, begun on that brisk April morning in 1861, also brought pain and heartache. Deaths and wounded veterans—husbands, sons, brothers, or loved ones—became daily reminders of the sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of women. Fort Sumter altered women's roles, propelling them into new situations and giving them power previously unimaginable.

James Gigantino

See also Confederate Homefront; Secession; Southern Women.

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Forten (Grimké), Charlotte L. (1837–1914)

Abolitionist, educator, civil rights activist, and poet, Charlotte Forten Grimké kept detailed journals of her time as a teacher to the freedpeople in Port Royal. Her attention to detail, her keen commentaries, and rare insights offer an important perspective of nineteenth-century African American life.

The daughter of Mary Woods and Robert Forten, prominent antislavery activists and a leading African American family of Philadelphia, Charlotte Forten was born on August 17, 1837. After her mother died in 1840, Forten became very close to three of her aunts: Sarah and Harriet Forten Purvis, and Margaretta Forten. Their antislavery politics would define her life. Precocious and bright, Charlotte received tutoring at home, and later, when she expressed a desire to become a teacher, was sent to Salem, Massachusetts, to study in integrated educational institutions, including Higginson Grammar School and Salem Normal School. She boarded with the renowned Remond family, which afforded her many opportunities to mingle with New England's abolitionist vanguard.

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Continuing a long family tradition of antislavery and civil rights activism, Forten joined the Salem Female Anti-Slavery Society, one of the oldest in the country. In June 1854, the trial of Anthony Burns, a fugitive slave, was held in nearby Boston. His conviction and return to slavery sparked mass protest and mob action. This event deeply troubled Forten, and she dedicated herself more deeply to fighting for immediate emancipation and the cause of the enslaved.

During this time, she met William Lloyd Garrison, editor of *The Liberator,* and, with his encouragement, she published several works in his newspaper and, later, in the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* and the *Anglo-African* magazine. While poetry dominated much of her writing, she also wrote essays. Antislavery themes were common, but she also wrote on a variety of topics, including love, morality, religion, temperance, education, and politics.

Forten completed her studies, and in 1856 began teaching at the Epes Grammar School, becoming Salem's first African American public school teacher. Tuberculosis forced her to resign after two years, and she returned to Philadelphia. She continued to write, however, maintaining a strong presence in local and national abolition politics.

With the onset of the Civil War, Forten hoped to contribute her services to the Union cause. When the Boston Education Commission called for volunteers for its Port Royal Experiment in South Carolina in early 1862, Forten applied. They were slow to approve her application, however, so she turned to the newly forming Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association, which was just beginning to organize and eager to send its own teachers to the war zone. Forten would be the first African American teacher assigned to the Port Royal district, and, for many of her students and their parents, she would be the first free, well educated African American they would meet.

Forten arrived in the late fall of 1862 and devoted two years to teaching the newly freed slaves of the local Sea Islands. With two friends, Laura Towne and Ellen Murray, Forten set up a school in a local Baptist church on St. Helena Island. She published several essays in *The Atlantic Monthly* about her work and observations of the local people. While many Northerners and some abolitionists doubted the abilities, both intellectually and physically, of the newly freed people of the South, Forten provided a convincing portrait of an eager and fully capable people, striving, through education and training initiatives, to make the transition into a free society.

She also recorded many of her thoughts and experiences in journals that reveal the daily joys and struggles Forten faced teaching her students, her keen interpretations of life in the community, and her observations of the bravery and deportment of the increasing number of black troops stationed in the district. She became quite close to several of their commanding officers, and she recorded both the excitement over their victories and the tremendous pain of their losses. She described with great excitement her meeting with Harriet Tubman, the famous Underground Railroad conductor who was then serving Union forces in the district as a spy and scout, nurse, and cook. Forten was also there at the reading of the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863, at Camp Saxton near Beaufort, South Carolina.

Her father, Robert, had become frustrated by the persistent racism in America and moved his family from Philadelphia to Ontario, Canada, in 1855, then to England. The Civil War and the Emancipation Proclamation brought him back to the United States, and, at the age of fifty-one, he joined the Forty-third United States Colored Troops. Promoted to sergeant, he had been assigned to recruit black soldiers in Maryland when he caught typhoid fever and died.

After the war, Charlotte recruited teachers for posts in the South under the auspices of Boston's Freedmen's Relief Association. She taught briefly at the Sumner High School in the nation's capitol, then served as a clerk in the United States Treasury Department during the 1870s.

On December 19, 1878, Charlotte married Francis Grimké, the son of a formerly enslaved woman, Nancy Weston, and her master, Henry Grimké, and nephew to Henry's famous abolitionist sisters, Sarah and Angelina Grimké. Frank, as he was known, earned an undergraduate degree at Lincoln University, and, though he also studied law there, he

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moved on to Princeton Theological Seminary and later took a position as pastor at the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church in Washington, D.C., in 1877. Charlotte and Frank had met in Boston just after the end of the Civil War, and they remained acquaintances. She joined his church in Washington when he arrived, and in spite of the significant age difference—she was forty-one and he was twenty-eight—they fell in love and married. Frank would become a prominent African American civil rights activist and a vocal critic of Booker T. Washington.

The death of their infant daughter, Theodora, in 1880, devastated Charlotte and Frank. They moved to Jacksonville, Florida, when Frank accepted a pastorship there. Charlotte published little after her marriage, but she remained an active and dedicated minister's wife and activist.

Persistent illness significantly restricted her activities the last twenty years of her life. She died on July 23, 1914.

Kate Clifford Larson

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; African American Women; Antislavery Societies; Diaries and Journals; Education, Northern; Free Blacks; Garrison, William Lloyd (1805–1879); Grimké (Weld), Angelina (1805–1879); Grimké, Sarah Moore (1792–1873); Port Royal; Remond, Sarah Parker (1826–1894); Teachers, Northern; Towne, Laura Matilda (1825–1901); Tubman, Harriet [Araminta Ross] (1822–1913).

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Foster, Sarah Jane (1839–1868)

Sarah Jane Foster was one of many Northern women who taught freedmen in the South after the Civil War. Like many of them, she was deeply religious and considered herself as much a missionary as a teacher. She detailed her experiences in letters. Some of her letters, published contemporaneously in a Baptist Missionary newspaper, *The Zion Advocate,* addressed topics that most Southern whites refused to acknowledge: miscegenation, blacks' intellectual aptitude, and whites' mistreatment of blacks. Foster also published poems and stories.

Originally from Gray, Maine, Foster lived in Portland during the war, working for railroad engineer Frederick Cobb's family. Her sister Emma also lived in the city, employed by her aunt who operated a millinery shop. In November 1865, Foster and other teachers traveled to West Virginia to join Reverend N. C. Brackett, Superintendent of the Free Baptists' Shenandoah Mission center. She taught first in Martinsburg and in April 1866 transferred to Harper's Ferry, conducting night as well as day classes. Foster boarded with a local white family and attended services at black churches.

Prevalent in New England, the antislavery Free Baptists established schools that often functioned as churches in four West Virginia towns during the next few years. The Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, as well as students and their families, supplied a portion of the expenses. Beginning as a missionary school in abandoned buildings previously occupied alternately by Union and Confederate troops, the Free Baptist school in Harper's Ferry became Storer College in 1867 when Maine philanthropist John Storer made an agreement with the denomination to expand their schools to higher levels. It was chartered to accept students regardless of race.

Foster's letters and diary provide ample evidence that former slaves were eager and able students and that they endured significant hardship in pursuit of education. Commenting on postwar strife between former Confederates and Unionists, as well as on the landscape's devastation, her letters reflect worsening economic conditions for the freedmen that led to declining school attendance between the fall of 1865 and the spring of 1866. Soon thereafter, when Storer College accepted money from the Peabody Fund, it agreed to require that its teachers have a normal school teaching certificate. This stipulation meant Foster would have to find teaching positions elsewhere, a situation she seemed to accept.

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Sarah Jane Foster died from yellow fever in 1868 while teaching in South Carolina.

Nancy L. Adgent

See also Abolitionists and Northern Reformers; Diaries and Journals; Education, Southern; Freedmen's Bureau; Letter Writing; Northern Women; Poets, Northern; Reconstruction (1865–1877); Religion; Teachers, Northern; Wartime Literature.

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Fourteenth Amendment

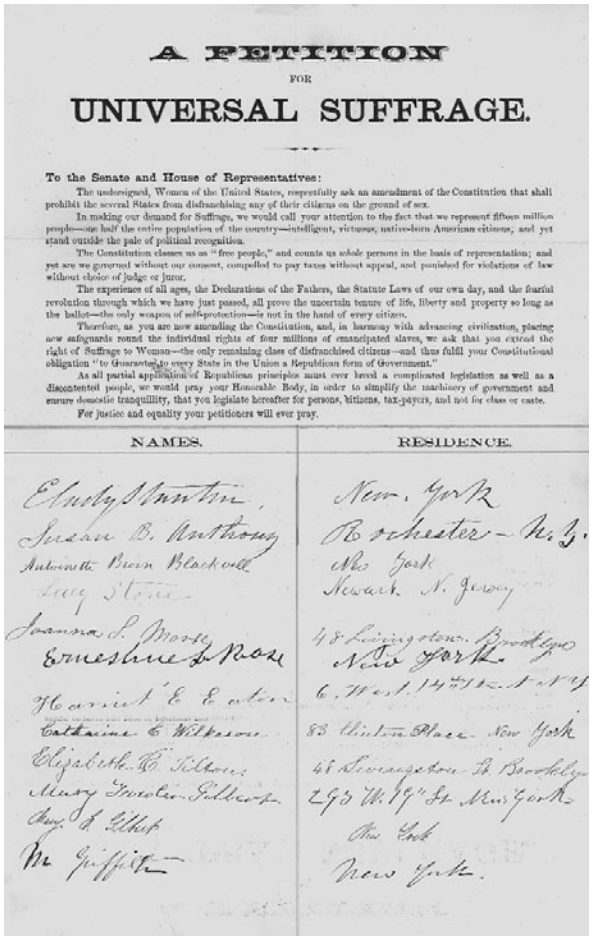
Battles over the Fourteenth Amendment resulted in a break between suffragists and their abolitionist allies, leading to the creation of a woman's movement.

In 1865, Congress began drafting the Fourteenth Amendment. In one section, the draft granted citizenship rights to all men born and naturalized in the United States. If the amendment was ratified, it would be the first time the word "male" had been included in the Constitution, and its inclusion angered woman suffragists. Appealing to their abolitionist friends, feminists insisted that the amendment include women. Elizabeth Cady Stanton feared the amendment would severely limit women's political rights, making woman suffrage even more difficult to pass because a separate woman suffrage amendment would have to be drafted and ratified for women to be enfranchised.

Abolitionists refused to support the views of the woman suffragists, claiming that it was the "Negro's hour." Wendell Phillips, president of the American Anti-Slavery Society, expected women to support black male suffrage over woman suffrage until black men became citizens. He saw no reason to risk the enfranchisement of black men by pushing for universal suffrage—black and woman suffrage. Furthermore, the mere emancipation of slaves, abolitionists determined, had not changed Southern society, which began passing black codes as early as 1865. These codes limited the behavior of the freedman, and abolitionists concluded that black men had to be protected by the Constitution.

Feminists disagreed with the abolitionists. They did not perceive Reconstruction as the "Negro's hour." Instead they saw a chance for change as the definition of citizenship was being debated on the floors of Congress.

In an attempt to prevent the passage of the amendment as written, Stanton and Susan B. Anthony began circulating woman suffrage petitions. Compared to the petitions gathered for the support of the Thirteenth Amendment, this drive was unsuccessful. Only ten thousand individuals signed the petitions, and, when the petitions were presented, the Republicans, many of whom who had previously



A PETITION

FOR

UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE.

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

The undersigned, Women of the United States, respectfully ask an amendment of the Constitution that shall prohibit the several States from disfranchising any of their citizens on the ground of sex.

In making our demand for Suffrage, we would call your attention to the fact that we represent fifteen million people—one half the entire population of the country—intelligent, virtuous, native-born American citizens; and yet stand outside the pale of political recognition.

The Constitution classes us as "free people," and counts us *whole* persons in the basis of representation; and yet are we governed without our consent, compelled to pay taxes without appeal, and punished for violations of law without choice of judge or juror.

The experience of all ages, the Declarations of the Fathers, the Statute Laws of our own day, and the fearful revolution through which we have just passed, all prove the uncertain tenure of life, liberty and property so long as the ballot—the only weapon of self-protection—is not in the hand of every citizen.

Therefore, as you are now amending the Constitution, and, in harmony with advancing civilization, placing new safeguards round the individual rights of four millions of emancipated slaves, we ask that you extend the right of Suffrage to Woman—the only remaining class of disfranchised citizens—and thus fulfil your Constitutional obligation "to Guarantee to every State in the Union a Republican form of Government."

As all partial application of Republican principles must ever breed a complicated legislation as well as a discontented people, we would pray your Honorable Body, in order to simplify the machinery of government and ensure domestic tranquillity, that you legislate hereafter for persons, citizens, tax-payers, and not for class or caste.

For justice and equality your petitioners will ever pray.

NAMES.	RESIDENCE.
Elndy Stanton	New York
Susan B. Anthony	Rochester N. Y.
Antoinette Brown Blackwell	New York
Lucy Stone	Newark N. Jersey
Joanna S. Morse	48 Livingston Brooklyn
Ernestine L. Rose	New York
Harriet E. Eaton	6 West 14th St N. Y.
Catharine C. Wilkeson	83 Clinton Place New York
Elizabeth C. Tilton	48 Livingston St. Brooklyn
Mary Traveler Gilbert	293 W. 19th St New York
Mary E. Gilbert	New York
M. Griffith	New York

Petition for Universal Suffrage, signed by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and others, 1866. (National Archives and Records Administration)

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supported woman suffrage, refused to introduce them on the floor of Congress. By the spring of 1866, feminists recognized that the Fourteenth Amendment, as drafted, would pass Congress.

As a result, feminists decided to push for universal suffrage by merging the black and woman suffrage movements in one society. They approached their abolitionist friends in the American Anti-Slavery Society with their idea. Some supported the plan, but Phillips prevented the merger from taking place. He thought it was best to keep the society focused on a single issue: black suffrage.

Feminist leaders like Anthony, Stanton, and Lucy Stone disagreed with Phillips and held the first women's rights convention since the start of the Civil War. Delegates to the convention formed the American Equal Rights Association, a group that supported both black and woman suffrage. In June 1866, Congress passed the Fourteenth Amendment, submitting the amendment to the states for ratification, but the Equal Rights Association did not campaign against ratification. Instead, it began a campaign to remove the racial and sexual restrictions placed on voters in their state constitutions.

Members of the Equal Rights Association began to circulate petitions to delete the word "male" from the New York State Constitution and to eliminate property qualifications for black male voters. As feminists focused on these state campaigns, they also tried to persuade abolitionists to see Reconstruction through their eyes. Stone tried to convince Abby Kelley Foster, a member of the American Anti-Slavery Society and an early supporter of women's rights, to support equal rights, but she disagreed with Stone. Foster preferred to help the freedmen secure their citizenship before women received political rights.

In 1867, feminists headed to Kansas, where they battled to secure the passage of two amendments to the state constitution: one to enfranchise African Americans and another to enfranchise women. Members of the Equal Rights Association were confident that both issues would pass, and they actively campaigned in Kansas. Feminists were especially hopeful about the issue of woman suffrage because the state constitution, passed in 1861, included school suffrage for women. While the prospects for both issues seemed bright, feminist optimism quickly dimmed as editors of reform newspapers failed to endorse the equal rights campaign, urging voters instead to support black suffrage. Throughout the campaign, feminists appealed to abolitionists to work in the campaign, but they refused. Then the Kansas Republican Party began to verbally attack feminists.

Events in New York influenced the Kansas campaign. On June 25, 1867, Horace Greeley, chair of the suffrage committee for the New York constitutional convention and a supporter of women's rights, announced that the committee had rejected suffrage for women, stating that women's enfranchisement would be too revolutionary. This decision reaffirmed the anti-feminist campaign headed by the Kansas Republican Party.

In early fall, abolitionist leaders finally began to endorse the woman suffrage amendment. Even Greeley admitted that he would be willing to see Kansas pioneer woman suffrage. His endorsement had little impact on the Republican anti-feminist campaign, however. To counter the anti-feminist attacks, Anthony and Stanton turned to the Democrats. Their new ally became George Francis Train, a Democrat who favored woman suffrage but opposed black male suffrage. Although the black suffrage amendment had received support from the Republican Party, the issue failed at the polls. So did the woman suffrage amendment.

As a result of the campaign, Anthony, Stanton, and their followers began to break away from their abolitionist friends, who they believed had betrayed them by supporting black suffrage but not women's rights in Kansas. A rift also occurred in the leadership of the American Equal Rights Association. Stone and her husband Henry B. Blackwell criticized Anthony and Stanton for associating with Train, a man who used racist arguments to win support for woman suffrage. From this point on, Anthony, Stanton, and their followers began developing a women's movement that was independent of their abolitionist allies.

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In spite of the work of women's rights leaders, the Fourteenth Amendment was ratified in July 1868, after Congress made approval of the amendment a requirement for the readmission of former Confederate states to the Union.

Jennifer Ross-Nazzal

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; Anthony, Susan B. (1820–1906); Fifteenth Amendment; Kelley, Abby (1811–1887); Stanton, Elizabeth Cady (1815–1902); Stone, Lucy (1818–1893); Thirteenth Amendment.

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Fox, Tryphena Blanche Holder (1834–1912)

Tryphena Blanche Holder Fox was a native of Massachusetts who chronicled her life as the wife of a Southern doctor in a series of letters to her mother and siblings. She recorded her views of Southern society as well as her experiences in Louisiana and Mississippi during the Civil War.

Born in 1834, Tryphena Blanche Holder grew up in a family struggling to maintain a middle-class existence in Pittsfield, Massachusetts. Educated at the Maplewood Young Ladies Institute, her comfortable lifestyle ended with the death of her father when she was in her teens. To help support her mother and siblings, Tryphena took up teaching. In 1852, she went to Mississippi to serve as a governess to the young children of George Messenger, who owned a plantation near Vicksburg. There she met and married Dr. David Raymond Fox, the son of a nearby plantation owner, in 1856.

Tryphena and Raymond Fox moved to Jesuit Bend, Louisiana, located in Plaquemines Parish 35 miles downriver from New Orleans. In Jesuit Bend, Dr. Fox made his living as a physician to the area's wealthy sugar planters. Tryphena embarked on the life of a Southern housewife and mother, and her letters to her mother recorded the growth of her family and her difficulties in managing household slaves. Her letters also revealed her concerns about her husband's business, observations on southeastern Louisiana society, and laments about her home's isolation. Although a native of Massachusetts, Tryphena embraced the loyalties and prejudices of her adopted region, protesting the depiction of the South in Northern newspapers and staunchly supporting the Confederate cause.

During the Civil War, Tryphena was confronted with a heartbreaking division in her family. While she and her husband continued to support the Confederacy, her brother joined the Union navy. The war also brought more immediate troubles when southeastern Louisiana fell to Union control in the spring of 1862, and Raymond moved his family to his father's plantation near Vicksburg, Mississippi, shortly before the surrender of New Orleans. Tryphena spent the remaining war years in Mississippi, coping with inflation, blockade-induced shortages, and the siege of Vicksburg while tending to her growing family. After the fall of Vicksburg, Raymond joined the Confederate army as a surgeon. His military service added to his wife's growing list of worries.

After the war, the Fox family returned to their home at Jesuit Bend to find that it had been looted during their years in Mississippi. Tryphena faced the loss of much of her household property, as well as an adjustment to life without slave labor. She also discovered that one of her outbuildings was being used as a school for freedpeople. Although she initially determined to close the school, she did not once she realized that the rent would provide much needed income for her family.

Julia Huston Nguyen

See also Family Life, Southern; Letter Writing.

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Fredericksburg, Battle of (December 13, 1862)

Union troops had occupied the city of Fredericksburg, Virginia, prior to the December 1862 battle, but few Confederate civilians there expected the abrupt changes that the battle brought. The Union's conciliatory stance in the early occupation gave way to a harsher policy toward Southern civilians during the battle. When Union Major General Ambrose E. Burnside's one hundred thirty-four thousand troops gathered along the Rappahannock River to face Robert E. Lee's eighty thousand soldiers, few local civilians, most of them women, had personally experienced the horrors of war. The battle forced them, as well as Union army nurses, to witness its devastation.

In 1860, Fredericksburg's population of roughly fifty-two hundred included approximately four hundred free blacks and a large slave population that numbered about one-third of the total residents. Many of Fredericksburg's African Americans fled to Union lines or moved north during the Union occupation of the city in the spring and summer of 1862, leaving few black women in Fredericksburg for the battle.

The occupation resulted in a similar exodus of the town's white women. Most of the town's female inhabitants continued their lives as normally as possible during the uneasy peace of Federal occupation. Some complained of the presence of the enemy but did not leave. Women's motives for staying included a fear of fleeing for economic reasons, a commitment to waiting to see what would happen, or a hope that war would not come near their homes a second time. Many of these attitudes would change in late 1862.

Located between the capitals of Richmond and Washington, D.C, Fredericksburg stood in the path of war. The relative tranquility of Fredericksburg's early war experience ended with the arrival of Burnside's army at Falmouth in mid-November 1862. Fredericksburg lay undefended by the Confederates, but their burning of the bridges across the Rappahannock earlier that year kept the Federal Army out. The situation changed on November 21–22, when Confederate troops arrived to fortify Marye's Heights behind the town. Lee ordered Fredericksburg evacuated, and many women, children, slaves, and old men fled to Stafford, Spotsylvania, and Caroline Counties. Those who remained found themselves and their property vulnerable to Union attacks. In early December, when Burnside's men arrived at Stafford Heights across from town, Lee's army held a commanding position overlooking the city. Women arrived with both armies, as camp followers, vivandiéres, prostitutes, laundresses, or nurses. Others served in the ranks disguised as men.

Burnside, who had planned to march his army rapidly south, use pontoons to cross the Rappahannock River at Fredericksburg, and steal a march on Lee before he could stop their movement toward Richmond, was delayed by supply problems and poor communication. However, Burnside remained convinced that his plan could succeed.

As the two armies faced each other from opposite sides of the river in early December, many local women fled to the outlying areas around Fredericksburg. Others remained to see what the Union would do next. This first wave of evacuees included Fredericksburg Female Charity School students, who fled to a plantation south of town. By the second week of December, fewer than one thousand residents remained in Fredericksburg.

Lee and his troops worked to prevent the Union crossing of the Rappahannock River. On December 11, Confederate troops began sniping at Union engineers building a pontoon bridge across the river. Lee's decision to use Fredericksburg as a military position prompted Burnside's bombardment of the town. During the barrage, many townspeople fled in a second wave of evacuations; others, including local Confederate diarist and schoolteacher Jane Beale, used their basements as refuges. After a forced crossing by Union troops and street fighting in the town, Lee ordered his soldiers to evacuate.

Burnside spent December 12 crossing a large portion of his army into Fredericksburg, giving Lee more time to strengthen defenses behind the town. Most of Fredericksburg's remaining women, including Beale, fled to Salem Church, which overflowed with refugees. By the end of the day, Union

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soldiers had looted Fredericksburg, and only a small number of local women, hoping to protect their homes, remained in the city.

During the battle, Burnside's forces attempted to flank the enemy troops south of the town at Prospect Hill. Although they met with initial success, miscommunication led to seven futile and deadly Union assaults against the Sunken Road below Marye's Heights against what Burnside mistakenly believed was a break in the Southern lines. During the battle, local proprietor Martha Stephens, one of the few remaining women, allegedly gave aid under fire to wounded and thirsty soldiers in the Sunken Road area. After a devastating day, Burnside's subordinates convinced him of the pointlessness of another frontal assault against Lee's fortifications.

The battle altered the people and landscape of Fredericksburg. Virtually all buildings, including churches, became hospitals. During and after the battle, Clara Barton and other nurses tended the wounded in these makeshift hospitals. Other Union women, like Isabella Fogg, read the Bible, wrote letters, and took clothes, blankets, and food to needy soldiers. The bombardment and looting left approximately eighty structures in Fredericksburg destroyed and many others damaged. Upon their return, residents found more than five hundred dead bodies in the town.

It took decades for Fredericksburg to recover its antebellum population and grandeur. The Union suffered twelve thousand six hundred casualties during the battle—60 percent of them died in the charge against the stone wall at the base of Marye's Heights. By December 15, the Union army had retreated across the river. Suffering only fifty-four hundred casualties, Confederates rejoiced in their success. After the war, local women would become instrumental in the commemoration of Fredericksburg's Confederate dead and the battle as Lee's most lopsided victory.

Barton A. Myers

See also African American Women; Barton, Clara (1821–1912); Camp Followers; Confederate Homefront; Destruction of Homes; Destruction of Personal Property; Female Combatants; Fogg, Isabella Morrison (1823–1873); Hospitals; Military Invasion and Occupation; Northern Women; Nurses; Refugees; Southern Women; Vivandiéres; Wounded, Visits to.

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Free Blacks

When the Civil War began, members of the free black community attempted to shape the conflict to their own ends. As the war continued, the ranks of free African Americans swelled as runaways, contrabands, and then emancipated slaves left bondage.

When the Civil War began, the United States census listed approximately 488,070 free African Americans. This population was evenly divided between the free and slave states, with 226,152 free blacks living in the North and 261,918 living in the South. Although the free blacks lived restricted lives in segregated Northern towns, their lives were much more constricted in the South. Perceived as a threat to the natural order in the slave South, free blacks faced legal restrictions in many Southern states. These laws restricted African Americans' social and economic freedoms. Furthermore, well-paid occupations were often restricted to whites only, and African Americans' ability to travel was severely curtailed. These laws became increasingly difficult to enforce during the war, as free African Americans in the South worked to undermine the Confederacy and as white men left for the battlefields.

The war made the lives of free African Americans in the South even more precarious than they had been in the antebellum years. Aware of their perceived threat to the social order, many free African Americans migrated to the North to find temporary refuge. Others became refugees within the South, as soldiers threatened their homesteads. Most refugees

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moved to urban centers, where they lived with loved ones and friends and received aid from African American churches.

During the Civil War, many free male African Americans enlisted in the Union army when they had the opportunity. Their participation was initially limited, but as wartime policies concerning black soldiers changed, free blacks formed several units. By the end of the war, approximately one hundred eighty-six thousand African American soldiers served in the Union army. In this regard, the actions of free black women paralleled that of white society. They pushed their husbands, sons, and other male relatives and neighbors to fight for the Union, and they often provided clothing and supplies for black military units. Their motivations varied, but most free black women urged African American men to enlist with the belief that their participation would help emancipate family members and other African American slaves.

Like their white neighbors, African American women worried about their husbands and sons who served in the army. In addition to the general anxieties about the hardships that soldiers could face, African American women feared that their husbands would be enslaved if they were captured by Confederate troops. Southern military officials vocalized this intention. Furthermore, in several instances, Southern troops refused to accept the surrender of African American soldiers. After the massacre of black soldiers at Fort Pillow in 1864, the wives of African Americans who were killed in battle became eligible to receive pensions. In recognition of the legal constraints on slave marriage, the Federal government declared that cohabitation was enough to prove one's claim for a widow's pension.

African American women formed dozens of relief societies to send aid to those still in slavery and to assist black troops. Initially excluded from white aid societies, African American women in the North formed separate black-only organizations. In Philadelphia, for example, free black women formed the Colored Women's Sanitary Commission and the Ladies Sanitary Association of St. Thomas's African Episcopal Church. Free black women started organizations in other cities as well. The Colored Ladies' Freedmen's Aid Society formed in Chicago, and a Contraband Relief Association formed in Boston and in some other Northern cities. Elizabeth Keckley, First Lady Mary Todd Lincoln's seamstress, helped to found a contraband relief organization in Washington, D.C. Many of the organizations began as extensions of churches that directed their charitable energies toward the war. The Israel Bethel Church (African Methodist Episcopal) in Washington, D.C., formed a Union Relief Association in the fall of 1862, to alleviate the suffering of former slaves who were pouring into the city. With contributions from Frederick Douglass, President Abraham Lincoln, and other dignitaries, the association donated more than one hundred crates and barrels of goods to former slaves in the city. The organization's ambitions went beyond sending supplies to the African American troops; it explicitly made racial justice and the support of the quest for freedom equal to its desire to provide assistance to soldiers.

For many free black women, the Civil War provided new opportunities for work. While most remained working in the fields or doing domestic labor, many took jobs with the Federal government. In addition, many African American women from the North staffed the relief camps. Sojourner Truth and Harriet Jacobs, two renowned African American abolitionists and former slaves, both served these functions during the war. Other free black women served as nurses. As both African Americans and as women, these workers were expected to be especially obedient. Their responsibilities were also constrained because most black women were confined to the most menial tasks as cooks and laundresses. These women also tended to work under the oversight of either white men or women.

The entrance of African American men and women into the workplace did not occur smoothly in many American cities. In 1862, between two and three thousand white workers threatened to burn down two tobacco factories if black female workers were not evicted from the buildings. These tensions continued to shape animosities toward free black men and women. During the New York City Draft riots in 1863, African American women found them-

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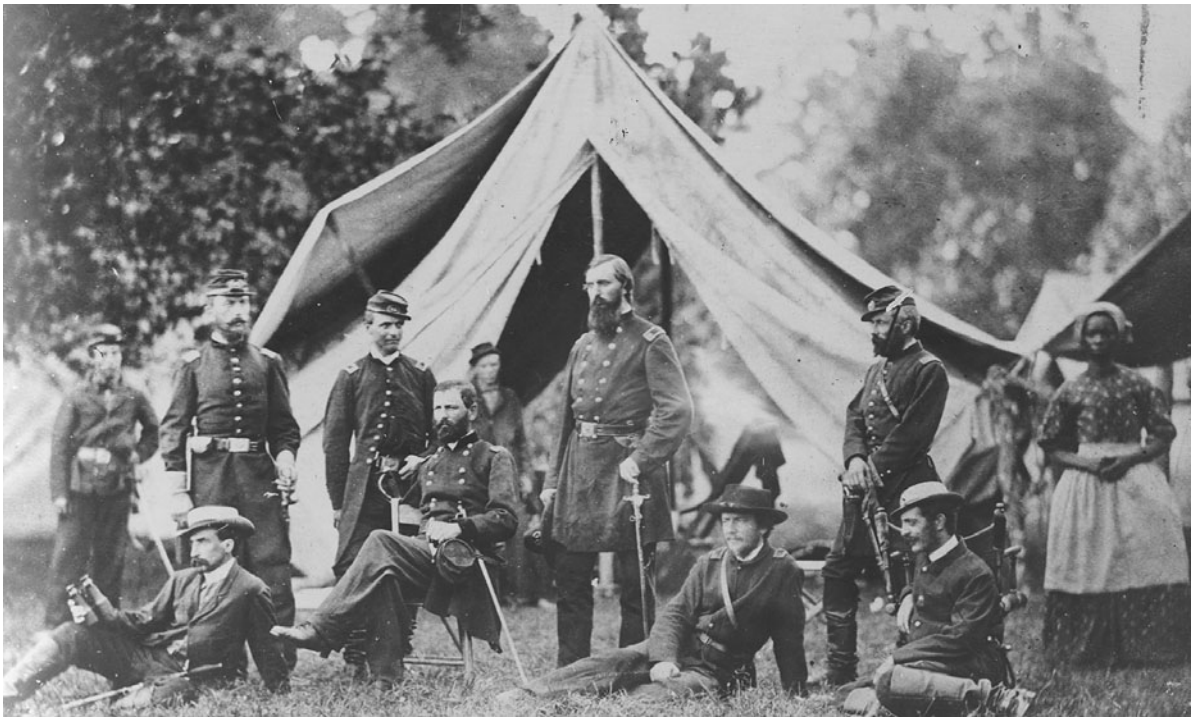

Nine soldiers and a female African American cook posed in front of the Fifth Army Corps Headquarters tent at Harrison's Landing, James River, Virginia, in 1862. (Library of Congress)

selves the recipient of much of the antiwar, antidraft sentiment in the city's Irish community. Although most of the violence was directed at African American men, women too faced violent assaults.

Other African American women became teachers during and after the war. Many free black Northern women traveled to the South to teach the freedmen and freedwomen. Mary Chase, a free black, established a school in Alexandria, Virginia, in 1861. In addition, Philadelphian Charlotte Forten, spent eighteen months teaching basic skills to former slave children and adults in Port Royal, one of the South Carolina's Sea Islands. The first African American teacher to work in the Sea Islands, Forten would not be the last. In subsequent years, free black women who went to the Sea Islands tended to be poorer than Forten and her white counterparts. African American teachers in the Sea Islands also tended to stay longer than white women and to emphasize racial pride along with literacy and other skills.

During Reconstruction, individuals who were free prior to the war held a disproportionate amount of representation in the Southern states. Half of the twenty-two African Americans who served in Congress between 1865 and 1900 were former free blacks, and a similar story occurred on the local level. Although restricted from governmental positions before the war, their literacy and financial resources helped this "free Negro caste" to rise to prominence. These political gains came to an abrupt halt as Reconstruction ended, but the black caste system endured into the late nineteenth century.

Andrew K. Frank

See also African American Women; Camp Followers; Civilian Life; Contraband Relief Association; Contrabands; Douglass, Frederick (ca. 1818–1895); Draft Riots and Resistance; Education, Southern; Enlistment; Family Life, Confidence; Family Life, Union; Forten (Grimké), Charlotte L. (1837–1914); Freedmen's Bureau; Fundraising; Letter Writing; Lincoln, Abraham

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(1809–1865); Lincoln, Mary Todd (1818–1882); Northern Women; Pensions, Union Widows; Politics; Port Royal; Reconstruction (1865–1877); Refugees; Religion; Teachers, Northern; Teachers, Southern; Truth, Sojourner [Isabella Baumfree] (1797–1883); Tubman, Harriet [Araminta Ross] (1822–1913); Union Homefront; Wartime Employment; Widows, Union.

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Freedmen's Bureau

Established by Congress in March 1865, the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, or Freedmen's Bureau, was intended to help formerly enslaved black men and women in their transition to freedom.

Charged with providing rations, distributing lands, mediating labor contracts, establishing schools, promoting education, and securing civil rights for freed blacks, the Bureau had an almost impossible task. Aside from its restricted resources and limited lifespan, the Freedmen's Bureau faced opposition from Southern whites, Democrats in Congress, and President Andrew Johnson. The Bureau also suffered from ideological limitations for, although it hoped to help freedmen, it did not wish for them to become too dependent on Federal aid. To this end, the Freedmen's Bureau relied heavily on the goodwill of Southerners to treat freedmen as their equals. By the time of its final disbandment in 1872 due to sustained opposition, the Bureau still left many of its goals unaccomplished.

As a branch of the War Department, the Freedmen's Bureau recruited its agents from the military ranks. Major General Oliver Otis Howard, a pious and dedicated soldier, served as the Bureau's commissioner for its entire existence. Howard was a graduate of Bowdoin College and the United States Military Academy at West Point. A veteran of many Civil War battles, he was also greatly concerned with the welfare of freedmen. Tirelessly working for freedmen's rights, Howard set a good example for his subordinates, many of whom also cared deeply about the plight of newly freed slaves. Other Bureau agents, however, had little concern for the freedmen and sought only to get blacks back to work in the ravaged South. With only approximately nine hundred agents working throughout the South at the height of its influence, the Freedmen's Bureau faced the daunting task of meeting the needs of liberated slaves.

At the close of the Civil War, thousands of refugees, blacks and whites, needed medicine, food, clothing, and aid. Freedmen's Bureau officers distributed needed supplies and helped many individuals find their way home. Bureau agents also offered temporary shelter for blacks who needed a place to rest while they tracked down their lost family members, scattered by the antebellum slave trade and the war. Providing aid for destitute black Southerners, however, was only an immediate task; the larger goal was to rebuild Southern society.

The Bureau's most crucial test involved the conflict between Southern whites and blacks over the issues of land and labor. More than anything, newly freed slaves wanted land. Many freedmen saw the ownership of their own farms as the pinnacle of true freedom. Following the war, the Freedmen's Bureau controlled vast amounts of land confiscated from rebellious Southerners. Despite the fact that many freedmen had already settled on some newly distributed lands, President Andrew Johnson, a staunch opponent of the Freedmen's Bureau, brought an end to the program by pardoning former Confederates, ordering that their seized lands be returned to them, and evicting freedmen. This reversal of one of its primary principles weakened the Bureau's standing in the eyes of the freedmen.

Even though freedmen did not have access to land, they were still expected to work for a living. Toward the goal of jump-starting the Southern economy, promoting the Northern Free Labor ideology, and putting workers back in the fields, the Freedmen's Bureau pressed black men and women to sign

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labor contracts with landowning whites. With slavery dead, victorious Northerners wished to implant their labor views on the defeated South. Their ideals of Free Labor required that all laborers work hard for their own advancement without depending on government handouts. Those who were able to work, it was believed, should be put to work and denied aid. Perhaps underestimating the level of animosity between the two races in the South, Bureau agents did not entirely recognize the fact that Southern whites resented having to pay their former slaves and that many freedmen did not wish to work in any capacity for their former masters. The Bureau was under great pressure to get African Americans working again because one of its main fears was that continued aid would create a class of dependent freedmen. Despite the fact that many blacks were forced into signing contracts to work on white-owned lands, freedmen were often given the chance to choose their employers and Bureau agents aided them in negotiating fair contracts.

Freedmen's Bureau agents concerned with implanting a Free Labor work ethic did not always respect the integrity of freedpeoples families and tried to get blacks of both sexes and all ages back to work. Many black husbands attempted to shield their wives and children from labor, saying that freedwomen should, like white women, tend to the home and that their children should attend school. Control over one's family was, after all, one of the freedoms that had been denied to slaves. For their part, freedwomen, some of whom were single parents, took whatever opportunities they could to provide for their children. In some instances, freedwomen and their children were forced into seasonal work to sustain themselves. Many black women found it difficult to gain employment not only because of their sex but also because they had to find a way to take care of their children. Bureau agents sometimes stepped in and attempted to get wayward husbands to take responsibility for their wives and families.

The Bureau's greatest achievement came in the realm of education. Even before the Bureau began to support freedmen's schools, many blacks had organized schools for themselves in churches and private homes. Freedmen of all ages understood the necessity of education and filled up classrooms all over the South. In conjunction with Northern aid societies such as the American Missionary Association (AMA), the Freedmen's Bureau helped acquire land and supply building materials for thousands of new schools. The AMA and organizations like it helped recruit Northern teachers to come south.

Many of those who answered the call were young, educated, middle-class white women from New England who brought with them a missionary zeal and a dedication to help freedmen's advancement. These Northern teachers, or Yankee schoolmarms as they came to be called, also used the opportunity to travel south to escape their domestic lives, seeking new opportunities and adventures. Northern teachers worked hard, rising early and getting to sleep late. They sacrificed not only their time, but also their comfort; the accommodations that awaited them in the South were far from ideal. While the Freedmen's Bureau donated funds for construction and resources, the AMA helped pay the salaries of these Northern teachers. Classes consisted of education in writing, math, and social norms. Teachers believed that slavery had degraded blacks and sought to instill the virtues of responsibility and discipline, corresponding with the Bureau's policy of getting freedmen to work on their own. Southern whites often shunned these schools, not allowing their own children to be educated alongside freed blacks. Other than local schools, the Bureau also helped create institutions of higher learning such as Howard University, the Hampton Institute, and Fisk University. When the Bureau was finally disbanded, it had established thousands of schools throughout the South. These institutions remained as the foundation of Southern education.

Freedmen's Bureau agents also served the vital function of being blacks' advocates in the Southern courts. Aside from helping with labor contract negotiations, the Bureau also advised freedmen on legal matters and defended blacks' civil rights. To the best of their ability, Bureau agents defended blacks from violence and also sought to ensure their

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A classroom at the Freedmen's Bureau in Richmond, Virginia. (Library of Congress)

rights to impartial justice. The Bureau, perhaps naively, attempted to get Southern courts to recognize freedmen's rights and equality before the bar. The state statutes, therefore, were altered but the courts themselves remained prejudiced against blacks, and the use of military courts to guarantee an impartial verdict for freedmen was no longer an option once civil courts re-opened throughout the South. Freedmen's Bureau officers continued to monitor cases and stepped in when they saw a need to do so. Due to its limited resources and temporary mandate, however, the Bureau ultimately could not guarantee justice for freedmen in local courts.

Often the actions on behalf of newly freed blacks cost the agents the goodwill of the local population. While blacks saw the Bureau as their ally, Southern whites viewed it as a symbol of Northern oppression and learned to associate it with the Confederacy's defeat. Black men and women understood that the Bureau was there to protect them and used its services accordingly. They came to the agents with personal and domestic problems but also lodged complaints against whites who defrauded or threatened them. Actions like these outraged white Southerners, who saw the Bureau agents as meddling in their affairs. Determined to halt black advancement and curb Bureau influence, Southerners used various means to thwart the agents' activities. On the local level, Southerners threatened Bureau agents, treated them with disdain, and offered little or no cooperation. Northern schoolteachers, also seen as representatives of a triumphant North, were harassed and terrorized by local whites. Paramilitary groups burned down black schools, caused chaos in some sections of the South, and interfered with the Bureau's operations. Due to the demobilization of

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the wartime army, Bureau officers had limited resources and could not always count on troop reinforcements in the South. Without troops to uphold Federal policy, it became very difficult to maintain Bureau operations in hostile communities. Many agents understood that they had to compromise with white Southerners to accomplish their tasks. To this end, they sometimes sided with local whites at the expense of the freedmen.

On the national level, Southerners had allies in Congress and the White House. Democrats and President Andrew Johnson warred against the Bureau from the very start of its operations. When former Confederates attempted to re-establish limits on black freedoms with the notorious black codes, the Republican-controlled Congress moved to extend the life of the Freedmen's Bureau for an additional year and also proposed the Civil Rights bill. President Johnson, arguing that the Bureau represented Federal patronage that favored one group of citizens over another and citing fiscal limitations, vetoed the two bills. Republicans passed the measures over Johnson's veto and also sought to guarantee freedmen's civil rights by successfully including the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution.

By the late 1860s, support for the Freedmen's Bureau waned, many Northerners believing that the task of getting blacks back to work and securing blacks' civil rights had been accomplished. The Bureau remained partially functional after 1868 and permanently closed its offices in 1872. The Freedmen's Bureau succeeded in providing for refugees in the immediate wake of the Civil War and in building a new educational system for the South. In land distribution, labor negotiation, and civil rights, however, the Bureau's record was less than stellar. These failures, however, were caused mostly by Southern opposition, both on the grassroots and the governmental levels. The Bureau itself may have been too reliant on the goodwill of Southerners. Understanding that their mission was temporary, Bureau agents hoped that white Southerners would learn to treat blacks as fellow citizens, perhaps ignoring white resentment over Confederate military defeat and deep-seated prejudices against former slaves. Overall, the Bureau had a mixed record that highlighted some of the ideological limitations and failures of Reconstruction.

Kanisorn Wongsrichanalai

See also African American Women; Education, Southern; Fifteenth Amendment; Fourteenth Amendment; Reconstruction (1865–1877); Sherman Land (Special Field Orders Number 15); Teachers, Northern; Thirteenth Amendment.

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Frémont, Jessie Benton (1824–1902)

Prolific writer and intellectual partisan of Republican and antislavery politics, Jessie Benton Frémont was the favored daughter of Missouri Senator Thomas Hart Benton. Living in an age when she was unable to enter politics on her own, she was the force behind the career of her husband, the controversial explorer, military leader, and politician John Charles Frémont. She was indispensable in shaping his 1856 campaign for the presidency on an antislavery platform. She also helped to frame the August 30, 1861 unauthorized emancipation proclamation he issued as major general in command of the Department of the West. The document claimed authority to confiscate property and

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Jessie Benton Frémont (1824–1902), writer and wife of John Charles Frémont. (Cirker, Hayward and Blanche Cirker, eds., *Dictionary of American Portraits*, 1967)

freed slaves of Missouri rebels in the name of martial law.

Jessie Benton eloped with John Frémont at the age of seventeen. Her father used his considerable political connections to further his son-in-law's expeditions to survey large regions of the West in the 1840s. Appointed governor of the new civil government in California, John Frémont faced a court-martial but was pardoned by President James Polk after Jessie and others lobbied on his behalf. Jessie shaped the well-received published accounts of the Western expeditions, embellishing her husband's dictation. Prior to John Frémont's run for the presidency as the Republican candidate in 1856, the Frémonts made a fortune in gold mining and raised a family in California. Able and popular, Jessie served as a primary asset in her husband's unsuccessful bid for the presidency. Her high profile also made her a target of criticism for Democratic opponents, who castigated her, as a woman, for her public participation in politics.

When John was put in command of the Department of the West in St. Louis, Jessie continued as his unofficial chief aide. When, in the midst of controversy, Abraham Lincoln stripped Frémont of his post, Jessie came personally to Washington to confront the president. The interview was highly charged. Lincoln derided the charming but uncompromising Jessie for her unfeminine participation in politics. Jessie, meanwhile, criticized Lincoln's reluctance to act on emancipation. Jessie worked tirelessly to utilize her political and social networks behind the scenes while her husband served as standard bearer for the radical wing of the Republican Party.

When in postwar years the Frémonts were bankrupted by railroad speculation, Jessie Benton Frémont supported the family through her writing. *The Story of the Guard: A Chronicle of the War,* a defense of her husband's leadership in Missouri during the Civil War, was the first book she published under her own name. As her husband's star dimmed through scandal and bad business ventures in the 1870s, she did what she could to maintain his reputation. The Frémonts moved back to California in 1887. Jessie died in Los Angeles, philosophical about the difficulties of life for women.

Barbara Bair

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; Lincoln, Abraham (1809–1865); Northern Women; Politics.

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French, Mansfield (1810–1876)

Educator, abolitionist, and religious leader Reverend Mansfield French worked to improve the conditions for the freedmen in the Sea Islands by helping to establish schools, hospitals, and homesteads for the former slaves.

Born in Manchester, Vermont, on February 21, 1810, Mansfield French moved to Ohio as a young man, where he studied at the Kenyon College divin-

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ity school. French established or served as the principal of several schools, including the Granville Female Seminary and the Circleville Female College. He became a minister with the Methodist Episcopal Church and served for three years as president of the Xenia, Ohio Female Seminary during the late 1840s. He also worked as an agent for Wilberforce University, founded in Ohio in 1856 as the first African American–owned and–operated institution of higher learning in the United States.

By the late 1850s, French was living in New York City, where he published *The Beauty of Holiness,* a religious magazine with the aid of wife Austa. He frequented antislavery meetings and became friendly with Lewis Tappan and George Whipple of the American Missionary Association, as well as with other abolitionist leaders. During his days in Ohio, French had also become acquainted with Salmon Chase, ex-governor who would serve as treasury secretary in Abraham Lincoln's cabinet.

In 1862 French became involved in the efforts of the American Missionary Association and other groups to organize religious and educational programs for the newly free black population of the South Carolina Sea Islands. French traveled to Union-controlled Port Royal to examine firsthand conditions among freedmen. Upon his return north, French organized a meeting, held at New York's Cooper Institute, which led to the formation of the National Freedmen's Relief Association. French was elected the organization's general agent, and in March 1862 he returned to Port Royal with a group of missionaries and teachers. In a letter to Chase, French had asked for government cooperation in the transportation of missionaries, physicians, and teachers and their supplies, as well as the use of buildings to establish schools and hospitals.

In August 1862, French returned to Washington and met with Chase and Secretary of War Edwin Stanton. French received authorization to allow General Rufus Saxton to begin the recruitment up to five thousand black soldiers in the Sea Islands. This ultimately resulted in the formation of Thomas Wentworth Higginson's First South Carolina Volunteers.

In late 1863, French was again in Washington, this time attempting to settle the thorny question of land ownership for freedmen. His mission at first appeared successful, with President Lincoln authorizing blacks to "preempt" a homestead of 20 or 40 acres with a small down payment. Unfortunately, the policy was reversed in early 1864, forcing blacks to compete for land at public auction or to apply for a small amount of land set aside for charitable purposes. Consequently, few black families ultimately obtained their own land, and French's efforts to establish the freedmen as farmers on abandoned Sea Island plantations met with only partial success. At one point, two of Chase's direct tax commissioners asked that French be removed from the Department of the South, and several fellow missionaries complained that he used his religious position to promote his political views, particularly on the land issue.

After the war, French remained in South Carolina. At one point he campaigned for a United States Senate seat, but charges concerning various real estate activities hurt his credibility. French eventually returned to New York in 1872. He became pastor of the St. James Methodist Episcopal Church in Pearsalls, on Long Island, where he died on March 15, 1876 of dysentery.

David Coles

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; Antislavery Societies; Freedmen's Bureau; Lincoln, Abraham (1809–1865); Politics; Port Royal; Religion.

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Fundraising

The need for Civil War supplies and funds far outweighed what women could produce on their own, so they turned to solicitation to make up the difference and meet wartime demands. In both the Union and Confederacy, individuals, local aid societies, and national organizations, such as the United States Sanitary Commission (USSC), solicited money and supplies to assist soldiers on the battlefield, sick and wounded soldiers, and soldiers' families. Efforts included fairs, concerts, raffles, picnics, and tableaux. All of these activities were

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principally organized, promoted, and performed by women. The amount of public interaction required for these activities challenged many traditional nineteenth-century gender expectations, but wartime necessity and women's successful efforts overcame issues of propriety.

Confederate women's fundraising efforts arose from a constant need to supply soldiers as well as an ongoing dependence of the Confederate government on private sources for supplies. When individual home manufacturing proved insufficient, individuals and local ladies' and societies organized activities to raise funds to purchase the needed goods. Individually, Confederate women would often stand on street corners or go door-to-door soliciting funds. On a much larger scale, local ladies' aid societies organized, advertised, supplied products for, and performed in benefit concerts, theatricals, raffles, and suppers to raise money for the Confederate cause.

Many fairs featured the sale of women's donated and handmade products. Items for sale ranged from homemade baked goods and clothing to jewelry, fine china, and furniture. While admission to the fairs was minimal, averaging between 25¢ and a dollar, the cost of the items reflected the increasing wartime inflation. For instance, a small cake might sell for $75, while a doll might fetch $1,000. Consequently, most fundraising fairs, and indeed most other activities, raised only a couple of hundred dollars, with a very few gathering thousands.

Another popular activity was the *tableaux vivant.* These were popular public performances where women posed in a still life as background music played. The subjects of the performances included literature, history, and current events, with interpretations of the works of Shakespeare or representations of war issues (with young ladies dressing as states) proving the most frequent.

Beginning in 1862, Confederate women also began forming gunboat societies, local groups that sought funds for the construction of military gunboats to serve as homeland defense for the Confederacy. Recognizing the inability of the Confederate government to provide complete security for the homefront, women in coastal cities, such as Charleston, Mobile, Savannah, and New Orleans, collected money to finance their own waterfront defense.

Some debate and criticism took place over the appropriateness of these public activities by women. Traditional gender boundaries limited women to private avenues of support; the expectation was that women would not be the public face of the war effort. With the creation of gunboat societies, the gender transgression appeared severe. Women were encroaching on the male military realm and should not be directing or financing the Confederacy's military needs. However, most women in these organizations were trying to fill a need left vacant by their government rather than criticizing specific military policy. Indeed, throughout the war, material need overshadowed gender conventions, and Confederate women largely gained favorable public recognition for their wartime fundraising efforts.

Women in the Union also made significant contributions to the war effort through fundraising. Like their Confederate counterparts, Union women, both individually and as part of local church or aid societies, hosted and performed in benefit concerts, tableaux, suppers, theatricals, and raffles to raise money for their cause. Both cash and supplies in-kind were accepted as admission fees; the purpose of Union women's efforts was to provide whatever material assistance they could to their troops.

Unlike the Confederacy's mostly local efforts, Union women were able to organize their fundraising on a national scale. Estimates suggest between ten thousand and twelve thousand local aid societies were gathering money and supplies for the Union during the war. In an effort to streamline and centralize these disparate efforts, in 1861, a group of women met in New York City to create the Women's Central Association of Relief. Recognizing the need for cooperation with and support from the Federal government, the ladies presented their ideas to President Abraham Lincoln and won his approval for the establishment of the United States Sanitary Commission (USSC). The goals of the organization were threefold: to supplement govern-

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ment aid to soldiers, to coordinate the fundraising efforts of smaller aid societies, and to gather information on the conditions in and the needs of military camps and hospitals. To achieve these aims, the USSC established ten regional headquarters that would serve as collection and distribution centers.

Although gathering the contributions from small local fairs occupied much of the early work of the USSC, war needs demanded larger-scale efforts. In October 1863, the Northwestern branch of the USSC held a two-week fundraising fair in Chicago. As with the smaller fairs, women were the driving organizational and promotional force. In addition to door-to-door solicitations, women traveled throughout the region to gain support and sent countless letters and pamphlets to advertise the fair. Admission to the Chicago fair was 25¢, or $1 for a season pass, with soldiers and sailors given free admission. On the fairgrounds, attendees could buy products, view war memorabilia, or attend tableaux, concerts, or other theatrical performances. At the end of the two-week run, proceeds amounted to over $100,000 for the Northwestern Sanitary Commission.

The success of the Chicago fair led to others in Cleveland, Boston, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, and California. One of the largest and most financially successful events was the New York City Metropolitan Fair, held in April 1864. Again, women led the organizational efforts. Fairgoers paid between 25¢ and $1 entry fee for the opportunity to purchase goods ranging from furniture and sewing machines to dry goods and lingerie. Special events also drew interest, including a gallery of Mathew Brady photographs, as well as musical and theatrical performances with patriotic themes; these events charged an additional 25¢. The women organizers' work was richly rewarded: the fair was open for three weeks, and, in May 1864, organizers sent the USSC a check for $1 million. Throughout the war, the time, talents, and determination of Union women's fundraising activities, whether at the local, regional, or national level, contributed between $15 and $50 million dollars in goods procured or money raised for the Union cause.

Kristen L. Streater

See also Aid Societies; Columbia Bazaar (January 17–21, 1865); Confederate Homefront; Domesticity; Fairs and Bazaars; Gunboat Societies; Northern Women; Separate Spheres; Southern Women; Union Homefront; United States Sanitary Commission; Women's Central Association of Relief.

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G

Garrison, William Lloyd (1805–1879)
Radical abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison published the antislavery paper *The Liberator.* He supported the necessity of immediate emancipation of slaves and equality for African Americans.

William Lloyd Garrison was born in 1805 in Newburyport, Massachusetts. In 1808, his father, who had struggled with unemployment and alcoholism, abandoned the family. William attended school infrequently, often working odd jobs to help his mother support the family, especially after his older brother James left the family to go to sea. After serving short stints as an apprentice first to a shoemaker and then to a cabinetmaker, William found his true calling as an apprentice to Ephraim W. Allen, owner and editor of the *Newburyport Herald.*

In the 1820s, Garrison joined the leading antislavery organization of the time, the American Colonization Society (ACS). He met abolitionist Benjamin Lundy who traveled the antislavery lecture circuit calling for the gradual emancipation of slaves. Garrison helped Lundy revive his antislavery newspaper, the *Genius of Universal Emancipation.* By 1830, however, Garrison had converted to what was then called immediatism and left the ACS. Lundy and Garrison dissolved their partnership.

Garrison published the first issue of his antislavery newspaper *The Liberator* on January 1, 1831. In his newspaper Garrison wrote that slavery was a sin against God and that all slaveholders were sinners. The abolition of slavery had to begin without delay. *The Liberator* became the antislavery movement's pre-eminent publication and served as the main instrument for Garrison's views. In 1832, Garrison helped found the New England Anti-Slavery Society and a year later took a prominent role in the founding of the American Anti-Slavery Society (AASS). Garrison authored the AASS's Declaration of Sentiments, which combined religious and human rights arguments against slavery. Under Garrison's leadership, the AASS emphasized moral suasion by promoting the abolition of slavery through an appeal to the religious conscience of Americans, particularly slaveholders.

As his involvement in the antislavery movement grew, Garrison developed close ties with the abolitionist movement in England, supporting visits by British abolitionists like George Thompson to the United States and in turn visiting abolitionists in England. In the midst of the postal campaign of 1835, Garrison was mistaken for Thompson, attacked in Boston, dragged through the streets to be lynched, and was saved only through the quick action of the city mayor and police who fought off the mob. In the South, Garrison was burned in effigy. Throughout the 1830s, Garrison developed a reputation as a harsh and unrelenting critic of slavery.

Garrison shared much in common with the reformers of his time. Slavery was but one battle against the social inequities and moral depravity that reformers saw everywhere in American society in the antebellum period. Like other reformers, Garrison was involved in many movements to remake American society. Because of his broad interests in

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With the help of abolitionist philanthropist Arthur Tappan, radical abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison started an antislavery paper, *The Liberator*, on January 1, 1831. (National Archives and Records Administration)

reform and his sharp, uncompromising style, Garrison had trouble with his supporters and opponents in the AASS. Garrison supported women's rights and, unlike many abolitionists of the time, equal rights for African Americans. He further believed in nonresistance, the rejection of government politics, and Christian perfectionism. The tensions in the AASS reached a flash point in 1840 when Garrison's opponents, led by Lewis and Arthur Tappan, broke away from the organization and founded the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Garrison was left with full control of the AASS, which left the American antislavery movement forever split between Garrisonians and Tappanites.

In the 1850s Garrison's belief that a slave power conspiracy dominated Congress deepened, and on July 4, 1854, after fugitive slave Anthony Burns was returned to his owner under the newly adopted Fugitive Slave Law, Garrison staged a public burning of the Constitution, calling the document a covenant with death. In 1859 Garrison expressed his admiration of John Brown as a martyr to the slaves' cause. Garrison did not support Lincoln's soft stand on slavery, but he did support the Union during the Civil War. In 1863, he rejoiced at the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation, which he believed transformed the war for the Union to a war to free the slaves. With the successful passage of the Thirteenth Amendment, Garrison believed his mission was finished. In May 1865, he abandoned the AASS, leaving its leadership to Wendell Phillips who continued the organization until 1870. In December 1865, Garrison ceased publication of *The Liberator.* After the war, Garrison supported the Radical Republicans' plans for Reconstruction.

William Lloyd Garrison died at his daughter's home in 1879.

Julie Holcomb

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; African American Women; Antislavery Societies; Free Blacks; Politics; Thirteenth Amendment; Union Homefront.

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Gay, Mary Ann Harris (1829–1918)

A native of Decatur, Georgia, Mary Ann Harris Gay witnessed General William T. Sherman's conquest of Atlanta as a young woman and published her memoir, *Life in Dixie during the War,* in 1892.

Born in Milledgeville, Georgia, Mary Gay was raised in Decatur as the daughter of an upper-class slaveholding family. Her family staunchly sup-

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ported the Confederacy and invested heavily in Confederate war bonds. In addition, her only brother served under General John Bell Hood. Gay remained in Decatur for the duration of the war years and worked diligently to support the Confederate effort. On several occasions, she hid clothing and contraband for Confederate troops, conveyed information and even people across battle lines, and spoke unapologetically in favor of the Confederate cause both during and after the war.

During the siege of Atlanta, Union troops overtook her home and utilized it as a headquarters office. Gay unrelentingly spoke in favor of Confederate troops and communicated what she learned from Union officers to officers in the camp of General Hood. After Sherman's evacuation of the city, Gay worked to help those who remained in Atlanta by collecting minié balls from the battlefields and exchanging them for bread. In the final months of the war, Gay was devastated by news of her brother's death at the Battle of Franklin.

Mary Gay had been a published author before the war, and during the Reconstruction years she used her writing talents as a means to support her family. She had her 1858 collection of poems and essays, *Prose and Poetry by a Southern Lady,* reprinted and marketed it aggressively, even selling it door-to-door. She gained national attention with her work: Mark Twain lampooned her florid and highly dramatic style of writing in *Tom Sawyer,* but the book went through eleven editions.

Gay's postwar activities included advocating for the preservation of battlefields and the construction of Confederate memorials, fundraising for the Baptist Church, and the organization of a local chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. Her 1892 memoir, based on her brother's wartime letters, her sister's journal, and her own memories, quickly became a favorite of Confederate veterans and a staple of Atlanta's wartime lore. It also provided some inspiration for Margaret Mitchell's best-selling *Gone with the Wind.*

Kristen L. Rouse

See also Atlanta, Evacuation of (Special Field Orders Number 67); Sherman's Campaign (1864–1865); United Daughters of the Confederacy.

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Gettysburg, Battle of (July 1–3, 1863)

One of the few battles that directly engaged Northern civilians, the Battle of Gettysburg was the bloodiest battle of the Civil War. Fought in and around the town of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, on July 1–3, 1863, this military engagement resulted in approximately fifty thousand combined casualties. During the battle, hundreds of female civilians were trapped in their homes. They successfully endured the contest and afterward aided the hundreds of doctors, nurses, and other volunteers who flooded the town to help the wounded.

Confederate General Robert E. Lee began his second invasion of the North in June 1863 with the intention of drawing the Union army of the Potomac into a decisive battle. The Union army, ordered to repel Lee's troops and prevent an advance by Confederate columns on key cities such as Washington, D.C., and Baltimore, pursued the Confederates with approximately ninety thousand men. By the end of June, Lee's forces were scattered in Pennsylvania. Upon learning that General George Meade was pursuing him, Lee ordered a concentration of his men at the nearest crossroads town: Gettysburg, a town of about twenty-four hundred citizens.

On June 30, Federal cavalry arrived in Gettysburg. On the next day, supported by infantry, Union soldiers attempted to hold off attacks by two of Lee's corps. Eventually, the Confederates got the upper hand and flanked the Union line. Withdrawing through Gettysburg in confusion, Union troops rallied on a ridge to the south of the town. Many soldiers got lost during the retreat and were captured in the streets. Unionist women and other civilians, unable or unwilling to leave their homes before the battle began, did their best to shelter hiding Union troops as they settled in to prepare for the Confederate occupation of the town.

On July 2 when both armies had brought up a majority of their units, Meade's line was in the shape of a fishhook, anchored by two hills and

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curved around Cemetery Ridge. Lee, whose forces continued to hold the town, took the initiative and ordered an attack on both Union flanks. Meeting with initial success on their right, rebel troops shattered one Union corps. However, after meeting stiff resistance on a hill named Little Round Top and along the center of the Union line, the attack failed to achieve its goal of crushing the Federal army. On the Confederate left the fighting yielded equally disappointing results.

Lee decided to stake the entire battle on one final assault against the center of the Union line on the next day. At about one in the afternoon on July 3, Confederate artillery opened up a concentrated fire on the Union front. After the bombardment, approximately fifteen thousand Confederate infantrymen advanced across a mile of open ground against Cemetery Ridge. Afterward known as Pickett's Charge, the assault failed due to well-aimed Union artillery and determined defenders along Cemetery Ridge.

Following this repulse, Lee ordered a retreat. Columns of worn-out Confederate troops crowded the roads south, marching along with wagon trains filled with the wounded and dying. Thousands of other wounded men were left behind, in the care of Union doctors and medical volunteers who descended on the town after the battle ended. A Union field hospital was created on the outskirts of town to better handle the vast numbers of wounded. Members of the United States Sanitary Commission and the United States Christian Commission offered their services to the Union medical authorities, who were overburdened in the immediate aftermath of the conflict.

In Gettysburg, civilians emerged from their hiding places into a town that had been battered and fought over for three days. A stray bullet had killed one of their own, a young woman named Jenny Wade, as she baked bread for the soldiers during the battle. The civilians, both those who had lived through the battle and those who were returning to town, had little time to mourn the near destruction of their community. Whether enthusiastically or reluctantly, they opened their doors to the wounded, serving as nurses and improvising makeshift hospitals out of barns, houses, public buildings, and churches. For the next few weeks, the cleanup of the town consumed their time and energy as they comforted the wounded and dug graves for the dead.

Lee's second invasion of the North failed to bring the decisive victory he sought. However, the Confederate defeat at Gettysburg did not ensure a Union victory. Bitter combat would continue for two more years. In November 1863, President Abraham Lincoln dedicated a national cemetery at Gettysburg to commemorate the fifty thousand casualties of the battle.

Kanisorn Wongsrichanalai

See also African American Women; Civilian Life; Foraging, Effects on Women; Impressment; Hospitals; Lee, Robert Edward (1807–1870); Military Invasion and Occupation; Northern Women; Nurses; Union Homefront; United States Christian Commission; United States Sanitary Commission.

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Gibbons, Abigail "Abby" Hopper (1801–1893)

Quaker abolitionist and prison reformer Abigail "Abby" Hopper Gibbons spent the Civil War nursing sick and wounded soldiers in battlefield areas as well as in hospitals. She dedicated herself before and after the war to improve prison conditions for women, to rehabilitate released women, and to aid needy and outcast women and children.

Both the Hopper and Gibbons families were accustomed to activism and its attendant censure. Born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, to Quakers, Isaac T. and Sarah Hopper, Abby grew up knowing

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that her father was not only a tailor who assisted needy prisoners and prostitutes, but also an underground railroad operative. Abby was educated in a Quaker school taught by Lucretia Mott and later started her own school. In the late 1820s, she went to New York to be close to her widowed father, who had moved there with his second wife. Abby continued to teach. In February 1833, she married James Sloan Gibbons, a Quaker from Delaware and a partner in her brother-in-law's mercantile business. Between 1834 and 1843, Abby had six children, four of whom lived to adulthood: Sarah, Julia, Lucy, and Willie. The latter died as the result of an accident while attending Harvard.

After their marriage, Abby opened a school for blacks in her home, and her husband worked for a bank. Abby joined the Manhattan Anti-Slavery Society, a group with a majority black membership, while her husband represented the American Anti-Slavery Society. In 1841 their local Society of Friends disowned the Hopper and Gibbons families because they persisted in actively working to end slavery and to achieve other social reforms and because Hopper continued to serve on the committee that published the *National Anti-Slavery Standard,* which criticized an influential Quaker minister.

After seeing the unsanitary and dangerous conditions that female prisoners experienced in New York prisons, Abby established the Female Department of the New York Prison Association in 1845, an organization that became the Women's Prison Association. She also pushed for mandates requiring separate quarters and matrons for female prisoners. Working with prostitutes and women inmates led her also to become concerned about children's welfare. She started a school for German immigrants and sought better conditions for New York orphans and mentally impaired children.

Initially, Gibbons joined countless other women in sending supplies to soldiers. On winter visits in 1861 to hospitals that received her food and bandages, she realized she could be more useful as a nurse. She and her daughter, Sarah, volunteered to assist sick and wounded soldiers, preparing special food, bathing, comforting, and writing letters. Their mission took them to Washington, D.C., Winchester, Virginia, and Point Lookout, Maryland; Abby was in charge of nursing for a time in Point Lookout.

Throughout her service, Gibbons was an advocate for contrabands, facing criticism and ostracism. When mobs rioted in New York against the military draft, they expressed their anger at the family's abolitionist and Unionist activities by burning the Gibbons house. Undaunted, Abby returned to nursing duty. Daughter Lucy, who with her father and sister had been forwarding supplies and tending to veterans from their home, accompanied Abby.

After the war, Abby organized several charities in her home state: the Labor and Aid Society to provide work for returning veterans, a dining hall offering nutritious meals for hospital patients, and an orphanage. During the 1870s and 1880s, in collaboration with the Women's Prison Association and as a national leader for the Moral Reform Movement, she championed several reforms to improve women's lives. She successfully petitioned the New York governor to place women on school, hospital, prison, and other social institution boards. She lobbied New York State and Federal legislators to oppose the regulation of prostitution and urged them instead to support rehabilitation of prostitutes as well as criminalizing their solicitation.

Shortly after obtaining legislative approval for a women's rehabilitation center in a country setting with residential cottages and gardens, Gibbons died in January 1893. She is buried in Greenwood Cemetery, Brooklyn, New York.

Nancy L. Adgent

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; Aid Societies; Contrabands; Draft Riots and Resistance; Education, Northern; Hospitals; Mott, Lucretia Coffin (1793–1880); Northern Women; Nurses; Prostitution; Quaker Women; Religion; Teachers, Northern; Union Homefront; Wartime Employment.

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Gilman, Caroline Howard (1794–1888)

Perhaps the most popular Southern female writer of her time, Caroline Howard Gilman is best recognized for her domestic novels representing women and children as the moral basis of society. Gilman is also known as a poet, children's author, and editor of and writer for one of the first American children's journals.

Gilman was born in Boston on October 8, 1794, to a prosperous family, the fifth of six children. Her father Samuel Howard, a shipwright, died when she was a toddler, and her mother, Anna Lillie Howard, died in 1804. After her mother's death, Caroline's older sister raised her, and she was moved around the Boston suburbs without receiving regular formal education. She began writing poetry at a young age, and in 1810 a newspaper published her poem "Jephthah's Rash Vow" without permission. Gilman later wrote that the poem's unauthorized publication had caused her great embarrassment. In her early twenties, she allowed a story to be published in the *North American Review.*

Caroline Howard Gilman, the nineteenth-century Southern writer known for her novels of domestic life which centered around women and children (1794–1888). (Duyckinck, E. A. and G. L. Duyckink, *Cyclopaedia of American literature*, 1866)

Caroline met Samuel Gilman, a Harvard graduate and clergyman, in 1810. They wed on September 25, 1819, and moved to Charleston, South Carolina, where Samuel was a minister. The couple had seven children, four of whom survived. Perhaps grief at the loss of their sixth child in 1831 caused Caroline to plunge into her editing and writing career.

On August 11, 1832, the first issue of *Rose-Bud, or Youth's Gazette,* was published. Gilman's literary magazine for youth underwent a number of name changes, including *The Rose Bud* (August 11, 1832–August 24, 1833), *The Southern Rose Bud* (August 31, 1833–August 22, 1835), and *The Southern Rose* with the September 5, 1835 issue. A format change accompanied the last name change, transforming the magazine from a weekly to an eight-page bimonthly, printed on a higher-quality paper, with a higher subscription rate. Additionally, the intended audience widened to include adults. Gilman wrote a number of the magazine's items, including most of the poetry, fiction, travel accounts, and book and magazine reviews. She had the privilege of publishing Hawthorne's poem, "Lily's Quest," which he submitted in appreciation of a favorable review of his work. Later issues of the journal published fewer original works, and the last issue was published August 17, 1839.

Gilman endeavored to bring the North and South together through her writing, but she strongly favored the South. A Southern writer brought up in the North, she was generally supportive of the South, but did not firmly establish her Southern allegiance until the attack on Fort Sumter. The Gilmans kept house slaves, and Caroline believed that slaves were better off than the freed workers in the North. Nonetheless, there are accounts of the couple buying slaves for the purpose of giving them an education and freeing them to pursue a trade. Gilman's writings in her magazine reflected her views regarding slavery, including sketches of Negro life around Charleston that depicted slaves as part of a happy and idle community. This belief, which isolated her from some of her Northern readers, may have been what led to her strong support of the Confederacy during the Civil War.

Three of her serialized novels that she published in her magazine were also published separately.

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Recollections of a Housekeeper (1834), written under the pseudonym Mrs. Clarissa Packard, is a narrative of a middle-class woman who trains young women as domestic workers. *Recollections of a Southern Matron* (1838) depicts life on a plantation. Her third novel, *Love's Progress,* was published in 1840.

In 1858, Samuel died, and Caroline stayed in Charleston. In March 1862, her house was shelled, and she moved to Greenville, South Carolina, to help Confederate soldiers by supplying them with food and medical aid. Gilman returned to Charleston after the war to discover that most of her possessions and papers had been destroyed.

In 1870, she returned to Cambridge, Massachusetts. During the 1870s, she published four books, two with her daughter, but she never regained the popularity she had enjoyed before the war. She lived in Washington, D.C., with her daughter Eliza, where she died September 15, 1888.

Sigrid Kelsey

See also Fiction Writers, Southern.

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Girlhood and Adolescence

Whether girls were raised in the North or the South, their fortunes were set by the priorities of fathers and male relatives during the Civil War era. Brothers were first to get educations, so girls trained at an early age to accommodate acceptable female gender roles. Girls provided labor on farms, in households, and in factories, but their educations were subordinate to brothers, who would be wage earners. Some girls kept journals to record the momentous events occurring around them.

The agricultural and urban settings in which girls were raised often determined the opportunities that they would have in adult life. As soon as girls could walk and move about independently, they entered long-term apprenticeships with their mothers or other older women in the household. Although in England many girls during the 1860s entered domestic service to earn extra income for their fathers' households, in America mostly orphaned girls went into domestic apprenticeships. Many girls living in antebellum America longed for better opportunities outside the household. Once they completed their educations, the extent of which depended on their families' financial situations, they helped their mothers care for younger children in the household or went to live with another family to help with domestic duties.

During the early months of the Civil War, boys and girls traveled to battle sites and viewed skirmishes. However, children did not always have to travel to see action; as the war progressed, women and children often got caught in riots or battles that flared up in the countryside. Girls in the South became firsthand witnesses to battles and sometimes helped care for wounded soldiers. They also helped their mothers create and deliver items to needy soldiers.

Girls did their part to aid the soldiers of their nation. Many girls became active fundraisers for specific units, hospitals, and soldiers' aid societies for both sides of the war. In Philadelphia there was a flurry of children's fairs during 1862 to raise cash and supplies for local companies and army hospitals. Schools gathered wagons of food and linens. Institutions such as asylums for the disabled, industrial and missionary schools, orphanages, houses of refuge, the so-called colored homes, and schools all donated handmade items that could be sold at the fairs to benefit the war effort. In addition, children held their own sanitary fairs in backyards, on front porches, and in homes, where they sold lemonade and baked goods. School girls gathered on Saturdays to sew and knit and to do fancy needlework projects to sell. Many sanitary fairs in Northern cities featured girls dressed like the "old woman who lived in the shoe" who sold dolls to raise money; other girls sold baked goods, handicrafts, and kisses.

For female slaves, childhood was an indoctrination into a highly stratified plantation structure. The most important familial relationship in the slave

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community was between mother and child. Since slave women were not allowed to fulfill the traditional domestic roles for their own families, they created order in their own communities. Elder slaves, including pregnant women, women with nursing infants, and children, initiated slave girls into their roles on the plantation. By adolescence, slave girls had already learned brutal life lessons from elders. Sex role differentiation for girls in field labor was not guaranteed. Slave women had little control over their work, but in some instances they could cultivate food for their own children or develop gray market industries. Slave girls were trained to do domestic chores, but in rare cases they could move into certain less menial occupations including work as forewomen, cooks, or medical care providers, where they could develop connections to white populations. For example, elite plantation women relied on slave midwifes to bring children into the world, and the slave women provided early child care. Older slave women and adolescent girls provided surrogate mothering to white children, often at the expense of their own children.

In literature, new concepts of girlhood and female adolescence emerged out of the Civil War. In antebellum America, few women authors could expect to earn a living by writing for children. However, changes in the publishing and reading market during the war allowed the success of a new type of author. The war put a halt to publishing while supplies were scarce, especially in the South. Northern publishers concentrated on lucrative family markets. In addition, American literature achieved an economic boost after the war. The phenomenon of girl and family stories, or domestic novels, written by female authors, reflected the development of a middle-class domestic audience that would become pivotal to American literary history.

The financial and emotional stability of many families was shattered during and after the Civil War. Women were left to support families when husbands, brothers, or fathers were killed or disabled. This challenge opened the door for female authors and stories for girls, many of which offered wartime roles for girls to emulate. The most popular girls' stories were written by women describing aspects of their own domestic lives and reflecting important social issues for women and girls. Many authors projected their own desire for social change into their juvenile female characters. Early female authors of girls' stories included Sophie May, the pseudonym for Rebecca Sophia Clarke, who was known for her Little Prudy series, first published in 1863. She developed her lively and natural girl characters within familial environments and lightly conveyed moral lessons. Elizabeth Stuart Phelps Ward created books about twelve-year-old tomboy Gypsy Breynton, including *Gypsy's Cousin Joy* (1866), *Gypsy's Sowing and Reaping* (1866), and *Gypsy's Year at the Golden Crescent* (1867). Louisa May Alcott's *Little Women* (1868), set during the Civil War, established the standard for adolescent girl-

A portrait of a young girl near the end of the Civil War, 1865. (Library of Congress)

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hood by tracing the struggles of the March girls to endure adversities while their father was at the front.

The Civil War affected how girls saw and interpreted the world around them. It created a new landscape, both physical and literary. Girls that came of age in the Civil War era found their lives forever shaped by their experiences as workers, aid providers, writers, and readers.

Meredith Eliassen

See also Alcott, Louisa May (1832–1888); Diaries and Journals; Fairs and Bazaars; Family Life, Confederate; Family Life, Union; Slave Families.

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Gorgas, Amelia Gayle (1826–1913)

The entries in Amelia Gayle Gorgas's Civil War journal reveal much of the daily labors, fears, and challenges faced by women on the Southern homefront. After the war, Gorgas remained an unreconstructed Rebel and supported the creation of the Museum of the Confederacy.

Born June 1, 1826, in Greensboro, Alabama, Amelia was the third child of Sarah Haynesworth and John Gayle. Her mother died of lockjaw when Amelia was eight. As a judge, lawyer, United States congressman, and two-term governor of Alabama, John Gayle played a prominent part in society. Her family's prominence opened many doors for Amelia. She attended schools in Greensboro and Tuscaloosa before being sent, in 1841, to the Columbia Female Institute in Tennessee. When her father was elected to Congress in 1846, she accompanied him to Washington, D.C. In 1853, when her family moved to Mount Vernon, Alabama, she met Josiah Gorgas, a career army officer. The two married later that year and had six children: four girls and two boys.

When the South seceded, Josiah resigned his army commission and joined the Confederate army. The family lived briefly in Charleston until Josiah became chief of the Confederate Ordnance Department. After giving birth to her fifth child in Charleston, Amelia and her children joined Josiah in Richmond. Amelia reconnected with family and friends living in the state and focused much of her energy on the Confederate cause. Amelia helped raise money for the troops, nursed the wounded soldiers in Richmond's hospitals, sewed items for the soldiers, and fed hungry soldiers. She often sent her children to deliver baskets of provisions. Despite frequent food shortages across the Confederacy, the Gorgases led an active social life in Richmond. When Amelia and her children traveled briefly to Greensboro, North Carolina, in mid-1862, they experienced the food shortages that plagued the South.

During the evacuation and occupation of Richmond in April 1865 Amelia stayed at her sister's home, comforting her children while looters and arsonists roamed the streets. When the cost of living increased beyond the family's means, she took her children to Baltimore, where they remained until April 1866 when the family moved back to Alabama. After Josiah suffered a massive stroke in 1879, the University of Alabama gave him the position of university librarian, which Amelia fulfilled. After his 1883 death, she officially became the university librarian. She became the second woman to receive a pension from the Carnegie Foundations. Amelia died January 3, 1913. In 1925, the University of Alabama named the library in her honor.

Rebecca Tolley-Stokes

See also Confederate Homefront; Diaries and Journals; Domesticity; Family Life, Confederate; Southern Women.

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Government Girls

During the Civil War, many Northern women took jobs as clerks and office workers in the expanding Federal bureaucracy. Often called government girls, these women filled positions previously held by men in peacetime as well as new positions made necessary by the war. Government girls worked in the Treasury and War Departments, as well as in the post office and Quartermaster General's Office. As they did in many jobs, female government workers received lower pay than their male counterparts. However, the pay for government girls was higher than women could make in other wartime jobs.

The Civil War did not mark women's first entry into government jobs. Before the war, for example, Union nurse Clara Barton worked in the United States Patent Office alongside other women. Still other women held jobs at the United States Mint. The expansion of the Federal government and its departments during the lengthy Civil War required the creation of a new workforce. With so many men fighting on the battlefront or involved in the military aspects of the Union war effort, the United States government turned to its women to fill the new posts. Many women welcomed the opportunity to aid their nation and earn much needed money. The government's wartime hiring practices often prioritized the applications of wives and widows of Union soldiers.

In 1862, United States Treasurer Francis Elias Spinner authorized the hiring of women in his department. The new female employees, who worked as currency trimmers, copyists, and currency counters, received $600 a year—half the salary of men—for their five-and-a-half-hour workdays. Other government girls worked in the War Department and the Quartermaster General's Office as copyists and clerks. By the end of the war, hundreds of women had worked in United States government.

Nineteenth-century gender ideals led many Americans to publicly question the morals of female workers, whether in government jobs or otherwise. Criticism centered on the propriety of women working in the public sphere alongside men. In response to these concerns, many administrators established separate workspaces for their female employees. The quartermaster general even posted a guard at the female clerks' workroom door. In 1864, playing on societal fears, newspapers publicized various allegations of immorality in the Treasury Department. A Congressional investigation proved the accusations false, but many female workers never escaped the suspicion of impropriety.

In 1864, Federal legislation capped the salaries of female clerks in Federal offices at $600, though it was raised to $720 by 1865. It was not until 1870 that Congress passed legislation allowing female government clerks equal pay to men. However, women were kept at an effectively lower rate of pay because they were rarely assigned the high-paying jobs given to men, but were instead given low-paying menial jobs.

Lisa Tendrich Frank

See also Barton, Clara (1821–1912); Domesticity; Factory Workers, Northern; Northern Women; Separate Spheres; Treasury Girls; Union Homefront; Wartime Employment.

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Grant, Julia Dent (1826–1902)

The pampered daughter of a prosperous Missouri planter, Julia Dent Grant was the wife of Ulysses S. Grant, the lieutenant general of the Union's armed forces and president of the United States from 1869 to 1877.

Despite her marriage to a man who would instigate so much carnage toward ending the institution of slavery and preserving the Union, Julia Dent was an unrepentant slaveholder who retained idyllic memories of her privileged youth in slave-owning society. Her engagement to Grant, the handsome young army officer who had been her brother's roommate at West Point, was frowned on by both families. The Dents feared Grant's apparent lack of economic prospects; the Grants disapproved of the slaveholding status of the Dents. The couple never-

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Julia Dent Grant, wife of Ulysses S. Grant (1826–1902). (Library of Congress)

theless married in St. Louis in 1848. They began their family while Ulysses pursued his early, and greatly dissatisfying, military career, and then a highly unsuccessful stint in the civilian world. With the Civil War came his re-entry into military life, and an upsurge in his direction and spirits, as he rose to become commander of the Union forces. Julia, meanwhile, achieved celebrity status in the press, and, during the war and in the presidential years, she enjoyed the public spotlight. Although a novice to the Washington social scene in the Lincoln era, during her husband's administration, she became known for the lavish entertainments held at the White House.

Rumors about the Grants circulated throughout their marriage. Stories about Julia stressed that she functioned as an important steadying presence for her complex, shy, brilliantly decisive and daring, but inconsistent and easily corrupted husband. The two delighted in one another's company and she visited him in the field during many of the key campaigns of the Civil War. Rumors had it not only that she bolstered and focused her husband's energies, but also that she monitored his alcoholism, helping to ensure that his ability to exercise good judgment in military command remained uncompromised by liquor. Julia staunchly denied her husband had problems with drink or depression, and she attributed this version of events to his detractors. She did, however, accept that he expected her support and her focus on family life. Their long affectionate relationship was one of the great love affairs of nineteenth-century public life, and there is little question that she was a personal mainstay during Ulysses Grant's stressful military command.

After Ulysses's scandal-ridden two terms as president, the couple toured the world from 1877 to 1879, feted by heads of state and royalty. Business failure and financial ruin dominated the postpresidential years, capped with Ulysses's painful death from cancer. Written at the end of this life, his *Personal Memoirs of U.S. Grant* was tremendously successful. Julia's memoirs were not published in her lifetime. However, the royalties from his book allowed Julia to live comfortably after her husband's July 1885 death.

Julia died in 1902 and was buried in New York in Grant's Tomb with her husband.

Barbara Bair

See also Northern Women; Politics; Slaveholding Women; Southern Women; Union Homefront.

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Greenhow, Rose O'Neal (ca. 1814–1864)

An outspoken proponent of Southern rights, Rose O'Neal Greenhow actively participated in the Civil War by supplying military information to Confederate leaders. She traveled to Europe in 1863 on what

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some speculate was official business and, upon her return to the Confederacy, tragically died.

Rose O'Neal likely was born around 1814 in Port Tobacco, Maryland, the middle of five daughters born to John O'Neal and Elizabeth Hamilton. Her father was killed by a servant in 1817, and her mother probably died before 1830. Rose and some of her sisters went to live with an aunt and uncle at the Old Capital Boardinghouse in Washington, D.C. Rose was greatly influenced by the congressmen, especially Southern fire-eater John C. Calhoun, who lived at the boardinghouse when Congress was in session.

Rose married Virginian Robert Greenhow, a lawyer, linguist, and historian in 1835 in Washington, D.C. During the 1830s and 1840s, the Greenhows had three of their daughters, Florence, Leila, and Gertrude, as well as a son, Morgan, who died as an infant. Robert traveled often during this time, and Rose helped him with his research and writing. During the late 1840s and early 1850s, the Greenhows worked in Mexico City and San Francisco, where Robert opened a law office. In late 1852 a pregnant Rose returned to Washington, D.C. Daughter Rose was born in the winter of 1853.

Robert was injured in February 1854 in San Francisco and died in March. Rose traveled to California to handle her husband's affairs and sued the city for his injuries. She won a settlement of $10,000 and went back to Washington.

During the late 1840s and 1850s, Rose Greenhow became one of the most influential women in Washington. She corresponded with many people, knew everyone of consequence, and entertained prominent people of various political persuasions. By 1860 the Greenhow home was a well-known meeting place for Southern sympathizers.

Captain Thomas Jordan, a member of General Winfield Scott's staff, made Rose Greenhow the center of a Washington spy ring. Jordan, who intended to join the Confederate army, stayed with Scott for about a month before resigning. During this time, he studied Scott's plans for conducting the war and established a Rebel spy ring. By the time he joined the Confederate army as a member of General Pierre G. T. Beauregard's staff, Jordan's spy ring was well organized. Jordan gave Rose a cipher with which to encode messages, and she provided news about troop movements. With the help of Greenhow's timely information, Beauregard won a significant victory at Bull Run in July 1861.

In August 1861, the Union Secret Service arrested Rose O'Neal Greenhow at her home and searched the premises for several days. Rose tore up many important documents before they put a guard on her, but the bits of paper found in her grate were pasted back together to provide the detectives with enough information to charge Greenhow. She and her youngest daughter became prisoners in their home. Other prisoners soon joined them there.

Indignant articles about the imprisonment of women appeared in newspapers, some contributed by Rose. The publicity was damaging, and, worse, United States officials could not keep Greenhow from continuing to channel valuable information south. Greenhow became a liability to the War Department, and the government decided to take a firmer stand with her. In January 1862 they moved her and her daughter to the Old Capitol Prison. In March Greenhow was brought before the United States Commissioners. On June 2, 1862, she signed a statement pledging not to cross north of the Potomac River during the war without permission from the United States Secretary of War, and she was sent south.

Greenhow arrived in Richmond, Virginia, two days later. To her delight, when she met with President Jefferson Davis, he praised her for her role in the first battle of Bull Run. Greenhow, probably in conference with Davis, decided to go to England to publish the book she had written about her imprisonment. Greenhow may have also hoped to gain support for the Confederacy from the officials of England and France.

Greenhow and Little Rose embarked for England from Wilmington, North Carolina, on a blockade runner in August 1863. She published her diary, *My Imprisonment and the First Year of Abolition Rule in Washington* (1863). In England, to gain support for the Confederacy, Greenhow visited with dignitaries, including Lords Russell and

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Palmerston, and she traveled to France, where she had an audience with Emperor Napoleon III. In the early fall of 1864, after unsuccessful meetings with British and French officials, Greenhow decided to return home with the information she had gathered. On her trip home, she may have carried important dispatches for Confederate officials in Richmond.

Greenhow left Scotland in August 1864 on the blockade runner, the *Condor.* In the early morning hours of October 1, 1864, the *Condor* ran aground while attempting to run the blockade into Wilmington. Evidently in fear that she might be imprisoned by Federal authorities again, Greenhow demanded to be put ashore in a small boat. It capsized and she drowned.

The ladies of Wilmington cared for Greenhow's body and the Soldiers' Aid Society arranged for the funeral. Greenhow's body lay in their chapel on a bier draped with a Confederate flag, as hundreds of people paid their last respects. She was buried in Oakdale Cemetery in Wilmington.

Debra A. Blake

See also Blockade Running; Bull Run/Manassas, First Battle of (July 21, 1861); Female Spies; Southern Women.

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Griffing, Josephine Sophia White (1814–1872)

Abolitionist, lecturer, women's rights activist, and freedmen's aid reformer, Josephine Sophia White Griffing participated in the Western Anti-Slavery Society, the Loyal League, and the National Freedmen's Relief Association of Washington, D.C.

Born on December 18, 1814, in Hebron, Connecticut, Josephine was the daughter of farmer Joseph White and Sophia Waldo. Her father had also served in the state legislature. Little is documented of her childhood. She married Charles Stockman Spooner Griffing on September 16, 1835; they soon moved to Litchfield, Ohio, and became active in the Western Anti-Slavery Society, affiliated with the Garrisonian wing of abolitionism. Josephine gave birth to five children, although two died in childhood.

During the 1850s she offered her home to slaves using the Underground Railroad. As a paid agent for the Western Anti-Slavery Society, she lectured and sang abolition songs at several antislavery meetings and contributed to the *Anti-Slavery Bugle,* published in Salem, Ohio. Griffing also used this newspaper to present her views on women's rights, joining and later serving as president of the Ohio Woman's Rights Association.

Griffing's efforts increased with the commencement of the Civil War. She joined the Loyal National League in 1863 and spearheaded an antislavery petition drive. As a paid lecturing agent, she traveled to Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin to secure signatures for petitions.

In September 1864, in a letter to President Abraham Lincoln, she addressed issues of newly emancipated freedmen, whose loss of bondage meant that they needed training and employment for sustenance. She also recommended unlimited asylum for freedmen, and cooperation between the churches and other relief organizations.

Having foresight not exhibited by other abolitionists, Griffing went to Washington, D.C., in 1864 to become the general agent of the National Freedmen's Relief Association of the District of Columbia. Here she managed a vocational school for seamstresses.

She promoted creation of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, commonly known as the Freedmen's Bureau, and was hired in 1865 as the assistant to the Assistant Commissioner for Washington, D.C. She made many public appeals, much to the chagrin of the Bureau and was dismissed later that year. Even after her departure, she worked to secure free transportation

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of former slaves to the North by contacting the presidents of the Baltimore and Ohio and Pennsylvania Railroads.

Rehired by the Bureau as an employment agent in 1867, Griffing located jobs for former slaves. In 1868 she convinced the Bureau to adapt the Sanitary Commission building as a tenement for the poor. When the Bureau ceased in 1869, Griffing continued her work with the National Freedmen's Relief Association, helping especially the elderly and disabled. She was credited with assisting seven thousand freedmen in their quest for new jobs and homes in the North. During her final years, Griffing was elected a vice president of the American Equal Rights Association in 1866, and addressed the Senate Judiciary Committee in 1871.

Griffing died on February 18, 1872, likely of tuberculosis.

Ralph Hartsock

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; Antislavery Societies; Freedmen's Bureau; Garrison, William Lloyd (1805–1879); National Women's Loyal League [Women's National Loyal League]; Northern Women; Union Homefront.

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Grimké (Weld), Angelina (1805–1879)

South Carolina–born Angelina Grimké became a leading abolitionist and women's rights activist. She spoke publicly against slavery and published antislavery tracts at a time when women were not allowed to speak in public forums. As a highly charismatic debater, she penned one of the earliest documents by an American woman supporting the abolition of slavery with her controversial work, *An Appeal to the Christian Women of the South.* She worked with her sister Sarah, as well as with other prominent abolitionists, to make Northerners aware of the conditions of Southern slaves.

Angelina Emily Grimké was the youngest daughter of Mary Smith and prominent Charleston judge John Faucheraud Grimké. Angelina was very close to her older sister, Sarah, who treated her like a goddaughter. The girls had a relatively easy childhood, and Angelina was more capricious and forceful than her sister. Angelina first demonstrated her independent mind when she refused to be confirmed in the Episcopal Church at the age of thirteen, instead converting to the Presbyterian Church.

Frustrated with her family's determination to hold slaves, Angelina convinced church members to speak out against slavery. She organized an interfaith female prayer meeting—a move that seemed unorthodox to Charleston society. Although she suffered with bouts of agonizing self-doubt, Angelina found her vocation in her determination to abolish slavery. During the winter of 1827, sister Sarah, a member of the Society of Friends, visited Angelina and introduced her to Quaker beliefs. Once she moved to Pennsylvania, Angelina's strong rhetoric brought her to the attention of leading abolitionists, who tapped her speaking abilities to attract audiences.

Angelina began keeping a journal in January 1828, and she continued to make regular entries in it for five years. Her journal detailed the horrors of slavery and chronicled her growing displeasure at the injustice of the institution. During the autumn of 1829, alienated from her South Carolina family, Angelina left Charleston to join her sister in Philadelphia. She wrote a letter to an abolitionist newspaper supporting the antislavery work of William Lloyd Garrison and giving her personal accounts of experiences in a South Carolina slave-owning family. Her letter was published in Garrison's *The Liberator,* publicly linking Angelina to the abolitionist movement.

Angelina and Sarah worked for charity organizations in Philadelphia. During 1831, Angelina became a member of the Fourth and Arch Street Meeting of Quakers, and she contacted Catharine Beecher to enroll in her Hartford Female Seminary to train to be a teacher at an infant school. Angelina attended an antislavery meeting in early 1835, and then was the first Grimké sister to join the Philadel-

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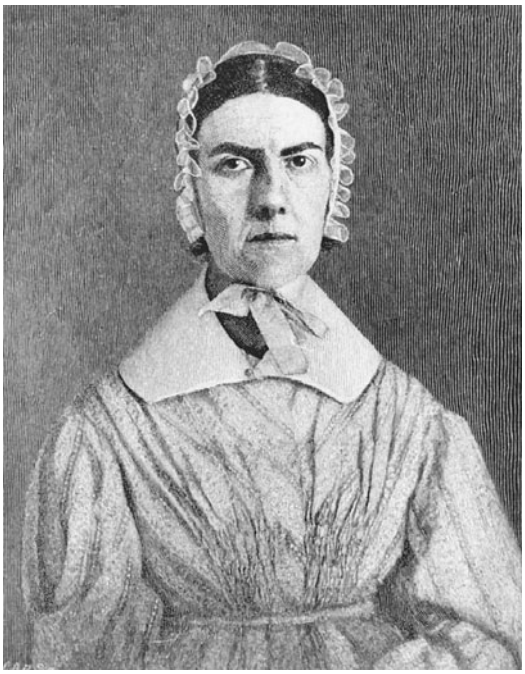

South Carolinian Angelina Grimké and her sister, Sarah Grimké, played important roles in the U.S. abolition and women's rights movements. (Library of Congress)

phia Female Anti-Slavery Society. In 1836 Angelina wrote *An Appeal to the Christian Women of the South,* published by the American Anti-Slavery Society. In the *Appeal,* Angelina asserted that slavery harmed white Southern women by fostering sexual misconduct among slaveholding men. This radical essay offended the sensibilities of many white Southerners by pointing out that many slave children resembled their white fathers. Postmasters in Southern states were ordered to confiscate copies sent through the mail, and Angelina was advised not to return to Charleston.

Angelina accepted an appointment by the American Anti-Slavery Society and moved to New York City, where she organized meetings for women interested in the abolitionist cause. A more eloquent and easy speaker then her sister Sarah, Angelina's meetings soon outgrew the private parlors of female abolitionists. After a few ministers opened their churches to her speeches, Angelina drew mixed crowds of men and women. In 1837, she wrote a second pamphlet, *Appeal to the Women of Nominally Free States.* A year later, she became the first woman ever to testify before a Massachusetts legislative committee on the subject of antislavery petitions. The Grimké sisters saw war over slavery as inevitable and saw no other way to abolish the South's "peculiar institution."

Angelina married antislavery activist Theodore Weld in 1838. Two days later, she delivered a lecture to an antislavery convention in Philadelphia. Her rhetoric so impassioned the mob outside the convention hall that they torched the building, burning it to the ground. As early articulators of abolition and women's rights, the Grimké sisters received far more censure than their Northern female counterparts. During lecture tours, they drew men and women to their events, raising the ire of the Massachusetts Association of Congregational Ministers, which issued a publication entitled "Pastoral Letter," condemning their behavior as unwomanly. The letter further denounced the sisters' public speaking as antibiblical.

The Grimké sisters found themselves in a two-way battle for the abolition of slavery and for the defense of the rights of women. They were at the forefront of an unprecedented movement by women in the United States to address moral and social reform, as well as married women's property rights, which went beyond the issue of slavery. The sisters went against the wishes of some powerful male abolitionists when they spoke and participated in national discourses. Angelina believed adamantly that women needed to be recognized as moral, intelligent, and responsible members of society.

Angelina and Theodore Weld had three children: Charles Stuart, Theodore Grimké, and Sarah Grimké Weld. For the couple, the Civil War came at a time of familial loss. Their younger son, Theodore, became ill with an affliction known as Sody. In 1863, they closed their school in Eagleswood, New Jersey, resettling in West Newton, Massachusetts, and then in Hyde Park, a community south of Boston, where the Welds and Sarah taught at a progressive school for young ladies until after the Civil War.

Angelina Grimké died October 26, 1879.

Meredith Eliassen

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See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; Garrison, William Lloyd (1805–1879); Grimké, Sarah Moore (1792–1873); Quaker Women.

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Grimké, Sarah Moore (1792–1873)

The daughter of Mary Smith and prominent Charleston judge John Faucheraud Grimké, Sarah Moore Grimké became an important abolitionist who shaped the rhetoric of feminism during the antebellum era. Born and raised on a slaveholding plantation, Sarah witnessed contradictions of the ruling elite in South Carolina. Throughout her adult life, Sarah challenged women to develop intellectually rather than relying solely on physical appearance and superficial charm to gain social recognition.

Sarah, known as a woman of great force and directness, was a highly intelligent girl who excelled in all the branches of polite education for ladies. Based on her sex, she was denied access to subjects that her brothers could study. Although Judge Grimké refused to allow his daughter to study Latin with her brother Thomas, he did not object to her debating with her brothers around the house. In this forum, Sarah honed her ability to argue with razor sharp logic. She later used this skill to argue effectively for the abolition of slavery and for women's rights.

During her twenties, Sarah began to have mystical experiences. While traveling in Pennsylvania and New Jersey with her ailing father, Sarah was impressed with the simplicity of the Quaker lifestyle. This experience presented a way of life that contradicted Sarah's Southern sensibilities, because she perceived that women in the Quaker community shared authority with men. Sarah was motivated to exert her moral authority at home. When she returned to Charleston, Sarah used her position as a Sunday school teacher to defy laws against teaching black children to read. At the time, this was a radical move, and the community took notice.

After their father's death in 1819, Sarah and her younger sister Angelina convinced their mother to give them slaves as their share of the family estate. Then, to their mother's displeasure, the sisters freed their slaves. In 1821, Sarah relocated to Philadelphia and joined the Society of Friends. The Quakers allowed women to become ministers, but Grimké was discouraged from taking this course. She became involved in the abolitionist movement when she clashed with Quaker elders over their treatment of African Americans and her inability to speak on their behalf. She wrote the *Epistle to Clergy of the Southern States* (1828) containing a rhetorical refutation of any biblical justification of slavery.

Sarah maintained an on-again, off-again relationship with widower Israel Morris, a Quaker merchant who proposed marriage to her twice; each time Sarah refused him—and she never married. After Angelina married the ardent abolitionist Theodore D. Weld, Sarah joined their household when the Welds settled in Belleville, New Jersey. Sarah taught at Weld's school, and the sisters gathered articles containing proof culled from Southern newspapers of the harsh realities of slavery. This collection provided the material for *American Slavery as It Is: Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses* (1839), by Sarah and her brother-in-law. This book inspired a plotline utilizing a fugitive slave character Lucy that appeared in Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852).

In response to a "Pastoral Letter" by the Massachusetts Association of Congregational Ministers, which condemned the sisters' public speaking, Sarah and Angelina agreed that they could not move forward in the abolitionist movement until they had dealt with women's rights. Sarah's *Letters on the Equality of the Sexes and the Condition of Women* (1838), first published in Boston newspapers and then bound as a book a year later, became

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With her sister, Angelina Grimké, South Carolinian Sarah Grimké was active in the U.S. abolition and women's rights movements. (Library of Congress)

the first American feminist treatise on women's rights. Sarah chronicled the legal and economic disabilities of women around the world, creating an innovative argument about the theological and ethical rationale for women's rights and rejecting the two-sphere schema that asserted men and women had radically different natures and roles in the world. Antebellum sensibilities, in line with the common law practice of coverture in marriage, asserted that a woman held power in "her dependence." This was based on the belief that husbands would act in the best interests of family stability. Sarah undermined this notion when she argued that women had far greater influence over the minds and character of children of both sexes and therefore should have access to education.

Sarah and the Welds faced financial hardship during the late 1840s, and opened a boarding school in 1851. In 1854 they opened the Eagleswood School in connection with Raritan Bay Union, a communal settlement established by Marcus Spring in Perth Amboy, New Jersey. While the utopian settlement soon failed, Eagleswood lasted until 1862. The sisters never severed ties with their family in Charleston. Their brother Charles died in 1857, and, during the Civil War, they contributed support for their invalid brother John until his death in 1864.

Sarah hoped that slavery would be abolished without going to war, and she criticized Lincoln for fighting the war to save the Union rather than for emancipation. She wanted the South to work out the problem of slavery, but she recognized that it would happen only out of dire necessity. Sarah felt the South incorrectly focused its fight to maintain the Southern lifestyle, culture, and economy, to the point that it was going to die "a coward's death." Sarah felt that the North, with an ambiguous agenda, was ambivalent in its rhetoric to end slavery. Therefore, the inevitable abolition of slavery was likely to bring a mired period of reconstruction, during which any dignity in the Southern lifestyle would be lost.

In 1868, Sarah and Angelina Grimké discovered that two young black men studying in Pennsylvania were their nephews. The sisters acknowledged the young men, welcoming them into their household. Archibald Henry Grimké, a Harvard Law School graduate, became a prominent writer and civil rights leader in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, while Freeman Jones Grimké, a Princeton Theological Seminary graduate, became a minister and spokeperson for the African American community.

Sarah Grimké died on December 23, 1873.

Meredith Eliassen

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; Garrison, William Lloyd (1805–1879); Grimké (Weld), Angelina (1805–1879); Quaker Women.

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Guerrilla Warfare

Civil War guerrillas were self-identified groups who did not belong to, or receive pay from, the regular army; they seldom took prisoners, and they engaged their enemy through raids, demolition, executions, and other forms of violence outside set battlefields. "Guerrilla warfare" is a term often used to describe all irregular actions, but it is only one component of unconventional warfare and differs from both partisanship and organized army raids. Civil War partisans were regulated units of the conventional army that provided reconnaissance, scouting, ambushes, stealth operations, and harassment of conventional enemy forces; they were also used as counterirregular forces against guerrillas. Uniformed partisans could be made prisoners of war, but guerrillas were often hanged as outlaws. This type of nineteenth-century combat differs from twentieth-century guerrilla warfare and insurgencies, both ideologically and doctrinally, and it must be understood as historically distinct.

The term "guerrilla" was widely applied by Civil War veterans to describe unconventional actions. Most guerrilla and partisan operations took place in the South and Trans-Mississippi West, with significantly more Confederate than Union participation. The Confederacy passed the Partisan Ranger Act in 1862, legitimizing the role of certain independent unconventional units. In contrast, the Union did not distinguish between the regular and irregular tactics of their cavalry and never formalized a doctrine defining different roles. During the Civil War, participants acknowledged a hierarchy of unconventional and conventional warfare, ranging from disorganized criminals to organized armies. From the least organized to the most, the hierarchy moved from irregular factions to regular troops: brigands and criminals, bushwackers, guerrillas, partisan rangers, Mosby's rangers, Morgan and Forrest's raiders, and, for example, the Army of Northern Virginia. Conventional forces typically had little regard for irregulars, and the name "guerrilla" was often applied as a pejorative, particularly to diminish the contributions of Confederate partisan leaders.

Women were supporters, participants, resisters, and victims of guerrilla warfare. Regular soldiers might become guerrillas after finding their homes destroyed and their families starving or killed. Anti-guerrilla strategies often focused on destroying the irregular forces, regardless of civilian casualties. Counterinsurgency operations were initiated throughout the war to undermine grassroots support of guerrilla units in occupied areas. Guerrilla and partisan operations often had severe and detrimental effects on civilian women, exposing them to torture, sexual assault, forced migration, and displacement.

As supporters and participants in guerrilla warfare, women experienced many roles. Some adhered to gender conventions, acting in their positions as wives, lovers, mothers, and sisters, while others acted outside the prescribed norms of female behavior. Kate King Quantrill, the wife of guerrilla leader William Clarke Quantrill, accompanied his raiders into the field against pro-Union jayhawkers. She often wore men's clothing and became indistinguishable from the other guerrillas. A West Virginia woman using the name Nancy Hart led mounted patrols against Union troops, becoming so successful that a reward was offered for her arrest. She was captured, but she was able to shoot and kill her guard and escape. Malinda Blalock dressed as a man to enlist in the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Infantry with her husband Keith, but the couple was soon discharged and became Unionist guerrillas, responsible for several bloody skirmishes.

Women supplied male guerrillas with food, shelter, and information, often jeopardizing themselves. If caught, they were subject to arrest and jail. In November 1862, Brigadier General John McNeil arrested Margaret Creath and Mildred Elizabeth "Lizzie" Powell for smuggling munitions, and accused them of using their beauty to make honest men into guerrillas. Under similar circumstances, Federal troops arrested Sallie and Jennie Mayfield in Missouri, eventually incarcerating them in the female military prison in St. Louis. Detainment was the most benign consequence of guerrilla involvement, and the possibility of torture, assault, and murder was constant. During the winter of 1863, the Sixty-fourth North Carolina Infantry beat and hanged the wives, mothers, and grandmothers of

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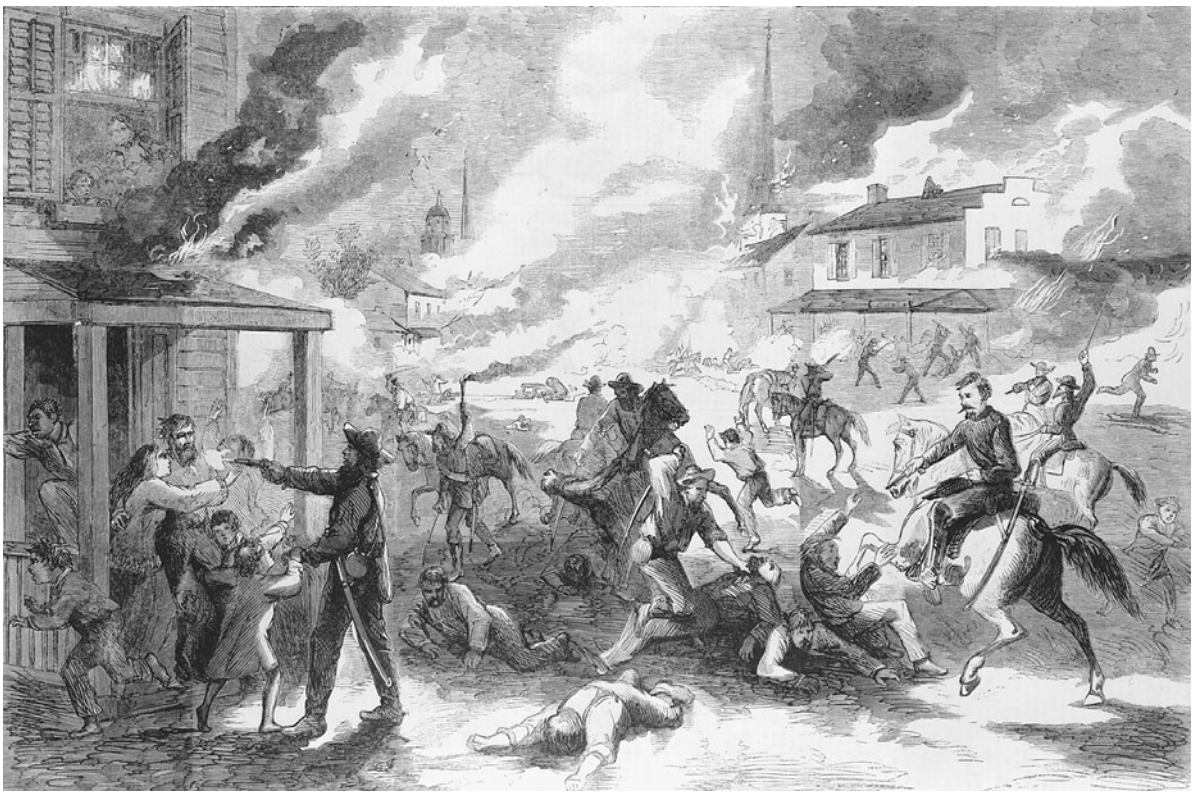

Attack led by Confederate guerrilla leader William Clarke Quantrill against the abolitionist stronghold of Lawrence, Kansas, on August 21, 1863. During this raid, 150 unarmed men and boys were murdered and most of the town was burned. (Library of Congress)

suspected Unionist guerrillas in Shelton Laurel, North Carolina, before rounding up and killing thirteen men. In a different raid, one woman was tied to a tree with her baby left crying several feet away; the guerrillas threatened to leave her there, unable to tend her infant, unless she confessed her husband's whereabouts.

As resisters and victims of guerrilla warfare, women struggled to defend their homes and children. Women in the South and the Trans-Mississippi region were in the path of both regular and irregular armies. The constant danger and deprivation forced them to develop different tactics of survival. One group of educated middle- and upper-class women from LaGrange, Georgia, responded to their vulnerable position by forming a militia unit they named the Nancy Harts, after a Revolutionary War heroine. They learned to drill and use firearms, but maintained their positions as elite ladies by focusing solely on the defense of their homes. They supported the homefront cause while their husbands fought with the regular army, and after the war they spoke about their actions as respected members of the Daughters of the Confederacy.

Female civilians were targets of unconventional warfare for many reasons and from both sides of the conflict. Guerrillas sought to drive opposition from their territory through terror, or they stole food and livestock, leaving families without resources; anti-guerrilla operations deprived the enemy of supplies by burning crops and homes. Refugees fled to avoid persecution, only to find themselves more vulnerable to guerrilla attacks. Escaping Arkansas guerrillas, for example, Bethy Toney and her children were robbed of their wagon and oxen by bushwackers and left alone in the wilderness with nothing but their clothes. The Toneys were not the only refugees from Arkansas; guerrillas in the

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region so viciously terrorized the citizenry that a mass forced migration resulted. Similar forced migrations occurred throughout Kansas, Missouri, and the South. Refugee women faced starvation and exposure, and, when they were relocated, they often found overcrowded accommodations with poor sanitation and high rates of disease. Without male support or resources, they had difficulties feeding and caring for themselves and their children.

Guerrilla warfare is a people's war, with no front lines. During the American Civil War, women were both willing participants and innocent victims of irregular operations throughout the South and Trans-Mississippi West. They became refugees, militia members, and guerrillas in an effort to survive and sustain their loyalties.

Dawn Ottevaere Nickeson

See also Blalock, Malinda [Sam Blalock] (ca. 1842–1901); Civilian Life; Confederate Homefront; Destruction of Homes; Destruction of Personal Property; Disease; Domesticity; Family Life, Confederate; Female Combatants; Female Spies; Hart, Nancy (ca. 1843–1902); Imprisonment of Women; Military Invasion and Occupation; Mosby's Rangers; Quantrill, William Clarke (1837–1865); Refugees; Southern Women.

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Gunboat Societies

Gunboat Societies offered women a unique way of providing homefront support to their husbands, sons, and fathers serving in the Confederate military. Based on the antebellum practice of female fundraising activities for benevolent associations, Gunboat Societies served as a vehicle for women to raise money that would be used to build ironclad boats. These vessels, called Ladies Gunboats or Petticoat Gunboats by some, were needed to protect Southern coasts and rivers from Union advances during the first years of the Civil War.

Women in New Orleans held the first gunboat fair in November 1861. By February, the idea had spread to Mobile, Alabama. During the spring and summer of 1862, women across the South started their own associations, including the Charleston Ladies Gunboat Association, the Ladies Defense Association of Richmond, the Augusta Gunboat Society, and the Alabama Women's Gunboat Fund. In addition to fairs, women held concerts, bazaars, auctions, and dinners to raise money. Society members collected whatever they could from supporters, including everything from common household items to fancy needlework. Newspapers published the names of contributors, large and small, creating friendly rivalries between cities and more important, publicly announcing who supported the Confederacy. Society members also made donations. Many gave personal objects such as jewelry to be melted down by the Tredegar Ironworks to make necessary items to outfit the ships. In addition to fundraising, some women toured the finished gunboats with Confederate dignitaries.

The most active members of the Gunboat Societies were from wealthy Southern families, but women from all economic groups, both black and white, supported them. Some Southerners questioned the appropriateness of such public actions, while others encouraged and assigned women this role as a necessity of war. *The Montgomery Advertiser* called on its female citizens to do more than their noble deeds of rolling bandages and caring for the wounded. They wanted women to contribute to the war effort by raising funds for a new military vessel.

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The women of these societies often found themselves competing against more powerful male organizations devoted to raising money for gunboats. Therefore, the success of female activities depended on the public support of civic and business leaders. Some made significant contributions such as the $20,000 gift from Augusta city officials to the Georgia Ladies' Gunboat Fund. Men also collected pledges and took care of the women's growing treasuries.

Gunboat Societies remained active until 1863, when Southerners no longer supported the public boatbuilding efforts due to disappointing Confederate naval losses in 1862 and the effectiveness of the Union blockade. As gunboat donations waned, women shifted their attention to raising funds for more immediate needs. Local authorities often requested this redirection of purpose. For example, officials in Petersburg and Mobile asked the women to delay or cease their gunboat campaigns and instead purchase hospital supplies. By this time, duty-bound Southern women had raised over $60,000 to finance the construction of three gunboats: the *Charleston,* the *Fredericksburg,* and the *Georgia.* Female collections also paid in part for the ironclad *Palmetto State.*

Kelly D. Selby

See also Confederate Homefront; Domesticity; Fairs and Bazaars; Fundraising; Separate Spheres; Southern Women.

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Women in the American Civil War

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Lisa Tendrich Frank

Editor

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Ream, Vinnie (1847–1914)
Reconstruction (1865–1877)
Refugees
Reid, Mary Martha (1812–1894)
Remond, Sarah Parker (1826–1894)
Ricketts, Fanny (n.d.–1900)
Ropes, Hannah (1809–1863)
Roswell Women
Rural Women
S
Safford [Stafford], Mary Jane (ca. 1831 or 1834–1891)
Schuyler, Louisa Lee (1837–1926)
Secession
Separate Spheres
Sewing Bees
Shaw, Sarah Blake Sturgis (1835–1902)
Sheads, Carrie (n.d.–1884)
Sheridan, Philip Henry (1831–1888)
Sheridan's Shenandoah Valley Campaign (1864)
Sherman, Ellen Boyle Ewing (1824–1888)
Sherman Land (Special Field Orders, Number 15)
Sherman's Campaign (1864–1865)
Sherman, William Tecumseh (1820–1891)
Shiloh, Battle of (April 6–7, 1862)
Shortages
Slater, Sarah Antoinette (n.d.–n.d.)
Slave Families
Slaveholding Women
Smith, Caroline "Cassie" Selden (1837–1907)
Solomon, Clara (ca. 1845–1907)
Southern Unionists

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Southworth, Emma Dorothy Eliza Nevitte (1819–1899)
Stanton, Elizabeth Cady (1815–1902)
Stephens, Octavia "Tivie" Bryant (1841–1908)
Stone, Cyrena Ann Bailey (1830–1868)
Stone, Lucy (1818–1893)
Stone, Sarah Katherine "Kate" (1841–1907)
Stowe, Harriet Elizabeth Beecher (1811–1896)
Summerlin, Mary (ca. 1837–n.d.)
Surratt, Mary E. Jenkins (1823–1865)
Swisshelm, Jane Grey (1815–1884)
T
Taylor, Susie Baker King (1848–1912)
Teachers, Northern
Teachers, Southern
Telegraph Operators [Telegraphers]
Thirteenth Amendment
Thomas, Ella Gertrude Clanton (1834–1907)
Tompkins, Sally Louisa (1833–1916)
Towne, Laura Matilda (1825–1901)
Treasury Girls
Truth, Sojourner [Isabella Baumfree] (1797–1883)
Tubman, Harriet [Araminta Ross] (1822–1913)
Turchin, Nadine [Nedezhda] Lvova (1826–1904)
U
Union Soldiers, Motives
Unitarian Women
United Daughters of the Confederacy
United States Christian Commission
United States Sanitary Commission
Urban Women, Northern
Urban Women, Southern
Usher, Rebecca (1821–1919)
V
Van Lew, Elizabeth (1818–1900)
Velazquez, Loreta Janeta [Harry T. Buford] (1842–1897)
Victor, Metta Victoria Fuller (1831–1885)
Vivandières
W
Wakeman, Sarah Rosetta [Lyons Wakeman] (1843–1864)
Walker, Mary Edwards (1832–1919)
Western Women
Widows, Confederate
Widows, Union
Wilderness, Battle of (May 5–7, 1864)
Willis, Sarah Payson [Fanny Fern] (1811–1872)
Wittenmyer, Annie Turner (1827–1900)
Woman Order (General Order No. 28)
Women's Central Association of Relief
Woolsey, Jane Stuart (1830–1891)
Wormeley, Katharine Prescott (1830–1908)
Wounded, Visits to
Z
Zakrzewska, Maria [Marie Elizabeth] (1829–1902)

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Introduction

Until the past few decades, most scholars would have agreed with Margaret Mitchell's narrator, who asserted in *Gone with the Wind,* that war "is men's business, not ladies" (Mitchell, *Gone with the Wind,* 8). Indeed, until recently, only a few scholars dared to treat women as central players in the American Civil War. Instead, the bulk of the scholarship on the war pushed women to the margins, discussing them only as a sidebar to the "important" work done by men on the battlefields and in the political arena. In most accounts, the women stayed at home as unnamed civilians, while the men in their worlds fought the battles that defined the outcome of the war. A few nurses were recognized for their valor, but their wartime efforts remained overshadowed by those of military men, such as William Tecumseh Sherman, Ulysses S. Grant, Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson, and Robert E. Lee, as well by those of politicians like Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis. This book reflects the growing and increasingly sophisticated literature on women during the American Civil War that demonstrates the need to acknowledge women's central roles in pursuing the war and in determining its outcome. Rather than auxiliaries, women across all racial, class, ethnic, religious, and geographic lines were an essential component of the action. Slave women and their white female owners shaped and were shaped by the war, as were female abolitionists, yeoman farmers, recent immigrants, widows, and domestic laborers. Whether living in the North, South, or West or in the countryside or city, women of all classes and backgrounds found ways to involve themselves in the events shaping their lives.

Although this volume focuses on women in the Civil War period, it does not glorify them for the sake of noticing them. Instead, the entries in this encyclopedia offer a nuanced view of how women survived, contributed to, undermined, and lived through the Civil War. This approach contrasts sharply with that of the literature about Civil War women appearing throughout the nation immediately after the war. These accounts typically elevated women, particularly elite white women, to a mythical status as self-sacrificing feminine patriots. To create this mythology, the accounts, written by both men and women, emphasized women's nurturing roles on the homefront, especially as nurses, seamstresses, and fundraisers for their men on the battlefield. The women of these extensive volumes provided the necessary support for politicians and soldiers, but they rarely played any independent role in the conflict. Instead, they willingly gave up their food, fancy clothes, comfort, homes, and loved ones in support of a cause that they believed in. They never stepped outside the boundaries of what was then considered proper womanhood, but rather performed their wartime tasks with the knowledge that they did them for the men. Those who took on the extraordinary roles as soldiers and spies were often portrayed as doing so in the name of the men they loved.

The reality of women's wartime experiences, however, was much more complicated than this self-sacrificing feminine image suggests. As women

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stepped outside their traditional roles as sweethearts, wives, mothers, sisters, and daughters, many willingly took on roles that, at the time, some classified as unfeminine. Some white Southern women, for example, vehemently supported or opposed disunion, engaged in political debates, attended secession conventions, and otherwise eagerly participated in the political sphere. Some Northern women similarly joined and helped form abolitionist organizations, petitioned Congress to limit the expansion of slavery, and otherwise became political actors. Once the war began, Northern and Southern women took government jobs, served as spies and soldiers, wrote political and fictional accounts of events, took themselves to the battlefield as frontline nurses, ran farms and plantations to varying degrees of success, worked as doctors, hid deserters and shirkers, protested conscription and wartime shortages, provided information and supplies to enemy soldiers in their midst, offered advice to husbands in military command, and otherwise demonstrated that they made their own choices throughout the war. Enslaved African American women helped turn the war into a fight for emancipation, claiming safety behind Union lines, reuniting with family members, and otherwise pursuing freedom. Free black women helped raise Union regiments, nursed injured and sick soldiers as necessary, and formed aid societies to help the soldiers and widows of their communities. Others remained leery of stepping outside the boundaries of femininity and instead remained on the sidelines as support staff to the men of their families. Many women, regardless of their stances, kept diaries of their experiences and observations of the war and of the people involved. Women of all backgrounds sent letters—filled with words of support, complaint, or requests—to their men at the front. In all cases, however, women could not escape a war that had such wide reaching effects.

To best explore how women experienced and affected the course of the Civil War, this title contains a mixture of types and lengths of entries. The fourteen contextual essays at the beginning outline the general contours of the war, the different types of women, the wartime issues, as well as the experiences of women in particular. These extended entries, appearing at the start of the volume and separated from the traditional alphabetical entries, provide an overview of how various groups of women experienced the era and how women in general shared similar experiences. Specifically, the essays explore abolitionism and Northern reformers, African American women, the Confederate homefront, female spies, female combatants, military invasion and occupation, Northern women, nurses, politics, religion, Southern women, the Union homefront, wartime employment, and wartime literature. Collectively, these essays provide an overview of the female experience during the war. They offer a broad outline of the war experience that is augmented by the individual shorter entries throughout the rest of the volume.

The bulk of the volume consists of more than three hundred entries that detail the experiences of women during the American Civil War without necessarily glorifying them, as was done in the postwar literature. They explore topics that traditionally fall under the headings of military affairs, social life, labor issues, politics, and culture. Some of the entries are explicitly about women, often biographical sketches of well-known and not so well-known participants and observers. Other entries explore famous military and political events, like the Battle of Gettysburg or the wartime elections, introducing and emphasizing the traditionally neglected participation of women. Women's roles in the recruitment of soldiers, the protest of wartime policies, the care of wounded men, and the creation of supplies for the men of both armies are highlighted. In addition, the volume details the cross-dressing women who served as soldiers in the Confederate and Union armies, as well as the employment of women in government and private-sector jobs. It also contains details about emancipation, slave life, and the enlistment of African American soldiers. Even women's homefront lives and roles are explored from various viewpoints. In short, this volume details the contributions and experiences of women across the social, ethnic, and racial spectra.

Each of the alphabetical entries contains the basic components of an encyclopedia—details, dates, names, and the other essential facts for the term—with special attention paid to how the topic

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relates to the experiences of women during the war. Biographical entries detail the milestones of the person's entire life, but the bulk of their information relates to the individual's wartime experiences. Similarly, entries on battles and other traditional military topics contain the outline of maneuvers and tactics, with special attention paid to the contributions of female spies, civilians, nurses, and soldiers as well as to how women experienced or reacted to the event. Each entry also contains cross references to allow users to flesh out the contours of the wartime experience through a reading of related entries. Finally, all the entries contain a list of specialized books and articles that will allow readers to further explore the topics covered.

The twenty-four primary sources included in the volume offer a first-hand look at women's wartime experiences. They cover a wide array of viewpoints and events, including the Richmond bread riots, the capture of Union spy Pauline Cushman, the formation of United States Sanitary Commission–sanctioned aid societies, the life of a slave woman, the education of freed people by Northern women, and the evacuation of Atlanta. In addition, they offer a brief glance at some of the contemporary popular literature, North and South. The disparate experiences outlined in these sources lend credence to the need for an encyclopedia that examines women's individual wartime experiences. Although these sources are all by or about women, they each offer a specific viewpoint on the war, on its effects, and on women's involvement, demonstrating the impossibility of casting women's wartime experiences in monolithic terms.

Exploring this volume, readers discover the centrality of the Civil War to the lives of American women and American society. Indeed, many scholars paint the Civil War as a defining moment in the history of the United States. Military historians stress its importance as the first modern war—a statement about the tactics, technology, and interaction of civilians. Social historians have uncovered the transformative nature of the war in a host of areas. Many women's historians argue that the wartime participation of Northern women in abolitionism, nursing, and aid societies led to the coalescence of a woman's movement in the Northern states. Even scholars of tourism demonstrate how the unprecedented movement around the nation by military troops helped to develop more of a nationwide tourism industry than had existed in antebellum America; soldiers wanted to revisit and bring their loved ones to the places they had fought, and widows and other family members wanted to visit the places where their loved ones had lost their lives. The Civil War did, in fact, alter the lives of all who lived through it. However, individual backgrounds, as well as locations, wartime experiences, and expectations, resulted in lingering effects that each person felt differently.

Readers may also be surprised by the connections between the homefront and the warfront, between civilians and soldiers, and between women and men that this encyclopedia illuminates. Although scholars have often ignored women in their military treatments of the Civil War because they were not on the battlefield, women's omnipresence on the homefront shaped how officers directed their military campaigns and determined what soldiers would eat and wear. Northern and Southern women's often unpaid work as nurses, recruiters, fundraisers, seamstresses, cooks, and laundresses provided essential functions for the waging of war. By performing these tasks, women fulfilled a need for labor and goods that would have otherwise drawn men from their positions on the battlefront. Consequently, women—whether they were rich or poor, black or white, Native American or immigrant, Southern or Northern, rural or urban—helped determine the outcome of the war and in turn were shaped by the events around them.

In addition, for many women, the homefront became the battlefront. Communities in the Shenandoah Valley, for example, constantly shifted between Union and Confederate control, and the residents there found themselves dealing with soldiers on a daily basis. They had to find a way to survive, retain their loyalties, and support their own troops. Similarly, in occupied Southern cities such as Vicksburg, Mississippi, women had to choose between loyalty oaths and possible starvation when occupying Union troops vowed not to do business

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with Confederates. Some women chose to take loyalty oaths while harboring Confederate allegiance, and others found their fervor for the Southern nation dampened by the realities of war and occupation. In New Orleans, Union officials dealt directly with what they saw as Southern women's insolence. Fed up with the behavior of the city's women, General Benjamin Butler issued the Woman Order to bring Confederate women under control and to force them to behave like ladies with the occupying troops. African American women, who expected the Union army to bring freedom from slavery and its horrors, often found themselves confronted with Northern racism. Much to their surprise, these women faced rape as well as the loss or destruction of their property by those they thought would be their liberators. Northern women, for their part, assumed themselves safe from invasion. However, some faced Confederate soldiers when the troops pushed northward, most notably into Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. Like their Southern counterparts, these women were forced to find ways to protect themselves and their families from enemy soldiers.

Even when they did not face enemy troops, women's roles on the homefront remained essential to the course of the Civil War. As many scholars and participants have noted, women's moral and material support allowed men to leave home for military duty. Women's objections to the course of the war or to the cause that their men supported often proved equally powerful. Some women, unable to handle the business at home on their own, urged their husbands to desert. Other women created underground groups of protest in their communities, such as the secret Unionist circle in Atlanta frequented by Cyrena Stone. In more drastic instances, women took to the streets to make their voices heard. In cities across the South, for example, hundreds of women participated in food riots in 1863, drawing attention to their needs in a time of shortage. That same year, many Northern women participated in draft riots throughout Northern cities.

In addition to the contextual essays and alphabetic entries, this volume also contains two additional resources to help readers understand the experience of women and the Civil War. At the start of the volume, there is a chronology that integrates women's participation in the Civil War with the traditional military and political events. At the end of the volume, an extensive bibliography offers researchers a way to begin their search for information on the topics covered and on the Civil War in general.

Margaret Mitchell may have penned her famous and misleading words about the Civil War a couple of generations ago, but her message resonates to this day. Hopefully, this encyclopedia helps illuminate the falsehood of treating war as men's work and of ignoring women in our interpretations and understandings of the Civil War. This volume, as well as the growing literature on women and the war, should make it clear that war is also women's work.

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Chronology

January 1831
Abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison publishes the first issue of *The Liberator.*

December 1833
The American Anti-Slavery Society forms in Philadelphia.

July 1840
Abby Kelly is elected to the board of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Subsequent debate over the role of women in the abolitionist movement results in some members forming the separate American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. William Lloyd Garrison remains with the American Anti-Slavery Society.

July 1848
Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and other supporters of women's rights hold a convention at Seneca Falls, New York, and issue a Declaration of Sentiments.

September 1850
President Millard Fillmore signs a series of bills that deals with states' rights and the extension of slavery into the new territories of the United States that becomes known as the Compromise of 1850.

May 1851
Sojourner Truth delivers her "Ain't I a Woman?" speech at a women's rights convention in Akron, Ohio.

June 1851
Washington-based abolitionist newspaper, *The National Era,* begins publishing in serial form Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin; Or, Life among the Lowly.*

March 1852
Uncle Tom's Cabin; Or, Life among the Lowly is published in book form.

April 1853
Harriet Tubman begins working on the Underground Railroad.

May 1854
Congress passes the Kansas-Nebraska Act.

March 1857
The Supreme Court makes its *Dred Scott v. Sanford* ruling.

October 1859
Abolitionist John Brown leads a raid on the federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, hoping to initiate a slave rebellion.

April 1860
Anna Dickinson delivers "The Rights and Wrongs of Women" at a Quaker meeting.

November 1860
Abraham Lincoln is elected president of the United States.

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December 1860
South Carolina secedes from the Union.

January 1861
Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana secede.
Harriet Jacobs [Linda Brent] publishes *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl.*

February 1861
Texas secedes.
Seceded states hold convention in Montgomery, Alabama, where they adopt a Confederate Constitution and elect Jefferson Davis president of the Confederate States of America.

March 1861
Abraham Lincoln is inaugurated as president of the United States.

April 1861
Rebecca Harding Davis publishes "Life in the Iron Mills" in *The Atlantic Monthly.*
Confederates fire on and capture Fort Sumter in South Carolina.
Lincoln calls for troops to put down the insurrection, and he orders a naval blockade of Confederate seaports. Virginia secedes. Lincoln also orders all civilian employees within the executive branch to take a loyalty oath.
Riots erupt in Baltimore, Maryland.
New York City women form the Women's Central Association of Relief.
Dorothea Dix is appointed Superintendent of the United States Army Nurses.

May 1861
Arkansas and North Carolina secede.
Dorothea Dix organizes the first military hospitals in the United States.

June 1861
The Women's Central Association of Relief is sanctioned by Lincoln, and it becomes the United States Sanitary Commission.
After speaking at a pro-Union rally, Sojourner Truth is arrested for breaking a state law that prohibited African Americans from entering Indiana.
Mary Ann Bickerdyke begins her work at Union hospitals.
Western counties in Virginia secede from the state and form West Virginia.

July 1861
Congress authorizes the enlistment of half a million soldiers and passes the Crittenden Resolution, which declares that the United States was waging war to reunify the nation rather than to eliminate or restrict slavery.
The Confederate and Union armies face each other for the first time at the Battle of Bull Run (Manassas). During that battle, Anne Blair Etheridge and other women witness their first combat as frontline nurses.

August 1861
Lincoln declares the Confederate states to be in a state of insurrection.
Congress passes the first Confiscation Act.
The United States Secret Service arrests and imprisons Rose O'Neal Greenhow for spying on behalf of the Confederacy.
Anne Ella Carroll publishes *Reply to the Speech of Honorable John C. Breckinridge.*

September 1861
Sally Louisa Tompkins becomes a commissioned Confederate officer in order to keep Robertson Hospital open in Richmond, Virginia.

October 1861
Charlotte Forten goes to Port Royal, South Carolina, to work as a teacher for recently freed African Americans.

November 1861
General Winfield Scott resigns his post as head of the United States Army. Lincoln appoints George B. McClellan to replace him.

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The Young Men's Christian Association establishes the United States Christian Commission.

January 1862
The Port Royal Experiment begins on the Union-occupied Sea Islands in South Carolina.

February 1862
Julia Ward Howe publishes "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" in *The Atlantic Monthly.*

March 1862
The Confederate ironclad *Merrimac* and Union ironclad *Monitor* fight to a draw.
The Peninsular Campaign begins.
The United States Congress passes the Impressment Act.

April 1862
The Battle of Shiloh takes place.
Congress abolishes slavery in the District of Columbia.
The Confederacy passes its first Conscription Act.

May 1862
Union General Benjamin Butler takes command of occupied New Orleans, Louisiana. He issues his General Order Number 28, the Woman Order.

June 1862
Virginian Robert E. Lee assumes command of the Confederate army.

July 1862
Lee and McClellan face each other at the Seven Days Battle.
General Henry Halleck takes control of the Union army.
Confederate spy Belle Boyd is imprisoned at the Old Capital Prison.

August 1862
Confederate soldiers defeat the Union army at the Second Battle of Bull Run.

September 1862
Lee's Army of Northern Virginia invades the North. The deadliest day of fighting occurs when twenty-six thousand soldiers die at the Battle at Antietam in Maryland.
Lincoln issues a preliminary Emancipation Proclamation.
Laura M. Towne establishes a school for freedmen and freedwomen on St. Helena Island, South Carolina.
An explosion at the Allegheny Arsenal kills seventy-eight workers, mostly young women.

November 1862
General Ambrose E. Burnside replaces McClellan as commander of the Union's Army of the Potomac.

December 1862
Confederates defeat Union forces at the Battle of Fredericksburg.
Louisa May Alcott begins work at Union Hospital in Washington, D.C.

January 1863
Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation goes into effect.
General Joseph Hooker replaces Ambrose Burnside, and Union General Ulysses S. Grant takes control of the Army of the West.
Recruitment begins for the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Infantry Regiment, the nation's first African American unit.

March 1863
An explosion at an ordnance lab in Richmond, Virginia, kills thirty-four women.
Women in Salisbury, North Carolina, riot in response to their shortage of salt and flour.
Mary Abigail Dodge [Gail Hamilton] publishes "A Call to My Country-Women" in *The Atlantic Monthly.*

April 1863
Women in Richmond, Virginia, engage in bread riots to protest the wartime shortages.

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The Battle of Chancellorsville begins.
Confederate Mary Frances "Fanny" Battle is arrested for spying.
The Union's policy of conscription goes into effect.

May 1863
Lee defeats Hooker at Chancellorsville.
The National Women's Loyal League meets for the first time.
Louisa May Alcott begins to publish in serial form her *Hospital Sketches.*
Fanny Kemble publishes her *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation* while in England; it is published in the United States that July.
Union spy Pauline Cushman is captured.

June 1863
Lee again invades the North, and General George G. Meade becomes the Union commander of the Army of the Potomac.
Residents of Vicksburg, Mississippi, evacuate to nearby caves to avoid Union shelling.
Western Virginia separates from Virginia and reenters the Union.

July 1863
The Union army defeats Lee at the Battle of Gettysburg.
Union forces under Grant capture Vicksburg and takes control of the Mississippi River.
The Battle of Honey Springs takes place in Indian Territory.
Draft riots in New York expose homefront frustrations. Similar riots occur in Boston, Massachusetts, Holmes County, Ohio, and elsewhere across the Union.

August 1863
Confederate William C. Quantrill and four hundred and fifty supporters raid Lawrence, Kansas.

September 1863
Confederates win the Battle of Chickamauga.

October 1863
Lincoln calls for a national day of thanksgiving to be held in November.
Grant takes control of all operations in the Western theater.
The United States Sanitary Commission holds one of its most successful sanitary fairs in Chicago.

November 1863
Lincoln delivers the Gettysburg Address at the dedication of a national cemetery.
Grant repels the Confederate siege at Chattanooga, Tennessee.

February 1864
Confederates win the Battle of Olustee in Florida.
The National Women's Loyal League presents Congress with a petition demanding the abolition of slavery.
Rebecca Lee becomes the first African American woman to earn an M.D. degree.

March 1864
Grant takes control of all the armies of the United States, and General William T. Sherman assumes control of Union forces in the West.
Women protest for peace in High Point, North Carolina.

April 1864
The United States Sanitary Commission holds a three-week fundraising fair in New York that raises $1 million.
A bread riot erupts in Savannah, Georgia.

May 1864
Union troops under Grant's command fight Confederate forces led by Lee at the Battles of the Wilderness and Spotsylvania.
Sherman advances toward Atlanta and the Army of the Tennessee.

June 1864
Confederates win the Battle of Cold Harbor.
Grant begins a nine-month siege of Petersburg, Virginia.

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July 1864
Sherman forcefully evacuates female workers and their families from the textile mill town of Roswell, Georgia.

September 1864
Sherman captures Atlanta and issues Special Field Orders, Number 67, evacuating the city of all civilians. The order primarily affects the city's women and children.
Frustrations lead to bread riots in Mobile, Alabama.

October 1864
Union General Philip H. Sheridan defeats General Jubal Early's Confederate troops in the Shenandoah Valley.

November 1864
Lincoln defeats McClellan in the presidential race.
Sherman burns Atlanta and begins his March to the Sea.

December 1864
General George H. Thomas defeats the Army of the Tennessee.
Sherman captures Savannah, Georgia.

January 1865
Freed slaves obtain control of the Sea Islands between Jacksonville, Florida, and Charleston, South Carolina, when Sherman issues Special Field Order, Number 15. Sherman marches through South Carolina, destroying much of Charleston, Columbia, and the surrounding areas.
Before Sherman arrives, the women of Columbia hold the Confederacy's largest fundraising bazaar.
Freed slave and Union spy Mary Elizabeth Bowser flees from Confederate President Jefferson Davis's Richmond home.

February 1865
African American Julia C. Collins begins publishing "The Curse of Caste; or, The Slave Bride" as a serial in the *Christian Recorder*, a weekly newspaper run by the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

March 1865
Grant defeats Lee at the Battle of Petersburg.
Congress creates the Freedmen's Bureau to help former slaves in their transition to freedom.
Clara Barton establishes the Office of Correspondence with Friends of the Missing Men of the United States Army.

April 1865
Confederate forces evacuate Richmond, Virginia.
Lee surrenders to Grant at Appomattox Courthouse, Virginia.
John Wilkes Booth assassinates President Lincoln at Ford's Theater in Washington, D.C.
Andrew Johnson becomes president.

May 1865
General Oliver Otis Howard becomes head of the Freedmen's Bureau.
Northerners celebrate the Union victory with a parade down Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, D.C.

July 1865
Mary Surratt is hanged for her involvement in the conspiracy to assassinate Lincoln.

November 1865
Mississippi passes the first black code.

December 1865
Congress ratifies the Thirteenth Amendment, abolishing slavery.
The Ku Klux Klan forms in Pulaski, Tennessee.

March 1866
Congress enacts the Civil Rights Act of 1866.

May 1866
Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton organize the Eleventh National Women's Rights Convention in New York City.

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July 1866
A race riot erupts in New Orleans.

July 1867
The Ladies' Memorial Association unveils the first monument to the Confederate dead in Cheraw, South Carolina.

July 1868
The Fourteenth Amendment is ratified. It grants citizenship to all men born or naturalized in the United States. The amendment introduces the term "male" to the Constitution.

November 1868
Ulysses S. Grant is elected president.

February 1869
Congress passes the Fifteenth Amendment that prevents states from denying voters the right to voice on the basis of race, color, or previous condition.

May 1869
Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton establish the National Woman Suffrage Association.

December 1869
Wyoming passes the first women's suffrage law in the United States.

April 1871
Congress passes the Civil Rights Act of 1871, also known as the Ku Klux Klan Act.

June 1872
Congress abolishes the Freedmen's Bureau.

March 1875
The United States Supreme Court, in *Miner v. Happersett,* concludes that citizenship does not guarantee suffrage.
The Civil Rights Act of 1875 guarantees that African Americans receive equal treatment in public facilities.

November 1876
Rutherford B. Hayes is elected president.

April 1877
Hayes orders the last federal troops to leave South Carolina, and Reconstruction comes to a formal end.

May 1881
Former Civil War nurse Clara Barton forms the American Association of the Red Cross.

September 1894
The United Daughters of the Confederacy is formed.

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H

Habersham, Josephine Clay (1821–1893)
The descendant of a prominent Georgia family, Josephine Clay Habersham kept a diary for several months in 1863 at the height of the Civil War. A staunch supporter of the Confederacy, Habersham cataloged unfolding news of the warfront and described in some detail her experiences caring for sick soldiers in two nearby hospitals. In her journal, she also discussed the war's economic and emotional toll on her family and community.

Born on January 14, 1821, one of seven children born to Dr. Joseph Clay Habersham and Anna Wylly Adams, Josephine Habersham inherited a genteel name and high social standing. Her great-grandfather, James Habersham, immigrated to Georgia from England in 1738, where he built a wealthy estate through commercial trade and rice plantations. Both the maternal and paternal sides of her family fought in the American Revolution and held high-level political posts in Georgia throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Furthermore, George Washington appointed Josephine's great-uncle, Joseph Habersham, as postmaster general of the United States. A county in Georgia named after the family signifies the Habershams' legacy in that state.

Josephine married William Neyle Habersham, her distant cousin, in 1840. A rice merchant at the time of their marriage, William inherited his father's commercial shipping firm upon the elder Habersham's death. The couple settled in Savannah but maintained a summer home, called Avon Hall, 10 miles away in White Bluff, Georgia, on the bank of the Vernon River. Josephine gave birth to twelve children over the course of twenty years. Three died in infancy, and two more died as young children. Her two eldest sons, Joseph Clay, twenty-three, and William Neyle, twenty, fought at and died in the Battle of Atlanta on July 22, 1864.

Habersham's original diary documents her life from June 17 through November 1, 1863, the time her family spent at Avon Hall that year. The diary ends abruptly upon her return to Savannah. The second-to-last entry describes meeting Jefferson Davis at a Masonic Hall in Thunderbolt, Georgia.

In her journal, Habersham's anxieties over the fate of her enlisted sons and concerns about the Confederate army's progress shared space with descriptions of daily family activities, including dinners, dances, visitors, and the cheerful presence of her infant son. The overall content suggests that the Habershams were spared the worst troubles of the war during the time the diary was kept. A devoted Christian, avid reader, and accomplished pianist, Habersham frequently referenced scripture, British literature, and classical composers.

Habersham also wrote poems under the pen name Tallulah. At least one of these poems was included in a booklet of verse that was published and sold to benefit the Episcopal Orphans' Home in Savannah, Georgia, but no records exist that suggest she published elsewhere.

Josephine Clay Habersham died on November 6, 1893.

Jennifer Jane Nichols

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See also Confederate Homefront; Davis, Jefferson (1808–1889); Diaries and Journals; Family Life, Confederate; Hospitals; Nationalism, Confederate; Nurses; Religion; Southern Women.

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Hague, Parthenia Antoinette Vardaman (1838–n.d.)

The daughter of a prominent slaveholding family, Parthenia Hague was employed as a teacher in rural Alabama when the Civil War began. She lived on the plantation of a wealthy slaveholder near Eufaula, and there she experienced the hardships of the Union naval blockade that she recorded in her memoir, *A Blockaded Family.*

Parthenia Antoinette Vardaman was born in Hamilton County, Georgia, on November 19, 1838. She was the second child and oldest daughter of Thomas Butts and Emily Adeline Evans Vardaman's eleven children. She attended Hamilton Academy and, after finishing her education, moved to Alabama to become a teacher.

In 1888, Hague published a memoir of her Civil War experiences. Steeped in Lost Cause ideology and romanticism about the Old South and slavery, Hague's work offers a rare glimpse into the details of daily life in wartime Alabama. In particular, she presented a meticulous accounting of homefront measures taken to ensure that Southerners, who had depended heavily on Northern imports, were fed and clothed during the years of the blockade.

Hague's descriptions of homefront life reveal how Southerners dealt with wartime shortages. Civilians found ways to find necessities such as oil, sugar, shoes, and leather, and they found substitutes for things they could not procure. Hague's detailed descriptions of tasks from her daily life, which included activities such as constructing a rice mill or fashioning buttons, offer a glimpse into the productive aspects of wartime life on a plantation. Textile manufacture was important for military and civilian clothing and linens, and Hague devoted lengthy passages to the female labors of weaving, dyeing, spinning, and sewing. In many cases, Hague played the part of observer to the female slaves who performed the work.

Hague, a religious Baptist, stressed that civilians depended on self-reliance and faith in God and the Cause to endure their material privations. She also emphasized that, despite the trials of wartime life, the spirits of Southerners not only survived, but they also thrived. Her book advanced her belief that Southern women had forged a new identity. United in their struggle, women played a special role in preserving body and soul and had emerged not conquered but victorious.

Hague claimed that her book was simply an account of life during wartime and a plea for reconciliation. Interwoven with her everyday observations, however, are homilies and anecdotes meant to validate the Confederacy and lament what she saw as a lost way of life. Like other postwar authors, Hague's idealized reminiscence served to romanticize slavery and encourage racism and Jim Crow.

The details of Hague's life after the publication of her memoir are shrouded in obscurity. The date of her death is unknown.

Yvette Florio Lane

See also African American Women; Baptist Women; Civilian Life; Confederate Homefront; Homespun; Religion; Shortages; Southern Women; Wartime Literature.

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Hale, Sarah Josepha (1788–1879)

Sarah Josepha (Buell) Hale was one of the most influential magazine editors of the nineteenth century. Her power was somewhat diminished during the Civil War by her publisher's insistence that she minimize attention to the war in *Godey's Lady's Book* to avoid offending any readers. Nevertheless, Hale had a lasting impact on the country through her efforts to establish a national Thanksgiving Day holiday and through the role taken by *Godey's* before and after the war. Under Hale's leadership, the magazine consistently supported national reconciliation.

Born October 24, 1788, in Newport, New Hampshire, she was a lifelong patriot, who, although she did not support suffrage for women, believed women should be deeply engaged in political issues. She was also a lifelong writer, who began her literary career even before the death of her husband in 1822. Throughout her life, she was committed to encouraging a sense of community and union for the country and increasing women's opportunities for education and employment. While upholding the ideology of separate spheres, she saw women as having a central responsibility to encourage a moral and progressive civil life.

Her first novel, *Northwood* (1827), included a discussion of the problem of slavery for the country, as well as a description of a Thanksgiving dinner in a country home, bringing together two themes that remained important to her throughout her career.

Sarah Josepha Hale, novelist, editor of the influential *Godey's Lady's Book*, and promoter of a national Thanksgiving Day holiday (1788–1879). (Library of Congress)

Northwood expresses some sympathy for Southern slaveholders, while recognizing the evil of slavery. Hale hoped for, and used her personal connections to work toward, a peaceful compromise that would end slavery without significant injury to the South. As tensions mounted in the country, Hale revised *Northwood* in 1852 to add the idea of purchasing the emancipation of slaves, and, in columns and a new novel *Liberia* (1853), she supported the ideas of the American Colonization Society, whose solution to the problem of slavery was the education of slaves and their removal to the new African country of Liberia.

Hale also spent years promoting a national Thanksgiving Day as a time when the nation would come together as families. She saw the private home celebration as a model for the loving unity she wanted to see in the country. Hale imagined Thanksgiving as a time when families would gather together, reinforce their ties, and thus be strengthened to form a more united country. She began her campaign for a nationally recognized Thanksgiving Day as early as 1827, with articles and letters to politicians at every level. She intensified her efforts

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in 1846, as it became clear that the threat to the country's union was increasing. She argued, in *Godey's* and in letters to the president and to the governors of states and territories that a national day of thanksgiving, celebrated throughout the nation, would help to preserve the union. Finally, in 1863, in the midst of war, President Abraham Lincoln proclaimed a national day of Thanksgiving.

Hale died April 30, 1879.

JoAnn Castagna

See also Fiction Writers, Northern; Northern Women; Poets, Northern; Separate Spheres; Union Homefront; Wartime Literature

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Hancock, Cornelia (1840–1926)

Abolitionist and reformer Cornelia Hancock did not allow anyone or anything to deter her from her objectives. Even the strong-willed Dorothea Dix, Superintendent of the United States Army Nurses, could not prevent Hancock from participating in the war effort as an independent nurse for the Union troops.

Hancock was born to Thomas Yorke and Rachel Nicholson Hancock, February 8, 1840, in Salem County, New Jersey. The Hancocks were Quakers, and Cornelia received an early education in abolitionist beliefs.

Hancock's desire to do her duty for the Union was initially sidetracked by Dorothea Dix. In July 1863, Dix refused to allow Hancock to sign on as a nurse for the Union army, telling her that she was too young and too pretty. Dix wanted only plain, married, or widowed women, over the age of thirty. The twenty-three-year-old Hancock was undeterred. She sneaked onto a train bound for Gettysburg, where she met up with her brother-in-law, Dr. Henry T. Child, a doctor with the Second Pennsylvania Regiment. Hancock traveled extensively during the war, serving in several hospitals in Pennsylvania and Virginia. Much of her work concerned obtaining supplies and helping in the hospital kitchens. Toward the end of the war, she helped black refugees in Washington, serving as a nurse and helping them obtain shelter and food.

Hancock's war work did not end with the fall of Richmond. In 1866, during Reconstruction, she founded a school for former slaves in South Carolina. Hancock and Laura Towne, with the support of the Philadelphia Friends Association for the Aid and Elevation of the Freedmen, opened the Laing School in Mount Pleasant, South Carolina. She taught there for ten years, and also served as principal until 1875. In 1878 she helped establish a children's aid society in Pennsylvania and the Society for Organizing Charity. Six years later Hancock began settlement work in Philadelphia in a rundown neighborhood called Wrightsville.

In her later years, Hancock moved to Atlantic City, New Jersey. She died of nephritis December 31, 1926.

Paula Katherine Hinton

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; Hospitals; Northern Women; Nurses; Quaker Women; Reconstruction (1865–1877); Teachers, Northern; Towne, Laura Matilda (1825–1901); Wartime Employment.

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Harper, Frances Ellen Watkins (1825–1911)
Abolitionist, Underground Railroad agent, journalist, poet, novelist, civil rights activist, and suffragist, Frances Ellen Watkins Harper was one of the nineteenth century's most prolific and influential African American writers and social reformists.

Born free in the slave state of Maryland on September 24, 1825, Harper was orphaned by the time she was three years old. Raised by an aunt and uncle, Henrietta and Reverend William Watkins, in Baltimore, she was fortunate to attend her uncle's renowned William Watkins Academy for Negro Youth. She exhibited an early brilliance, fostered by the extensive range of classical studies offered at the Academy. Employment opportunities for bright young African American women were limited, however, forcing her to take a job as a domestic helper. Fortunately, her employers recognized her great intellect and encouraged her interest in reading and writing. By 1850, virulent racism in Baltimore finally forced the closing of the Academy, and Harper's uncle and his family moved to Canada. Harper moved to Ohio to teach at Union Seminary (later known as Wilberforce University) and then at a school in Pennsylvania. In 1853, she moved in with the family of famed Underground Railroad agent William Still, in Philadelphia, to devote her talents to the antislavery cause. Within a year, she was on the antislavery lecture circuit, traveling throughout New England, Canada, and the West, as well as to Detroit and Cincinnati. She soon began publishing essays, poetry, and political commentaries in abolitionist publications and antislavery newspapers. Renowned for her passionate lectures, her writings reached an even larger audience. Her first book of poetry, *Poems on Miscellaneous Subjects,* sold over ten thousand copies. Although some of her poetry addressed the plight of the enslaved, her work also focused on temperance, religion, women's rights, racism, politics, and African American life and culture.

Harper was a devout Methodist whose faith guided her unyielding determination to advocate the end of slavery and the provision of better educational opportunities for African Americans, as well as to serve those less fortunate. She did not shy away from controversial subjects, and her calls for action included boycotts, mass protest, and civil disobedience. She also demanded public action on the part of those who professed sympathy with the antislavery cause. Personal moral responsibility, she believed, was the foundation of any social movement. Though she traveled and spoke frequently for the "cause of freedom," she also acted on her principles: Her home in Philadelphia became a refuge on the Underground Railroad, and she became intimately involved with some of the most powerful activists of her day, including Frederick Douglass, Sojourner Truth, Henry Highland Garnett, and Susan B. Anthony.

In 1860, she married Fenton Harper, a widower in Cincinnati, and, with the help of her earnings, they purchased a small farm on the outskirts of Columbus, Ohio. She gave birth to a daughter, Mary; motherhood forced her to cut back on her lecturing, though she continued to write for major newspapers and magazines. With the onset of the Civil War, Harper became a tough campaigner for the emancipation of the slaves. She was thrilled when President Abraham Lincoln announced the Emancipation Proclamation in the fall of 1862.

When her husband died in 1864, Harper resumed lecturing and writing on more of a full-time basis. After the Civil War, she devoted herself to working with the freedmen in the South, and, critical of the injustices she saw perpetrated against the newly freed slaves, she campaigned for more schools, better wages, and equal rights.

Even though she had been a supporter of the American Equal Rights Association, the national woman's suffrage organization of the day, she threw her support behind the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment. This Reconstruction era amendment gave black men, but not women of any color, the right to vote. Harper believed that universal suffrage was unattainable at that time and decided that suffrage for African American men was more important than no vote at all. Her support of the amendment, however, alienated her from longtime suffrage friends Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton. She went on to help found the

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American Woman Suffrage Association, was a member of the national board of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, and was a founding member of the National Association of Colored Women. She continued to write and spent much of her time devoted to African American causes and institution building. At the age of sixty-seven, she published her most famous work, a novel, *Iola Leroy.*

Harper struggled with ill health throughout her later years, and she died in Philadelphia on February 22, 1911.

Kate Clifford Larson

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; African American Women; Anthony, Susan B. (1820–1906); Antislavery Societies; Douglass, Frederick (ca. 1818–1895); Emancipation Proclamation (January 1, 1863); Fifteenth Amendment; Methodist Women; Stanton, Elizabeth Cady (1815–1902); Truth, Sojourner [Isabella Baumfree] (1797–1883).

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Hart, Nancy (ca. 1843–1902)

Nancy Hart, a young and beautiful Confederate spy, served as a scout, guide, and cavalry trooper for the Southern cause before experiencing a dramatic capture and escape from Northern soldiers.

Not to be confused with the Nancy Hart of Revolutionary War fame, Hart was born in the early 1840s. As an infant, she moved from Raleigh, North Carolina, to Tazewell, Virginia (later West Virginia).

Hart became an expert horsewoman and cultivated a familiarity with the Virginia outdoors. Although she never learned to read or write, she explored the wilderness and became a deadeye riflewoman. In 1861 Hart visited the home of her sister and brother-in-law, William Price, just as Union soldiers arrived to escort Price to the nearby town of Spencer to speak in favor of the Union. Price never arrived in Spencer; he was found on the road shot in the back, sparking in Hart a hatred for Union soldiers. Soon after, at a party celebrating the departure of her neighbor's sons for the Confederate army, Union soldiers rode by during the affair and fired a rifle several times at the home. Three days later Hart rode off to join the Confederate cause.

Hart joined the Moccasin Rangers, a pro-Southern guerrilla unit. She served as a scout, guide, and spy, carrying messages while traveling alone between Southern armies by night. Hart peddled eggs and vegetables to Northern troops to gain access to information. She also visited Northern outposts in the mountains to learn and report of their strength, population, and vulnerability.

In July 1862, Union forces offered a large reward for Hart's capture. Union soldiers under the command of Lieutenant Colonel William C. Starr of the Ninth West Virginia arrested Hart at a log cabin where she was crushing corn with a young female friend. Hart was jailed in the upper portion of a dilapidated house turned makeshift jail in the nearby town of Sommersville, in western Virginia, guarded by a sentry at the door, quartered soldiers downstairs, and troops on patrol around the building. A young woman of striking beauty, Hart beguiled a young soldier who allowed her to examine his weapon, upon which she promptly shot him in the head. Hart jumped out a second story window, stole Starr's horse, and rode off for Confederate territory. On July 25, 1862, she returned, still riding Starr's horse, along with approximately two hundred of General Stonewall Jackson's cavalrymen. During the raid of Sommersville, Southern soldiers took mules, horses, and several prisoners (including Starr), and they burned much of the town to the ground.

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During the war, Hart met Joshua Douglas, also a former Ranger, and nursed him back to health following his near fatal wounds. He left and joined the Confederate army, but after the war he returned to the area, found Hart, and married her. They settled in Greenbriar County, where they lived until her death in 1902. Nancy Hart is buried in Mannings Knob, Greenbriar Country, West Virginia.

Eloise E. Scroggins

See also Confederate Homefront; Domesticity; Female Combatants; Female Spies; Guerrilla Warfare; Imprisonment of Women; Separate Spheres; Southern Women.

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Haviland, Laura Smith (1808–1898)

A birthright member of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers), Laura Smith Haviland was an abolitionist whose work for the Underground Railroad was so effective that Southern slave owners once offered a $3,000 reward for her capture.

Born in Canada in 1808, Laura's family moved to western New York State when she was seven. In 1829, she, her husband Charles, and their children relocated to southeastern Michigan. In 1834, she and Elizabeth Chandler founded the Logan Female Anti-Slavery Society, the first antislavery society in Michigan. She and Charles established the first station on the Underground Railroad in Michigan, assisting fugitives to Canada. In 1836, they founded the Raisin Institute, in Adrian, Michigan, primarily for orphans. Coeducational and interracial, the Institute also trained students for careers in education.

In 1845, Laura's husband, parents, sister, and baby died from erysipelas, an acute bacterial skin infection. Although she was a widowed mother of seven children with few resources, she intensified her involvement in the Underground Railroad, making daring trips to Cincinnati and the South to help escaping slaves. In 1847, Laura tried to rescue the family of John White, a fugitive who was a farmhand in the neighborhood of Raisin Institute. When Haviland's scheme failed, White was arrested and jailed after making a similar attempt. He was released when Haviland purchased him for $350. In 1852, she opened a day school and Sunday school at the Refugees' Home, one of three black settlements established in Canada for fugitive slaves.

Like many of her male counterparts, Laura took an uncompromising stand against slavery. She displayed a zealous belief in her convictions, both religious and humanitarian. When the Civil War commenced, her attention turned to relief work for recently emancipated slaves and wounded and ill soldiers. She delivered clothing to the freedpersons and medical and food supplies to army hospitals. She made several fundraising trips to Michigan to continue her work. In New Orleans, Louisiana, she badgered government officials for the release of three thousand Union prisoners being held for trivial offenses in prison camps that had deplorable conditions. Beginning in 1864, she worked among destitute African Americans and white Southerners who had migrated to Kansas, providing aid and helping to found an educational institution. After the war, she continued to bring emancipated slaves to Michigan as settlers, and she worked in a mission near Kansas City. In recognition, Haviland, Kansas, was named in her honor.

Drawn to Methodism as a child, Laura and her husband withdrew from the Society of Friends and joined the Wesleyan Methodist Church, which was more amenable to both abolitionism and evangelism. Toward the end of her life, however, Laura rejoined the Quakers. In 1909, a life-size statue of her was erected in front of the city hall at Adrian, Michigan.

Jayne R. Beilke

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; Aid Societies; Methodist Women; Quaker Women.

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Hawks, Esther Hill (1833–1906)

Dr. Esther Hill Hawks taught school and provided medical assistance during the Civil War to the United States Colored Troops (USCT) and to freedmen in the South Carolina Sea Islands.

Esther was born in Hooksett, New Hampshire, on August 4, 1833. She was the fifth of eight children born to Parmenas and Jane Kimball Hill. Esther attended public school in Rhode Island and an academy at Kingston, and then she went on to teach public school. In October 1854, Esther married Dr. John Milton Hawks. Through his support, she attended New England Female Medical College and graduated with her medical degree in 1857.

At the outbreak of the Civil War, Esther volunteered her medical services to the Union army. Immediately rebuffed as a doctor because of her sex, Esther attempted to become a nurse. Her youth and beauty, however, caused Dorothea Dix to reject Esther's services. Undeterred, Esther returned to Manchester to assist with the war effort in her local community and became the secretary of the Manchester Soldier's Aid Society. During this time, she was also elected as an officer of the Ladies Medical Academy.

In April 1862, Dr. John Hawks arrived in the Sea Islands of South Carolina under the authority of the National Freedmen's Aid Association. He worked to secure a position for his wife to join him and was finally successful that fall. Esther had independently managed to obtain a position as a teacher in the South Carolina Sea Islands with the National Freedmen's Relief Association. In October 1862, the Hawks settled in Beaufort, South Carolina.

Initially, established gender roles limited Esther to teaching the freedmen and African American soldiers in the Sea Islands instead of serving as a doctor. In April 1862, the Hawks helped to open General Hospital Number 10 for Colored Troops, which established the medical segregation of white and black Union troops. Esther assisted her husband as much as the Union army would allow. Nevertheless, her role remained primarily that of a teacher. The massive arrival of USCT wounded after the assault on Fort Wagner, however, permitted Esther the opportunity to demonstrate her medical expertise without interference. Her skill tending to the wounded soldiers in the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Infantry allowed Esther to gain the respect of the local Union officials, who allowed her to continue practicing medicine. During the remainder of the war, Esther traveled to parts of Florida, to Charleston, and throughout the Sea Islands, teaching school as well as providing medical assistance to the USCT and local freedmen.

After the Civil War, Esther returned to Massachusetts to join a medical partnership and remained active in charitable and reform organizations, especially woman suffrage. Esther Hill Hawks died at her home in Lynn, Massachusetts, on May 6, 1906.

Kristina K. Dunn

See also Nurses; Teachers, Northern.

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Hayes, Lucy Ware Webb (1831–1889)

The wife of post-Reconstruction President Rutherford B. Hayes, Lucy Ware Webb Hayes was the first president's wife to be referred to as the First Lady.

Born on August 28, 1831, in Chillicothe, Ohio, to Dr. James Webb and Maria Cook Webb, Lucy grew up in Delaware, Ohio. She graduated from Cincinnati Wesleyan Female College in 1850 and married lawyer Rutherford B. Hayes in December 1852. The couple had eight children, five of whom survived to adulthood.

When the Civil War began, thirty-nine-year-old Rutherford was representing runaway slaves trying to stay in Ohio. Lucy, a strong opponent of slavery, had urged him to take an active role in the abolition movement. The fall of Fort Sumter changed the Hayes' focus. Although they had imagined a peace-

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ful resolution to the nation's problems, they understood the need for military action to reunite the Union and end slavery. Rutherford was awarded the rank of major and assigned to help command the newly formed Twenty-third Ohio Volunteer Infantry Regiment. Despite criticism from family and friends for Rutherford's eagerness in joining the military, Lucy proudly supported her husband, despite the hardships his military service would cause her and their three young children. Over the course of the war, Rutherford, who remained in the service until the end of the war, would rise to the rank of brigadier general in the army, and his wartime military service led to a successful postwar political career. Lucy's support proved crucial to his success in both endeavors.

Like so many men at war, Rutherford treasured the numerous letters Lucy sent him and saw them as a constant source of strength. Her letters offered not only moral support, but also insights about the political and cultural situation on the homefront.

Lucy constantly worried about her husband. When Rutherford's unit was sent to what is now West Virginia, Lucy's pregnancy, combined with a fear of Confederate invasion and the constant danger faced by her husband, led to depression. To help ease Lucy's mind, Rutherford or her brother, a surgeon attached to his regiment, would telegraph her after each battle to let her know that they had survived. These messages kept her from having to depend on the incomplete and inaccurate reports in the newspapers. Understanding the value of accurate information, Lucy convinced Rutherford to write to the families of the men under his command who were killed.

Wartime was lonely, but Lucy had many visitors. Soldiers on leave often came by the family's home in Cincinnati to deliver messages to Lucy or to praise her husband and pay their respects. Rutherford returned home for a visit early in the war to see his new daughter. In addition, Lucy visited her husband twice in western Virginia, where she and their two oldest sons spent several months with Rutherford.

Lucy also hurried to her husband's side when he was wounded in the fall of 1862. She received a telegram from Rutherford telling her he was wounded and he wanted her there. Lucy left the children with relatives and, along with a family friend, took the train to Washington. She arrived a week after her husband was wounded but could not find him. At the military hospitals and the Surgeon General's headquarters, clerks—too busy to give her any information—treated Lucy rudely. At the U.S. Patent Office, which had been turned into a hospital, Lucy noticed several soldiers with "23" pins on their hats. After she called out "Twenty-third Ohio," several soldiers recognized her and told her where she could find Rutherford. Lucy spent two weeks in Middletown, Maryland, caring for her husband as well as visiting other wounded soldiers. Two weeks later, Lucy shepherded her husband and six other wounded soldiers back to Ohio. Seven weeks later, Rutherford left again for active duty.

Lucy Webb Hayes, wife of President Rutherford B. Hayes (1831–1889). (Library of Congress)

When the war ended, Rutherford resigned from the army. Already elected to Congress, Rutherford traveled to Washington with Lucy, where they watched the Grand Review of the Army of the Republic. Rutherford served in Congress for two terms, as governor of Ohio for three terms, and as

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president for one term. Throughout these years, Lucy worked for the welfare of veterans and their families, using her influence to aid others.

Lucy Hayes died on June 25, 1889, after suffering a stroke.

Wesley Moody

See also Letter Writing; Northern Women; Union Homefront; Wounded, Visits to.

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Heyward, Pauline DeCaradeuc (1843–1914)

A young female diarist on the Confederate home front, Pauline DeCaradeuc Heyward chronicled her life in South Carolina and her experiences during General William T. Sherman's campaign in the Carolinas.

Born into an elite, slaveholding family near Aiken, South Carolina, Pauline, age seventeen, was enjoying the freedom of attending social functions and engaging in courtships when the war commenced. Her homefront experiences transformed Pauline from a protected belle into a self-reliant and outspoken young woman. As an ardent supporter of the Confederate cause, she followed news of military engagements and made clothing for soldiers. She also confronted the hardships of war resulting from the death of family and friends serving on the military front, from financial downturns, and from the demise of the slave system.

Pauline sought normalcy as the war disrupted her life. She attended dances and parties and made extended visits to kin in South Carolina and Georgia. In 1863, she invited a friend to stay with her for the remainder of the war to ease her anxiety and loneliness. She carried on flirtations with soldiers with whom she came into contact. Yet the death of two brothers from typhoid fever while serving in the Confederate army was a constant source of emotional pain for Pauline. The war also took a financial toll on the DeCaradeuc household because the deflation of Confederate currency and shortages of supplies caused prices to soar. In spite of these hardships, the family welcomed Confederate soldiers and war refugees into their home.

Sherman's march through the Carolinas, beginning in February 1865, brought the war to Pauline's community. As news spread of an impending invasion, she began carrying a pistol for protection. Troops under the command of General Hugh Judson Kilpatrick arrived in Aiken, and Pauline's father fled the home to avoid arrest. The wealth and Confederate sympathies of the DeCaradeucs made their estate a target of Union troops foraging the countryside for supplies. Pauline watched as soldiers looted and threatened to burn the home until her mother and grandmother intervened. Federal soldiers continued to visit the home when the war ended and on one occasion physically assaulted Pauline's father. In response, the young woman traveled with a male escort to nearby Augusta, Georgia, to meet with the Federal commander and request a protective guard.

Pauline continued to demonstrate loyalty to the Confederate cause even at the war's end. She lauded Jefferson Davis's attempts to regroup troops in the West and refused to attend a picnic marking the end of the war. Eventually, Pauline accepted defeat and tried to return to the life of comfort she once knew. In August 1865, she began a courtship with Guerard Heyward, a former Confederate soldier and a member of an elite family, and the two married in 1866.

Pauline DeCaradeuc Heyward died in 1914.

Victoria E. Ott

See also Confederate Homefront; Courtship and Marriage; Destruction of Personal Property; Sherman's Campaign (1864–1865); Southern Women.

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Hispanic Women

During the Civil War era, Hispanic women in America lived primarily in former Spanish colonies: California; the territories of Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico; and in the Gulf areas of southern Florida, Louisiana, and Alabama. For most of these women, the war existed in relation to larger geopolitical forces intimately tied to Spain and her colonies in the Americas. In 1860 approximately thirty thousand foreign-born Mexican Hispanics lived in the Southwest regions. By 1861 Mexican women whose homelands had been transferred over to the United States in the wake of the Mexican War had been American citizens for only thirteen years. Even so, ten thousand of their husbands and sons joined the Civil War armies.

The majority of Hispanic women were Mestizas—a combination of European Spanish with varying degrees of Indian blood. Others were Mulattas, such as the Louisiana Creoles of color whose men joined the Louisiana Native Guard, as well as a variety of other Hispanics including Ladinas, Sephardic Jews whose men joined Georgia and South Carolina units, and a handful of Spanish-Philippinas, whose men are found on Confederate rosters.

More Hispanic families would side with the Union, but approximately thirty-six hundred soldiers with Hispanic surnames appear on the Confederate rosters. These men enlisted to prove their citizenship or to gain access to the body politic, as well as for social, class-related, and economic reasons. Hispanic soldiers were less motivated by issues of slavery and states' rights than other soldiers. The majority of Confederate Hispanics were not slave owners; by the 1860s, slavery had been abolished in Spain and in most of the Americas, surviving only in Cuba and Puerto Rico, which were then still Spanish colonies. However, the Confederacy appealed to Southwestern families by promising to honor Latinos' pre-existing land grants, for example, or by offering income and bounty for soldiers to send home.

Even though they were recruited, Hispanics were not always welcomed by the armies of the North or the South. Juanita Chacon waited in vain for her husband's pay to reach her. After years of service and numerous promotions, the Union did not pay Major Manuel Chacon or his men, provide proper equipment, or feed their horses. He resigned in 1864, citing his wife's problems on the homefront. Another group of Mexican soldiers' wives welcomed their husbands home unexpectedly when an entire battalion of Mexican Confederate soldiers deserted upon learning they were about to be lynched by their fellow Confederate soldiers for being "greasers."

Some Hispanic women took a more direct role in the war. Cuban-born and New Orleans–raised, Loreta Janeta Velazquez disguised herself as a man to raise and outfit Confederate recruits with her own money, fought in the Battle of First Bull Run, was wounded at Shiloh, and spied for the Confederacy. A wealthy, educated member of the upper class, Velazquez supported the Southern war effort and condoned slavery, but she chafed at the gender restrictions of her time. Despite reports that she exaggerated her exploits in her 1876 memoir, *A Woman in Battle,* Velazquez played an important role in the war. Her independent wealth allowed her to fund her exploits. As a Hispanic woman under Spanish law and customs, she retained her dowry and property during marriage and as a widow.

Many Hispanic women enjoyed other freedoms unknown to most Anglo women in America. For example, they could run farms, ranches, and other businesses on their own behalf. Furthermore, Hispanic women could testify in court and act as executors of estates. Union widow and novelist Maria Amparo Ruiz de Burton began a series of land court petitions over property after her husband's death. Ruiz married Union Colonel Henry S. Burton, and spent a decade in the Northeast, becoming a close friend of Mary Todd Lincoln and moving in the highest social circles. She published several works after the war, providing a biting critique of Northeastern racism against Hispanics and the corruption of the military, the clergy, and the political system during the nineteenth century. Her satirical novel, *Who Would Have Thought It?* (1872), tells the story of an orphaned Spanish girl raised by a hypocritical

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abolitionist New England adoptive mother who could not accept a brown child. The novel attempted to counter the prevailing American contempt for things Spanish and Mexican in the wake of the U.S.-Mexican War.

Other Hispanic women took actions against hostile troops. Lola Sanchez, whose family hacienda was repeatedly raided by Union soldiers, longed for revenge. Her elderly father, Cuban immigrant Mauritia Sanchez, was imprisoned near their home outside St. Augustine, Florida, on charges of being a Confederate spy. Her brother had joined the Confederacy, and Lola served briefly as a spy. One night, while Federal soldiers dined at her home and flirted with her sisters, Eugenia and Panchita, Lola stole away to alert the nearest Confederate camp about planned Federal troop movements. As a result of her efforts, the Union lost a unit, a gunboat, and a general.

María Agui Carter

See also Bull Run/Manassas, First Battle of (July 21, 1861); Confederate Homefront; Female Combatants; Female Spies; Northern Women; Shiloh, Battle of (April 6–7, 1862); Southern Women; Union Homefront; Velazquez, Loreta Janeta [Harry T. Buford] (1842–1897); Wartime Literature.

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Hodgers, Jennie [Albert D. J. Cashier] (ca. 1843–1915)

Disguised as a man, Jennie Hodgers served as a Union soldier throughout the Civil War. With her regiment, Company G, Ninety-fifth Illinois Volunteer Infantry, Hodgers fought in Tennessee, Mississippi, Missouri, and Alabama. Retaining a male identity after mustering out, Hodgers returned to Illinois where she worked as a farm laborer and handyman. Her true gender was kept secret until after the sixty-eight-year-old veteran became a resident of the Illinois State Soldiers' and Sailors' Home.

Although her military service is unequivocal, details of Hodgers's early life are sparse and nebulous, in part because her mental condition had deteriorated by the time her real identity was discovered and questions arose. Her admission application to the Soldiers' and Sailors' Home indicates that she was born in Ireland on December 25 "about 1844," rather than in New York as she occasionally said. In subsequent conversations with hospital personnel, Hodgers gave Cloger Head as her birth town. Hodgers and people claiming to be her relatives gave various explanations for her initial breach of gender roles. In one account, Hodgers said that she wore boy's clothing as either a stowaway or a cabin boy during the journey to America. Alleged relatives opined that her coachman and horse trader father dressed her as a boy for safety while she traveled with him across Ireland. In other conversations, Hodgers maintained that her stepfather instructed her to impersonate a boy in order to work in a New York shoe factory.

Hodgers's residence and visage between immigration and military enlistment as nineteen-year-old farmer Albert D. J. Cashier in Belvidere, Illinois, are unclear, as are her reasons for joining the army. August 1862 induction documents describe her as five feet three inches tall with blue eyes, light brown hair, and fair complexion. Complete physical examinations were rarely performed on recruits, and female soldiers who escaped illness, wounding, or capture could avoid detection throughout their service. Initially dispatched to Kentucky, her regiment continued to Jackson, Tennessee, joining the command of General Stephen A. Hurlbut, then merged with the Army of Tennessee under General Ulysses S. Grant. Hodgers's unit fought at the Battle of Vicksburg before being ordered to West Tennessee and northern Mississippi, ultimately engaging Confederate troops at Brice's Crossroads,

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Tennessee, where many of her comrades succumbed to heat prostration and bullet wounds. After regrouping in Memphis, the Ninety-fifth Illinois fought the Rebels in Missouri at the Battles of Spring Hill, Franklin, and Nashville, and along the Gulf Coast.

Having fulfilled its three-year obligation, Private Cashier's unit was mustered out. Hodgers eventually settled in Saunemin, Illinois, where the illiterate veteran earned a living performing jobs including lamplighter and church janitor. At least three times after her military service ended, Hodgers's real gender was revealed; however, all who knew the truth honored her request for secrecy. In early 1911, while working on Senator Ira M. Lish's property, Hodgers suffered injuries when the senator accidentally backed his car into her. Both the senator and the attending physician agreed to keep her gender confidential, as did the superintendent and examining physician at the Soldiers' and Sailors' Home in Quincy, Illinois, when she applied for admission there on April 29, 1911. Soon thereafter, attendants attempting to bathe the veteran discovered she was not a man and the subterfuge crumbled. Perhaps to verify that Hodgers and Cashier were the same person, her former army captain visited her. To support her pension increase request, other Ninety-fifth Illinois veterans attested to her identity and combat record, recalling her reclusive nature, dependability, and bravery.

Exhibiting symptoms of dementia, Hodgers was transferred to the state mental institution in 1913. Two years later, she died there on October 11. She was buried in uniform with full military honors at Saunemin's Sunnyslope Cemetery. After a nine-year investigation, her conservator was unable to authenticate any surviving relatives.

Nancy L. Adgent

See also Domesticity; Female Combatants; Immigrant Women; Northern Women; Wartime Employment.

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Hoge, Jane Currie Blaikie (1811–1890)

Born in Philadelphia in 1811, Jane Hoge (pronounced Hodge) worked throughout the Civil War to aid United States soldiers and citizens. At the outset of the war she provided relief supplies. She later became an associate manager of the northwestern branch of the United States Sanitary Commission in Chicago. In this position she came to see herself as a mother figure to the many men who fought for the Union. After the war ended, she published a book focusing on the experiences of the army's rank and file. Hoge's *The Boys in Blue* remains one of the few volumes that offers a glimpse into the lives of everyday soldiers in the Civil War.

Hoge shared her position at the Sanitary Commission with Mary A. Livermore. The two women worked smoothly together, imposing strict business standards on the Chicago branch and overseeing a massive supply effort. While the two women shared the office with two men, an accountant and a handyman, Hoge and Livermore represented the

Jane Currie Blaikie Hoge was a manager of the United States Sanitary Commission in Chicago and worked tirelessly to help U.S. soldiers (1811–1890). (Library of Congress)

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Commission to the hundreds of donors, family members, women, and soldiers who visited. They wrote thousands of letters, telling folks at home about the needs at the front and facilitating correspondence between the soldiers and their loved ones. In addition, they traveled extensively. For example, early in 1863 Hoge spent weeks on a boat floating in the Mississippi River operating a supply depot and hospital to aid the Union troops fighting to take control of Vicksburg. Finally, in an era when women believed that speaking to mixed audiences was promiscuous, she learned to give moving and dynamic public speeches, telling stories about the soldiers.

Hoge's job with the Sanitary Commission proved highly demanding, but she also enjoyed its benefits. The skills she learned—nursing, public speaking, and the ability to gather bandages, basic clothing, and specific foods, on a scale large enough to provide for the needs of entire armies—took her beyond traditional women's roles. Yet Hoge, the mother of eight surviving children, found her ultimate wartime inspiration in the soldiers. After the war she returned to private life, but she remained a preeminent woman in the eyes of many until she died in Evanston, Illinois, in 1890. To the thousands of men she had visited in the hospital and their families, she would long be remembered as a mother figure who had given her exceptional talents to aid the Union's cause.

Nancy Driscol Engle

See also Livermore, Mary Ashton Rice (1820–1905); Nurses; United States Sanitary Commission.

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Holmes, Emma Edwards (1838–1910)

South Carolina diarist Emma Edwards Holmes chronicled life in the Palmetto State from secession through early Reconstruction.

Born in Charleston, the daughter of Dr. Henry McCall Holmes and Eliza Ford Gibbes Holmes, Emma Holmes came from a distinguished Southern lineage. When the Civil War began, her mother was already a widow and the head of a family of ten children, ranging in age from thirteen to thirty-one. Emma was twenty-three and unmarried. Her single state was a matter of concern to both her and her mother. Although she had numerous beaux during her life, Emma never married, no doubt because of what she once called her "high standards" and what her mother described as her "dictatorial character & prejudiced views."

Emma Holmes's contribution to the history of the period is the detailed diary she left behind, which she faithfully kept throughout the Civil War and early Reconstruction years. She lived in Charleston for the early part of the war, then in 1862, after the accidentally set Charleston Fire of 1861 destroyed her family home on the Battery, she worked as a teacher and tutor in Camden and its environs. She did not return to Charleston, except for visits, until sometime after the war when she continued her teaching career in the city she so loved.

Emma Holmes's diary is valuable for several reasons: her presence during many key events in the war; her intellectual curiosity, which caused her to view the events carefully and detail them passionately in her writings; her opportunities to travel around the state; her willingness to comment on people and events around her; and her active participation in the social and interracial life of the times. She was an intelligent Southern white woman who chronicled what she was experiencing, what she read about in newspapers and books, and what she learned from others, all from a completely pro-Confederate viewpoint. Thus her diary describes Fort Sumter from a site on Charleston's Battery and the 1861 fire from the point of view of one of its victims. She visited Confederate army camps; she lived in both city and rural areas; she was a refugee after the fire; and she experienced invasion by General William T. Sherman's army and black troops. She attended contemporary social events, and she interacted directly with slaves throughout the state. She discussed women's roles in the war, talked about

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books and articles she was reading, expressed Confederate optimism, then displayed pessimism about the war's progress, and, perhaps most important, detailed the impact of the war's end on white society, particularly on its race relations. Her diary provides one of the best contemporary insights into the impact of the Civil War on a single white woman and on Southern society as a whole.

John F. Marszalek

See also Confederate Homefront; Diaries and Journals; Fort Sumter (April 12–14, 1861); Sherman's Campaign (1864–1865); Southern Women.

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Homespun

Homespun, a homemade fabric made of cotton, linen, or wool, became a symbol of Confederate nationalism during the Civil War.

In the early nineteenth century, homespun was produced and worn mostly by poor whites and slaves. During the war, the Union blockade of Southern seaports prevented the importation of manufactured goods into the South, a region whose industrial capabilities remained underdeveloped in 1861. The exorbitant cost and scarcity of an array of household items, including fabrics, lace, ribbons, and stockings, forced women of all classes to revert to home manufacturing. Southern politicians, newspaper editors, and civic leaders urged women to replace ornamental pursuits with the patriotic tasks of spinning and weaving cloth. Textile production was most popular in rural communities, where there was limited access to blockade-run goods and the equipment required for spinning and weaving was readily available. Women produced homespun for both themselves and the Confederate army. Soldiers who wore uniforms made of homespun were often referred to as butternuts due to the golden brown appearance of the cloth, which was often dyed using the husks of the walnut tree. Women of all classes also used homespun to make clothing for themselves and their families. The significance of the fabric as a symbol of Southern nationalism was reflected in a popular song entitled "The Homespun Dress," which urged women to sacrifice their finery in support of the cause. Elite women found this sacrifice particularly difficult because they had always used clothing as a way to define their status and gentility. The inclusive nature of homespun as a symbol of patriotism thus challenged antebellum expressions of class.

Giselle Roberts

See also Confederate Homefront; Nationalism, Confederate; Shortages; Southern Women.

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Honor

The concepts of honor and its opposite, the apprehension of shame, appeal especially to the conservative frame of mind. Honor's exclusivity and reliance on public notice set it apart from the more introspective and self-abnegating ethic of conscience and guilt. Before, during, and after the Civil War, Southern whites—both male and female, slaveholders and nonslaveholders—found the South's rules governing behavior as important as a steady faith in God. Under the code, the female role was traditionally subordinated to the male. Feminine honor consisted largely of do-nots. Women were never to challenge outright men's deeds or opinions. Males were their "lords and masters," a phrase women sometimes muttered in quiet protest among themselves. Nor could they, whether married or virginal, ever relish the sexual license that unmarried and in some respects discreet married men enjoyed. Honor was conferred on women who married appropriately and bore children, preferably male. To be unwed and childless was a doubling of pity and even of shame.

Addressing the physical differences of men and women, a Virginia theologian declared that God

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had made them so in order to signify that the women, being the morally weaker sex, possessed a lesser claim to the "points of honor." For instance, he noted, men might regain a ruined reputation simply by repudiating their formerly lusty ways. On the other hand, women could be touched by not even the slightest doubt. Once lost, a woman's good name was unrecoverable. The dread of social ostracism and the prospect of church expulsion were usually enough to secure womanly virtue. At the same time, it was a mother's duty to raise sons to fulfill the virile obligations of their sex and to train daughters to show modesty, practice efficient domesticity, retain their chastity, and forbear unseemly adventures. That assignment gave women a degree of steely power by demanding that men live up to their own manly ideals—or suffer under the hammer of hard, shaming words. Extolling the virtue of violence for the sake of honor insulted, a Virginia female propagandist for secession believed that assault and battery and the duel were the sole means to protect one's sense of honor against the calumnies of one's enemies. No less than the male secessionists, she despised the Southern Unionists—cowards or submissionists, as they were called. Southern women were very strong-minded. Yet women of her persuasion above all else treasured their domestic position as keepers of the hearth, the kitchen, and the children's quarters.

In contrast to the constrictions that Southern women endured—and ordinarily enjoyed—their middle-class Northern compatriots were gradually forsaking the restrictive conventions that had previously governed them. Rather, they came to believe that women were morally and possibly intellectually superior to men. Self-control, not public scrutiny, should propel them toward the moral high ground. Conscience, not dread of public shame, should guide the way. A solid sense of guilt and remorse was considered far more preferable to reliance on fear of being publicly shamed.

One of the acute sectional divisions concerned the relative freedom of Northern women to breach conventional ethics. In the 1830s, South Carolinians Sarah and Angelina Grimké were the first of either region to address what were called promiscuous assemblies, that is, audiences of both sexes. Their antislavery convictions led them to such a seeming extremity. These courageous abolitionist performances initially aroused fury in all sectors of the nation, but ultimately their tours proved to be the first steps toward the cause of women's rights, a cause supported by some Northerners and disdained throughout the South.

That spirit of gender reform won only scorn and contempt in the slave states. It fed into the crisis over secession in 1860 and 1861. Insulted by years of Northern criticism of slavery, Southerners, both male and female, were likely to charge that New England had become a refuge for men of lascivious minds and women of loose morals. Such alien ideas as socialism, free love, and the abolition of slavery were loose in the land. One Charleston matron objected to the proliferation of Yankee rabble who made a mockery of true democracy, to the godless, to the women in Bloomer costumes, to the fleeing slaves whom abolitionists helped to escape, and to those advocating the intermixing of the races. Yankee manhood also came under attack. Rebel enthusiasts claimed that Northern men had grown too effeminate to win battles, whereas their women were turning themselves into brazen amazons.

While slavery was the root cause of the war, the issue of honor and its sexual differentiations were instrumental in setting the slave and free states on their antagonistic courses. Both sections considered the honor and intellect of whites far superior to those of people of color. Nonetheless, the degrees of racism contrasted enormously between the sections. The centrality of women's honor was most evident in white Southern attitudes. Interracial sex, or amalgamation as it was called, was the most horrifying of all the possibilities that might befall a Southern family. Under the honor code, the preservation of racially pure bloodlines was a matter of almost sacred obligation. In early 1861, a politician arrived in Richmond to present the secessionist principles of South Carolina to the Virginia convention, and the delegates were hotly debating the merits of disunion. Some argued that the abolitionists were bent on humiliating the South by compelling its white women to cohabit with blacks. The

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politician pompously claimed that no civilization could possibly tolerate or survive rampant sexual unions between races so different in status, color, and intelligence. The honor of the white woman was such a visceral issue that in the post–Civil War years, their protection from the alleged lust of freedmen justified, as Southern whites saw it, the employment of lynch law.

Although often the objects of jealous male guardianship, Southern women could take a more active role in their lives. During the early stages of the war, in the name of honor, Confederate women appointed themselves as public scolds of male slackers. Men were expected to uphold the honor of their sex by undertaking a mandatory rush to arms. Otherwise, the ladies might place a petticoat over the young bachelor's sitting room chair or snub him in the street until he enlisted. Southern women also sustained faith in the ideals of martial honor. In April 1861, at a typical send-off for troops about to leave their communities, a Texas belle, selected for her beauty, addressed a regiment. She proclaimed that she and all the local virgins would always acknowledge the soldiers' coming sacrifices. The trials of battle would result, she continued, in their achieving immortal glory and the undying gratitude of their homeland in the fight against the Yankee fanatics. She then handed their commander a handsome, emblematic banner sewn by the young women's delicate fingers.

In contrast, the Loyal Publications Society took quite a different approach. The Union author contrasted the relatively calm and steadfast mood of Northern women with the unwomanly truculence of their honor-conscious Rebel counterparts. Women of the free states, he explained, held their emotions in check, abjured any kind of truculence, and considered their obligation to be more steadfast than impetuous. Loyal Northern women were likely to invoke the merits of duty to flag, country, and fellow soldiers. That term, "duty," was the watchword rather than "honor," because they, as well as their Union warriors, understood what it meant.

In the fighting itself, Southern women eagerly proclaimed the nobility of their fighting men. For many, that function exhausted their contribution, apart from knitting socks, repairing uniforms, and other activities in the female realm. Some were compelled by circumstances to set aside the privileges and constraints of femininity when taking charge of farms, plantations, and businesses. To a lesser degree than the more self-assertive Northern women, some women even served as nurses in the medical wards, and they replaced men in state and Confederate administrative offices and in local classrooms. However, such activities only temporarily undermined the strict rules governing female life. When peace returned, they once more confined themselves to domesticity, albeit without their former reliance on slave labor and wealth. Throughout the conflict, there had been moments of elation and times of deep melancholy, but premonitions of defeat might well be followed by complete defiance. Upon hearing of antiwar riots in the North and some Confederate victories, a plantation matron rejoiced. She wrote a cousin that she felt absolutely murderous and yearned to get news from the North of widespread fire, ruin, and death.

In fact, when the end came, plantation women throughout the South felt the crush of defeat no less than the Confederate soldiers. For the most part, they had supported the effort fervently, even feverishly. A Georgia woman as late as January 1865 wrote that she and all others of her sex had sacrificed too much to contemplate surrendering to the Yankee hordes. Having lost a brother, she, like many other women, was certain that his spirit screamed for revenge. So long as any soldier was still in the field, the women at home should not give up. But even the stoutest feminine hearts had to admit that carrying on the war until the last infantryman had fallen would gain nothing. As the armies surrendered throughout the South, women mourned, like Hecuba in Euripides' *Trojan Women:* "So pitiful, so pitiful your shame and lamentation. I shall look no more on the bodies of my sons. No more." Defeat and the loss of wealth in goods, houses, and slaves were bound to bring misery, lamentation, and sense of futility. Honor was seemingly lost forever. Yet it was not long after Lee's surrender that ladies of the former Rebel states were immersed in the Lost Cause memorialization of the glorious heroes

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buried in the South's cemeteries. Once more the honor of the white race and woman's place in that ethical sanctuary flourished throughout a defeated and impoverished land. The determination to uphold the honor of white supremacy burned not just among the men but among the women as well, and it was manifest in the terrifying assaults on the post–Civil War freedmen who were seeking their own security and political voice.

Bertram Wyatt-Brown

See also Confederate Homefront; Confederate Soldiers, Motives; Flags, Regimental; Grimké (Weld), Angelina (1805–1879); Grimké, Sarah Moore (1792–1873); Nonslaveholding Southerners; Northern Women; Nurses; Religion; Slaveholding Women; Southern Women; Union Homefront; Union Soldiers, Motives.

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Hopkins, Juliet Ann Opie (1818–1890)

Juliet Opie Hopkins is known as the Florence Nightingale of the Confederacy because she made important contributions to Confederate medical care during the Civil War. Recognizing the need for hospital facilities to treat sick and wounded Alabama soldiers serving in the war's Eastern theater, Hopkins organized and managed several institutions in Richmond and other Virginia towns from 1861 to late 1863, when the government assumed control of all military hospitals.

Born in Jefferson County, Virginia, on May 7, 1818, Juliet Opie lived a life of wealth and privilege. She attended a prestigious Richmond academy until her mother's death in 1834, whereupon she returned to the family estate and helped her father manage his extensive land and slaveholdings. Though widowed at the age of twenty, Opie's second marriage to Arthur Francis Hopkins in 1854 proved more permanent. Hopkins, a prominent Alabamian, was the president of the Mobile and Ohio Railroad when the couple married, and they lived in Mobile when the Civil War began.

In the summer of 1861, the nascent Confederate government had made few preparations for hospital facilities to treat sick and wounded soldiers. Outbreaks of measles, typhoid fever, and other contagious diseases among troops stationed in Virginia, however, threatened to overwhelm the Confederate Medical Department during the war's early months. As sick soldiers flooded into every available space in Richmond and nearby towns, the area became one vast hospital. In June, Juliet Hopkins traveled to the Confederate capital to help alleviate the suffering of sick Alabamians. She secured a suitable building, hired several physicians and nurses, and purchased food and other supplies. When Hopkins opened the First Alabama Hospital in August, it was the first institution to treat Alabama troops serving in Virginia. By the fall of 1861, Hopkins had organized the Second Alabama Hospital in Richmond and others in Warrenton, Culpepper Court House, Yorktown, Bristoe Station, and Monterey, Virginia.

As a volunteer hospital organizer, Hopkins relied on private donations and appropriations from the Alabama state legislature. She served without salary and contributed an estimated $200,000 to staff and equip the hospitals. Known for her kindness and dedication to the patients, Hopkins was loved and respected by all. Her picture appeared on several denominations of Confederate Alabama currency, and she received numerous letters praising her devotion to the welfare of Alabama troops.

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Juliet Opie Hopkins died on March 9, 1890 and was interred in Arlington National Cemetery. Scores of veterans attended her funeral, including former Confederate Generals Joseph E. Johnston and Joseph Wheeler.

Nancy Schurr

See also Hospitals; Nurses; Southern Women.

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Hopley, Catherine Cooper (ca. 1832–n.d.)

Though little is known of the pre– or post–Civil War life of Catherine Cooper Hopley, this Englishwoman authored one of the most significant accounts of the Confederacy written by a foreign observer, as well as one of the earliest published biographies of Confederate General Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson.

Born about 1832, Catherine Cooper Hopley, a schoolteacher, came to the United States around 1854. She visited relatives in different parts of the North and lived for a time with a sister in Indiana. Hopley traveled to Virginia in early 1860, where she worked as a tutor for a plantation family. She visited England in the summer of 1860 but returned to America by the fall of that year, at the time of Lincoln's election. Hopley resided in Richmond during the winter of 1860–1861 before again finding employment as a tutor and as an instructor at a seminary in Warrenton. In early 1862, she journeyed to Florida, where she worked as a teacher for Governor John Milton's large family.

Returning to Virginia in early August 1862, Hopley obtained a Confederate passport allowing her to cross into Union lines at City Point, Virginia. She then traveled to Baltimore and on through Pennsylvania before reaching her sister in Indiana. She remained in Indiana for a short time and then left for New York, where she boarded a steamer for England. By the end of 1862 she had prepared a manuscript of her Confederate experiences: *Life in the South from the Commencement of the War by a Blockaded British Subject: Being a Social History of Those Who Took Part in the Battles, from a Personal Acquaintance with Them in Their Own Homes.* The two-volume book was published in London the following year.

Hopley's account is unwaveringly sympathetic to the South and to the institution of slavery, which she contended had been unfairly portrayed by lies and misrepresentations. In addition, *Life in the South* offered a vivid portrait of the South at war. Hopley accurately detailed political and military events, and she described the impact of the war on the Southern population. She included comments on prominent politicians and military officers that she met during her travels. She concluded her work by proclaiming the South and the Confederacy a respectable and valuable nation. Confederate bibliographer E. Merton Coulter lavished praise on Hopley's work, commenting on her keen observations, knowledge of current events, and writing ability.

Hopley subsequently authored *"Stonewall" Jackson, Late General of the Confederate States Army. A Biographical Sketch, and an Outline of His Virginian Campaigns.* This laudatory biography of Jackson included a brief overview of his early years, including his service in the U.S.-Mexican War and as an instructor at the Virginia Military Institute. However, it focused primarily on his wartime exploits from the 1862 Valley Campaign through his wounding at Chancellorsville. Hopley concluded with an account of Jackson's final illness, death, and burial. Throughout the book, Hopley stressed Jackson's Christian nature. She contended that the general's glory would be appreciated by generations of Southerners.

Details of Hopley's subsequent life remain unknown. However, her written record of her experiences between 1860 and 1862 is one of the most valuable volumes written by a woman living in the Confederate states.

David Coles

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See also Confederate Homefront; Chancellorsville, Battle of (April 29–May 6, 1863); Education, Southern; Immigrant Women; Wartime Literature.

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Hospitals

Thousands of American women—Northern and Southern, white and black—served in military hospitals during the Civil War, making important contributions to the Union and Confederate war efforts. Though largely untrained and seen as the weaker sex, American women proved vital to the care of sick and wounded soldiers throughout the conflict.

In 1861, hospitals were rare because most nineteenth-century Americans cared for sick family members at home. Hospitals, or almshouses as they were frequently called, were regarded as asylums for the indigent and seen as a last resort for respectable people. At the war's outset, the Union army had only one military hospital, a forty-bed institution in Leavenworth, Kansas, while the Confederacy had no governmental facilities to care for sick and wounded soldiers. The outbreak of contagious diseases such as measles, malaria, and yellow fever, combined with the high casualties of the war's early battles, made the establishment and staffing of military hospitals a top priority for both sides.

Several Northern women volunteered to help the Union establish and staff military hospitals. On April 23, 1861, Secretary of War Simon Cameron appointed Dorothea Dix, a well-known antebellum crusader for improved care for the mentally ill, to the position of Superintendent of Female Nurses in the United States Army. Her duties included enlisting female nurses, supervising the organization of military hospitals, and requisitioning supplies from the homefront. A rigid disciplinarian, Dix carefully screened each female applicant and usually rejected those who were young, unmarried, or attractive. Though her authority was sharply curtailed in October 1863, Dix appointed at least thirty-two hundred nurses to Union military hospitals. In late April 1861, Elizabeth Blackwell—the first woman to receive a medical degree in the United States—and her sister Emily met with other Northern reformers to propose the training of women nurses for Union hospitals. This group established the Woman's Central Association of Relief and oversaw the selection and training of approximately one hundred nurses.

The United States Sanitary Commission (USSC) provided significant aid to the Union army's medical department. Formally established in June 1861, the USSC was a civilian-run, national relief organization that sent food, clothing, medical supplies, and white female nurses to military hospitals. Functioning as a centralized organization for funneling supplies and personnel where they were most needed, the USSC enlisted more female volunteers than any other Northern organization.

In the Confederacy, the supply and staffing of hospitals were less organized since prewar reform groups were extremely rare. Many of the first Confederate hospitals were civilian endeavors. Like their Northern counterparts, groups of elite women formed state and local hospital aid societies and sent food, blankets, and medicine to their state's sick soldiers. Enormous casualties resulting from the firt battle of Bull Run, however, led aid society volunteers in new directions. Women, fired with patriotism and the desire to be useful, saw medical care as an appropriate outlet for their zeal. Members of the South Carolina Aid Association, for example, not only sent supplies but also provided nurses for the Palmetto State's patients recovering in Virginia. These efforts resulted in the creation of the South Carolina Hospital in Richmond and the Midway Hospital in Charlottesville.

Women's collective activity spread to other Virginia towns. When it became evident that additional

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Patients receive treatment at Carver General Hospital in Washington, D.C. The Civil War brought with it a staggering amount of debilitating diseases and serious injuries that demanded advancements in the medical practices of the time. (Library of Congress)

hospital space was badly needed in Lynchburg, local women under the leadership of Lucy Mina Otey formed a hospital association and opened the Ladies' Relief Hospital in the former Union Hotel. Moreover, numerous groups of women in the war's Western theater organized private hospitals. The Southern Mothers' Home in Memphis, as well as the ladies' hospitals in Chattanooga, Tennessee, and in Greenville and Montgomery, Alabama, are examples of such local efforts.

The Confederacy's inadequate hospital preparations were further illustrated by the fact that a few elite Southern women, backed by socially prominent husbands or fathers, became self-appointed hospital organizers. Letitia Tyler Semple, the daughter of former president John Tyler, established one of the first Confederate hospitals, located on the grounds of the Female Seminary in Williamsburg, Virginia. Mary Martha Reid, the forty-nine-year-old widow of Florida's former territorial governor, established a hospital in late 1861 for Florida soldiers recovering in Richmond. After the first Battle of Bull Run, Sally Tompkins, the South's most famous hospital organizer, used her family's considerable influence in the Confederate capital to persuade Judge John Robertson to donate his home for hospital purposes. Tompkins's Robertson Hospital had a capacity of twenty-two patients and reportedly treated over twelve hundred patients during the war; it boasted one of the lowest mortality rates in the Confederate hospital system. Alabamian Juliet Opie Hopkins, wife of an influential lawyer and politician, organized several hospitals for her state's troops serving in Virginia. In late 1861, Governor

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John Gill Shorter appointed Hopkins superintendent of all Alabama hospitals in Virginia.

By November 1862, the Confederacy suffered from a serious shortage of soldiers at the front, in part due to the hundreds of enlisted men detailed for hospital duty. As a result, the Confederate Congress passed the Hospital Act, which mandated the employment of civilians in military hospitals and subjected those so employed to military authority and discipline. Henceforth, medical officers were encouraged to hire women to serve as matrons, nurses, cooks, and laundresses. Thus, most Southern female hospital workers applied for jobs at specific hospitals, rather than through a centralized agency like the United States Sanitary Commission.

Though Northern and Southern women entered hospital service through different means, they faced similar challenges. Initially, army doctors demonstrated a distinct prejudice against female employees. Afraid that hospital work would upset women's delicacy and refinement, some medical officers opposed their presence in the wards. Yet many elite and middle-class white women successfully argued that their nurturing, self-denying natures specially qualified them for hospital work. Indeed, they envisioned the care of sick and wounded men as a natural extension of their roles as mothers. Many women formed strong bonds with their patients and attempted to create a home away from home for their charges. Decorating the wards with flowers and curtains, supplying patients with religious tracts and other reading material, and preparing special treats at Christmas were common activities for many female hospital workers.

Women from minority groups also participated—willingly and unwillingly—in military hospital care. At least six hundred nuns representing twelve religious orders nursed soldiers from both sides. Their hospital duties mirrored those of white Protestant nurses: They distributed supplies, cooked and served meals, dressed wounds, dispensed medication, and provided religious counseling. Nuns also encountered discrimination. In addition to the widespread anti-Catholic feeling in many areas, the sisters, more than one-half of whom were Irish or of Irish descent, faced anti-Irish sentiment. Historians have noted Dorothea Dix's wartime opposition to the use of sister nurses; as Superintendent of Female Nurses, Dix crusaded to establish a white, largely Protestant nursing corps. Dix and others also criticized the nuns for not forming relationships with the patients. Yet nuns' vows of chastity and the rules of their orders precluded them from conversing with men unless the conversations were religious in nature. Despite this criticism, Catholic nuns remained popular with medical officers on both sides. Citing their prewar training in private hospitals, their ability to obey orders, and their intense dedication, many surgeons in charge of hospitals specifically requested the services of sister nurses.

African American women—both slave and free—engaged in medical care during the Civil War. One historian estimates that free and contraband black women comprised approximately 10 percent of female employees in Union hospitals. The majority of these women worked as cooks and laundresses supervised by white middle-class matrons. In Union hospitals, African American women earned between $6 and $10 per month, compared to the $12 wage earned by white women. Although incomplete records preclude a reliable statistical analysis of Confederate hospital workers, it is clear that, in many institutions, blacks outnumbered whites. In the South, elite white supervisors assigned black women backbreaking, often dangerous work. At a Chattanooga hospital, for example, matron Kate Cumming reported that slave laundresses washed the bedding and clothes of patients infected with smallpox. While these and other slave workers received a daily ration, the proceeds of their labor—usually between $20 and $25 per month—went directly to their owners. Moreover, whether they worked in Union or Confederate hospitals, African American women confronted racial antagonism. Many white workers refused to socialize with black women, and most opposed the quartering of black and white women in the same room. Although white and black women were working toward the same goal—to heal sick and wounded soldiers—the racial barrier precluded whites from envisioning blacks as sisters in common cause.

Nancy Schurr

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See also African American Women; Blackwell, Elizabeth (1821–1910); Catholic Women; Confederate Homefront; Cumming, Kate (ca. 1835–1909); Dix, Dorothea Lynde (1802–1887); Hopkins, Juliet Opie (1818–1890); Northern Women; Nurses; Southern Women; Tompkins, Sally Louisa (1833–1916); Union Homefront; United States Sanitary Commission; Women's Central Association of Relief.

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Hospital Ships

Hospital ships were vessels dedicated to the care of sick or wounded soldiers. Following the first major battles of the Civil War, the United States navy and relief organizations realized the need to move the wounded and sick away from the front as rapidly as possible. Military officials responded by developing systems to transport the wounded and found women to provide care for the men. Although nothing about the naval hospital system was permanent during the years of the Civil War, the experiments led to establishing the naval medical corps.

Even before the Peninsula campaign in the spring of 1862, it was apparent that the injured needed to be removed from the battlefields as soon as possible to save more of them. Initial attempts were haphazard. Individual commanders sometimes put their wounded on the decks of rams (a type of warship) and transports that had just delivered troops or supplies, but these vessels had few supplies for the care of the injured or ill.

Beginning at the time of the Peninsula campaign, specific transports were assigned to carry the wounded away. Crews rigged canvas awnings on decks to protect the men from weather conditions, the sun being as harmful as rain or snow. Space was dedicated for amputations, and small kitchens were provided.

Volunteers from towns near battlefields came on board to provide what aid they could; the national relief societies, such as the United States Christian Commission (USCC) or the United States Sanitary Commission (USSC) as well as religious orders offered their services. To help the men combat shock, the volunteers turned out kettles of broth or warm drinks containing alcohol, and they washed the men and their wounds. The arrangements were temporary, with each vessel returning to its regular duties as soon as the men were unloaded or as battle conditions required. The system depended on women volunteers who carried out a kind of triage. Some of them stayed on the deck to greet the wounded being brought aboard, and they sent those needing surgery to an area near the working doctors. They made those considered too badly injured to survive as comfortable as possible and concentrated their efforts on the others.

Steamers served as the earliest rescue boats because no ships were dedicated to such work in either army. Nor did the military have any experts in providing immediate relief. Consequently the transport system was put under the control of the USSC, which used donated funds and materials to outfit the steamers with comfortable beds and efficient, if small, kitchens. In addition, the USSC provided bedding, dressings, instruments, and medicines. Despite

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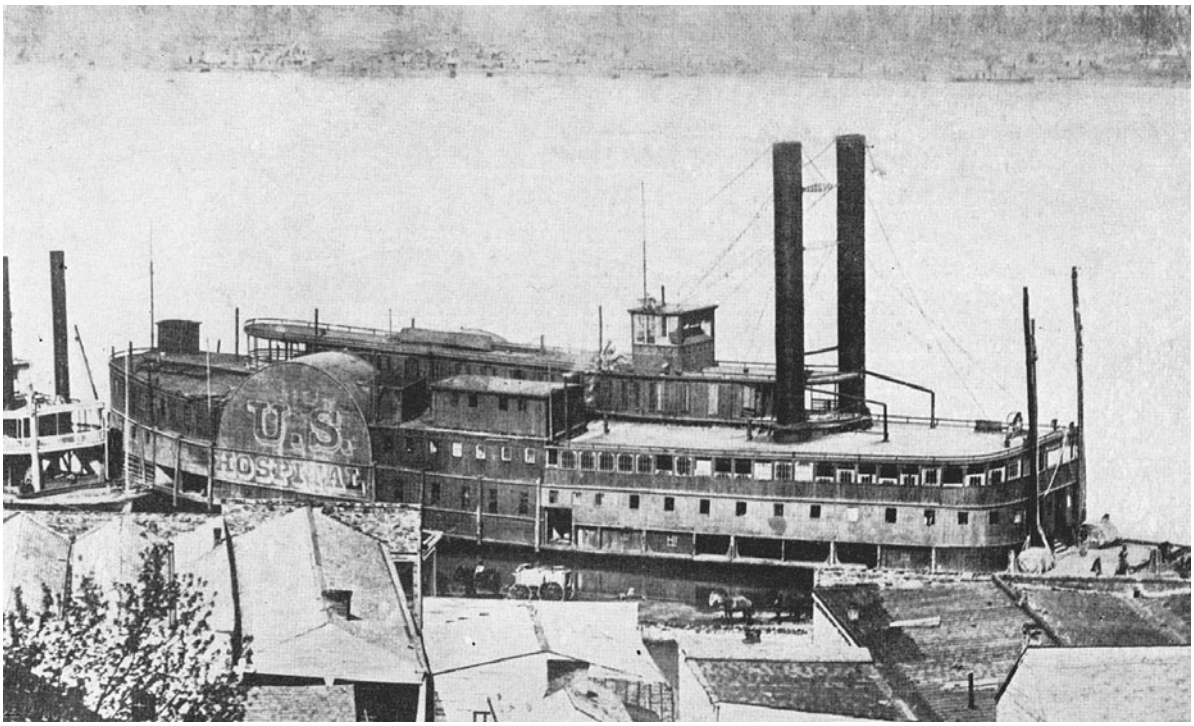

United States hospital boat *Red Rover* at Vicksburg on the Mississippi River. (Miller, Francis Trevelyan and Robert Sampson Lanier, *The Photographic History of the Civil War,* vol 7, 1911)

the objections of the navy, women volunteers provided nursing care. During the Peninsula campaign, the transport system dealt with as many as eight hundred sick and wounded soldiers at a time and moved as many as four thousand men in one three-day period. Despite the success, control of the transports returned to the army at the end of the campaign. A similar experiment was successful in the West. There the Western Sanitary Commission operated transports that helped to save lives at the Battle of Shiloh, also known as Pittsburgh Landing.

Ships had to be fitted out one at a time as appropriate vessels were located. Some were rented from private owners. For instance, Cornelius Vanderbilt provided his side-wheeled steamer *Ocean Queen.* The vessel had room for berths for four hundred men, and Frederick Law Olmsted, the USSC official in charge of the project, believed as many as one thousand men could be put aboard her.

Throughout this endeavor, volunteers had to deal with naval surgeons who often had ideas that conflicted with USSC plans. Naval officers opposed using female nurses, who they thought were too delicate and ill equipped for the treatment of soldiers. Although Olmsted understood their objections, he bowed to reality and was astounded at the quality of care the women provided and how much work they put in on their jobs.

By the summer of 1862, naval leaders decided to create a permanent hospital ship. The U.S.S. *Mound City* seized the C.S.S. *Red Rover* during the fighting around Island No. 10. It was officially transferred to the navy on October 1, 1862, and recommissioned as the U.S.S. *Red Rover* for service in December of that year. The *Red Rover* was supposed to be a temporary hospital for the summer months. However the ship's services were needed so much, that it was refitted for use all year. The ship was state-of-the-art, according to naval officials. This hospital transport ship was initially supplied to provide for two hundred men for a period of three months, but hundreds more than that

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received care aboard the *Red Rover.* The ship had a laundry facility, an amputation room, nine bathrooms with two on each deck, gauze on the windows to keep cinders from blowing into open wounds, and multiple kitchens. The nursing corps came from the Sisters of the Holy Cross. Because the women were dedicated to a life of religion and service, they were acceptable to military officials.

Although the commissioning of the ship and the acceptance of the female nurses provide historical beginnings for the naval medical service, the trend was not a steady one. The *Red Rover* had regular military duties in addition to its medical responsibilities. The vessel regularly steamed the waters of the West carrying men and supplies. However, when necessary, it was used in military actions, and the tables used to track the numbers and positions of ships during the Civil War did not always identify the *Red Rover* as a hospital ship. Although the nuns worked throughout the war, their nursing duties were taken up by men or hired nurses following the conflict.

Karen A. Kehoe

See also Aid Societies; Catholic Women; Domesticity; Hospitals; Northern Women; Nurses; Olmsted, Frederick Law (1822–1903); Religion; Separate Spheres; Union Homefront; United States Christian Commission; United States Sanitary Commission.

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House (Fletcher), Ellen Renshaw (1843–1907)

A young and single Southern woman during the Civil War, Ellen Renshaw House remained a defiant Confederate in occupied East Tennessee.

House was born in Savannah, Georgia, on August 10, 1843. Her father, Samuel, came from South Carolina and her mother from Philadelphia. When Ellen was born, her father worked as a customs collector and trade commissioner. When the family moved to Marietta, he became a small planter. By 1850, Samuel owned seven slaves and employed two white servants. A year before the Civil War, the House family sold their slaves and reestablished themselves in Knoxville, Tennessee. Samuel became a bookkeeper and the family lived a middle-class existence.

The Civil War divided Knoxville just as it split most of East Tennessee. Despite the unionism in their midst, Ellen and her family became ardent Confederates. One brother went to work as a clerk in the Confederate government. Two brothers enlisted in the Confederate army, and both wound up in Union prison camps. After his release, one of Ellen's brothers was murdered by robbers on the East Tennessee homefront in an act likely unrelated to the war.

When Union troops under the command of General Ambrose Burnside occupied Knoxville, Ellen's animosity toward the North increased. Union soldiers evicted her from her parents' home so that they could occupy the house themselves, and she otherwise experienced the shortages and privations common on the Southern homefront. Despite her personal difficulties, she remained an ardent Confederate. Unlike the rest of her family, she refused to take the loyalty oath. In addition, she spent much of her time and energy caring for Confederate prisoners housed in the city, visiting them often and donating many personal items to assist them. In an act of solidarity, she orchestrated a group of women to wave handkerchiefs as Confederate prisoners were marched through Knoxville.

On several occasions, House verbally abused the occupying Union soldiers. Her willingness to voice her displeasure with the occupying Union army eventually got her into trouble. In April 1864, she insulted the wife of a Union officer who was quartered in her parents' home. In response, Ellen was evicted from

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the city and forced to move behind Confederate lines. She would spend the rest of the war in exile, staying at the homes of family friends in Abington, Virginia, and Eatonton, Georgia. She remained in Georgia until the end of the war, avoiding the invasion of William Tecumseh Sherman's army.

After the war, House remained hostile to Yankees and unionists. She returned to Knoxville, where she met her future husband, James Washington Fletcher. They married in November 1867 and had four children, the first of whom they named after Ellen's murdered brother. Ellen Renshaw House Fletcher died on May 19, 1907.

Andrew K. Frank

See also Confederate Homefront; Diaries and Journals; Loyalty Oaths; Military Invasion and Occupation; Refugees; Slaveholding Women; Southern Women.

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Howe, Julia Ward (1819–1910)

Author of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," Julia Ward Howe was also a women's rights advocate, an abolitionist, and a reformer.

Born in New York City on May 27, 1819, to Julia Rush Cutler and Samuel Ward, Julia Ward Howe was raised in a wealthy household. Her mother died when Julia was five years old. The well-educated girl displayed a keen intellect and an interest in philosophy, theology, and literature. Early in life she decided to become a writer. Her father, a Wall Street banker, died in 1839 when Julia was twenty years old.

In 1841 she met Samuel Gridley Howe, a noted reformer and head of the Perkins Institute for the Blind in Boston. The two were married in 1843 and Julia gave birth to six children between 1844 and 1859. Because her husband disapproved of married women having a life outside the home, Julia spent most of this period raising her children while writing and publishing anonymously. Her relationship with her husband was never serene and almost led to divorce in 1854 and again in 1857. However, they remained married until Samuel's death in 1876.

The Howes played active roles in the abolitionist movement beginning in the early 1850s. She had helped her husband publish a newspaper supporting the Free Soil Party, and she was a friend of many of Boston's leading abolitionists, including Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, Charles Sumner, and William Lloyd Garrison. The Howes continued their work for abolitionism as the war began.

With the onset of the Civil War, the Howes involved themselves in the aid of the Union. Julia worked for the New England Sanitary Commission. In November 1861 she accompanied her husband on an inspection trip of Union army camps in the Washington, D.C. area. The authorities had asked her husband to investigate health issues among the tens of thousands of troops encamped around the nation's capitol. By this time, Julia had already taken an active role in war work, having participated in soldiers' relief. With the Sanitary Commission, she had prepared bandages and made clothes for Union troops. However, she later admitted that her lack of domestic skills made these activities frustrating for her, and she felt helpless to contribute further to the cause.

The inspection trip offered her a new outlet for her energies. After a particularly active day touring military camps with Samuel, Julia awoke in the middle of the night having received what she later believed to be a divine inspiration. She claimed that the lyrics to "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" had come to her so freely that almost no editing was required. She submitted the poem to *The Atlantic Monthly,* where it was published in February 1862. The poem was soon set to the music of the popular abolitionist marching song, "John Brown's Body." While it never became as popular among the troops as "John Brown's Body," "Battle Hymn" captured the imagination of the Northern civilian population. The poem reflected the changing war aims—a war originally declared to save the Union had been transformed into one to free slaves. "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," with its imagery of a militant deity leading a struggle for justice and freedom, became a powerful symbol of the new war aims.

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Julia Ward Howe, author of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," in 1861. (Miller, Francis Trevelyan and Robert Sampson Lanier, *The Photographic History of the Civil War,* vol 9, 1911)

In the late 1860s, Julia joined with noted abolitionist and women's rights activist Lucy Stone to lead the American Woman Suffrage Association, one of two national suffrage organizations that resulted from a Civil War–related schism in the women's movement. In 1871 Howe organized a Woman's Peace Congress in London.

After her husband's 1876 death, Julia became even more active in social causes, necessitated in part by the depletion of her inheritance as a result of Samuel's poor management of the family's finances. She immediately embarked on her first national speaking tour to promote the national women's club movement. In 1881 she was elected president of the Association for the Advancement of Women, an organization that promoted educational and professional opportunities for women.

"The Battle Hymn of the Republic" brought celebrity to Julia Ward Howe and transformed her life. In 1908 she was the first woman elected to the American Academy of Arts and Letters, her membership sponsored by Mark Twain. Despite her husband's opposition to her public role, after "Battle Hymn" assured her a place in the American imagination, she began lecturing and developed an enthusiasm for oratory that remained with her for the rest of her life. She used the poem's popularity and the unexpected fame it brought her to advance her reformist agenda until her death. Despite the prominence that "Battle Hymn" has assumed in her life's history, Howe's most substantial contributions came from her career in the American women's movement.

Julia Ward Howe continued to write books, articles, and poems and to give lectures, and she remained active in leadership positions in the women's clubs and suffrage movements until her death on October 17, 1910, at the age of ninety-one.

Robert D. Bohanan

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; Aid Societies; Fiction Writers, Northern; Peabody, Elizabeth Palmer (1804–1894); Poets, Northern; Stone, Lucy (1818–1893).

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Hunter, David (1802–1886)

A career soldier and Civil War general, David Hunter is best-known for his unauthorized emancipation of slaves in three Southern states in 1862 and his order to burn sections of the Shenandoah Valley in 1864. People throughout the Confederacy condemned him for his disregard for civilian property and women's spaces during the Shenandoah Valley campaign.

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Born on July 21, 1802, Hunter graduated from West Point in 1822. Commissioned a second lieutenant, he was assigned to various frontier posts. While at Fort Dearborn, Hunter met Maria Indiana, whom he later married. Maria Hunter followed her husband to his various postings, remaining with him for his entire life. Hunter briefly resigned from the army but returned and served as a paymaster, rising to the rank of major.

Despite his age, fifty-eight in early 1861, and his lack of experience as a field commander, Hunter was given an infantry division at the start of the Civil War. He led his troops during the First Battle of Bull Run, where he was wounded in action. Following his recovery and promotion to the rank of Major General of Volunteers, Hunter awaited a permanent assignment, eventually finding himself in charge of the Department of the South, where the Union army controlled limited areas on the coastline of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. Fearing that he was outnumbered by Confederate troops, Hunter requested reinforcements from Washington. When his request was denied, the general considered other ways of filling the ranks.

On May 9, 1862, Hunter declared all enslaved persons within his department freed, and urged blacks to take up arms to fight for their freedom. He formed the First South Carolina Volunteer Infantry, a unit comprised of black soldiers and white officers. Even though President Abraham Lincoln repealed Hunter's emancipation order, reserving for the commander in chief the right to free slaves, Northern newspapers reacted in outrage to this radical act. The Confederate government branded Hunter an outlaw, accusing him of encouraging slave rebellion.

In 1864 Hunter was ordered to capture Lynchburg, Virginia, a crucial rail junction. Marching through the Shenandoah Valley, Hunter destroyed railroads and various military buildings. His soldiers also ransacked personal homes that they encountered along their route, enraging women throughout the region. In Lexington, Hunter ordered the destruction of the Virginia Military Institute and the home of former governor John Letcher. Approaching Lynchburg, Hunter's force was driven off by Confederate troops. Hunter so poorly planned his retreat that he left the Shenandoah Valley open for a Confederate advance on Washington, D.C. Despite varying estimates of the extent of the damage, Hunter certainly caused a great deal of hardship for civilians, mostly women, who lost their homes during the campaign. Confederate women across the Shenandoah Valley branded him a barbarian for his destructive actions.

David Hunter, an officer for the Union, issued an emancipation proclamation to slaves in North Carolina, Georgia, and Florida in 1862, only to have his proclamation annulled by Abraham Lincoln in an effort to maintain executive authority. Hunter also organized one of the Union army's first negro regiments. (Library of Congress)

Following the war, Hunter served on the military commission that investigated the assassination of

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President Lincoln. He retired from the military having spent forty-three years in uniform and died on February 2, 1886, at the age of eighty-three.

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See also Bull Run/Manassas, First Battle of (July 21, 1861); Destruction of Homes; Destruction of Personal Property; Sheridan, Philip Henry (1831–1888); Sheridan's Shenandoah Valley Campaign (1864).

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Immigrant Women

Although immigration soared in the years before the war and, despite the fact that many of the new arrivals were women, their stories have often been neglected in general accounts of the great European migrations of the mid-nineteenth century. Only recently have historians begun to document the lives of the many women who joined immigrant men on the farms and in the factories, mills, and sweatshops. Immigrant women's work in the textile and garment industries kept clothing on the backs of soldiers and civilians. In large part, the agricultural and industrial labor of immigrant women freed men to go to war.

To replenish the civilian workforce and to drum up military volunteers, the administration of Abraham Lincoln encouraged immigration with legislation such as the Homestead Act. Many immigrants enlisted or were drafted into the military. For women whose husbands were in the service, the burdens of keeping home and family together were enormously increased. Military pay could be lower than the wages the men had earned before the war, and the threat of being widowed, deserted, or left to care for a wounded husband loomed large for immigrant women, as it did for all women on the Civil War homefronts. Frequently, immigrant women were dependent on men whose lives were at risk almost daily. To make ends meet, many immigrant men took on perilous jobs that native white men refused or that slave owners were unwilling to let valuable black slaves perform.

Every immigrant's tale was unique, but most came to America to escape hardships in their native countries. The women who came to America usually arrived as part of a family migration—with husbands or fathers. Others however, especially the Irish, came singly. Some women came willingly, some reluctantly, but most were looking for an opportunity to improve the material conditions of their lives. Whether alone, in groups with other women, or as the daughters or wives of immigrant men, the majority who made the journey were young and, as a result, gave their most productive years to their adopted land.

The new immigrants generally settled in Northern cities where jobs in factories or opportunities for domestic service were plentiful and where there were already established immigrant enclaves. The migration of Europeans to the South made up a small percentage of the overall immigrant population. Conditions in the South were not as hospitable for immigrants, and opportunities were not as plentiful as they were in the North. Slave labor provided most of the South's agricultural manpower, and the lack of industrialization drove immigrants to seek work in the North. The immigrants who went south settled mostly in Louisiana and Texas or in the South's few cities, including Charleston.

Large numbers of immigrants headed west, where there was abundant farmland. For many immigrants, especially those from the Scandinavian countries or the German-speaking areas of Europe, the opportunity to own large tracts of land beckoned

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them to the rural areas of New York, Pennsylvania, and the upper Midwest. German-speaking women tended to arrive in family groups and channeled their efforts into saving money for land and building family farms. Scandinavian women also concentrated on farming in rural areas of the upper Midwest. Women toiled in the fields as well as in the home, and they usually had the responsibility for tending livestock in addition to their other duties. Clearing land and establishing homesteads, though the fulfillment of a dream for many immigrants, made for backbreaking, isolating, and often heartrending work.

Irish women comprised the largest group of female immigrants. Great numbers arrived unmarried and typically found positions as domestic servants in the large Northern cities, especially in New York and Boston. The life of the domestic servant was difficult, and native women who could choose other occupations did so; work in a factory may have been dirty and exhausting, but many immigrants believed it was preferable to working, and usually residing, in the private home of one's employer. In any event, many Irish women were willing, if not delighted, to have the domestic jobs. The pay for domestic work was often higher and the work less dangerous than that of factory work. In addition, saving money on housing, clothing, and transportation was a decided incentive for Irish women to take on domestic labor. Most women sent earnings home to help families they had left behind or to provide passage for relatives.

While immigrants from German-speaking lands and Great Britain predominated, other women migrated in much smaller numbers. Jewish women from Europe sometimes traveled alone or with other family members, but more often they arrived as the wife of an already established immigrant. They tended to work in family businesses as they raised their families. In addition, Italian immigration did not occur in large numbers until after 1870, and Asian and Eastern European immigration was very limited in the years surrounding the Civil War.

Though they came from many countries and different walks of life, once in America, immigrant women found a society quite unlike those they had left behind. Adjustments were often painful and the obstacles were daunting. A new language, a new culture, prejudice, and poverty confronted them. The challenges of bearing and raising children without the familiar network of family and neighbors made life stressful and often lonely. The war's effects rippled into every city, and many resources that might have helped immigrant families were diverted. Moreover, antiforeign hostility did not fade. Despite the difficulties, many thousands of women raised families and helped build social, cultural, and religious networks that eased the transition for other newcomers, as they served their own communities and their new country. Although often silent participants, immigrant women, many of whose lives were cut short through illness, childbirth, and overwork, played a significant role in the growth and development of the nation during the nineteenth century.

Yvette Florio Lane

See also Catholic Women; Civilian Life; Factory Workers, Northern; Farm Work; Jewish Women; Northern Women; Religion; Rural Women; Southern Women; Urban Women, Northern; Urban Women, Southern; Western Women.

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Impressment

Impressment is the seizure of private property for use by the government. During the Civil War, agents of the Confederate and Union governments and armies impressed a wide variety of edible and non-edible agricultural products, livestock, wagons, and even slaves to aid in the war effort. Property

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owners received either receipts, paper currency, or occasionally gold in exchange for impressed goods. Though most of the civilians affected by impressment were, by virtue of geography, Southerners, both armies seized private property for military use during their short forays onto Union soil.

Impressment was not the only means by which the Confederate and Union governments obtained private property for army use. The Confederate tax-in-kind placed a tithe on agricultural goods, which was collected and forwarded to the armies at regular intervals throughout the war. The Confederacy also instituted property confiscation to punish Southerners who remained loyal to the Union or publicly objected to Confederate policies, although it is unclear how often the government invoked this prerogative. The United States government also created a series of Confiscation Acts, giving Union armies the authority to seize property used to aid the Confederate war effort without compensating property owners. In 1871, the United States Congress created the Southern Claims Commission, providing Southerners who had remained loyal to the Union with the chance to receive payment for some of the property Union soldiers had seized during the war.

Most of the impressment of Southern property, however, occurred at the hands of Confederate impressment agents. The first Confederate impressment legislation concerned cotton. The Davis administration created a Cotton Bureau to impress cotton at a uniform national price and to carry on all trade in cotton, particularly with foreign buyers. Impressed cotton also served as collateral in the Confederacy's only large international loan. In March 1863, the Confederate Congress gave army commanders the authority to impress food and to forage from local farmers, legislating and legitimizing what had already been in practice for well over a year. Congress also insisted that the War Department institute a price schedule to ensure that farmers received fair compensation for all impressed goods.

This legislative action created a lengthy debate over whether Southern farmers should receive the market value for impressed goods. Many cited the impracticality of determining market value at various points in the country, particularly as scarcity and inflation caused prices to spiral upward at rapid rates. Others suggested that not providing adequate compensation would simply encourage farmers to hide goods from impressment agents, thus jeopardizing the Confederate army's ability to obtain sufficient food. Not surprisingly, representatives from areas of the homefront closest to the armies—and thus most prone to impressment—called most strongly for compensation at market value. In practice, the Confederate War Department's price schedules always lagged behind market prices, and the paper currency they distributed quickly depreciated. Most farmers, moreover, received no immediate compensation for impressed goods but were instead given receipts that became completely worthless once the Confederate armies surrendered.

The Confederate government also began impressing slave labor in March 1863, once again creating order out of an ad hoc form of impressment that had been ongoing since the beginning of the war. The legislation called for able-bodied male slaves between the ages of eighteen and fifty-five to work on Confederate fortifications, usually for a period of two or three months. Florida, Virginia, Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi already had state legislation in place to impress slave laborers, and the War Department sought the cooperation of state legislatures in these states to enact slave impressments in the other Confederate states. In the other six Confederate states, state and military officials had called for short-term levies of black labor prior to the national legislation, but the scale of the War Department's actions was unprecedented. As with the impressment of agricultural goods, of course, the burdens of slave impressment fell the hardest on communities closest to the Confederate armies.

Jaime Amanda Martinez

See also Civilian Life; Confederate Homefront; Destruction of Homes; Destruction of Personal Property; Food; Foraging, Effects on Women; Military Invasion and Occupation; Morale; Northern Women; Politics; Rural Women; Shortages; Slaveholding Women; Southern Women; Union Homefront.

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Imprisonment of Women

Nineteenth-century gender conventions greatly impacted the treatment of women in Civil War prisons. Because society denied that women could be independent political actors, officials faced a difficult decision in holding women responsible for their actions, and individual officers had significant leeway in how they treated women prisoners. Nevertheless, in almost all cases, officials allotted little or no time in prison for women they arrested. Rather, they preferred to punish women with a stern lecture, house arrest, or banishment behind enemy lines. Moreover, if women did spend time incarcerated, the material conditions of their confinement were likely to be better than those faced by male prisoners, and their experience could make them local and sometimes national celebrities.

The most celebrated and best documented cases of women's imprisonment involved female spies. Despite regulations stipulating that no distinctions should be made between male and female spies and that spying was a capital crime, there is no evidence that any woman was executed for spying. Perhaps the closest any officer came to executing a woman was when Nathan Bedford Forrest sentenced Pauline Cushman, a Union spy, to hang. The timely arrival of Union forces, however, prevented Forrest from having to decide if he would carry out the sentence. Union officials arrested Belle Boyd several times for spying in 1862. The first time, they released her, and the second time they incarcerated her for a week at a hotel. Only after her third arrest did she enter Old Capitol Prison, a three-story dingy brick structure in Washington, D.C. Even there, she received special treatment. While guards verbally abused her (with Boyd responding in kind) and confined her to a room, the door and windows were kept open. As the summer heat and humidity increased, Union officials released her after only one month in the prison. Upon her fourth arrest in 1863, Boyd was sent to Carroll Prison for three months and then banished to the Confederacy.

Other women spies experienced similar treatment. Union officials put Rose O'Neal Greenhow, her eight-year-old daughter, and two of her couriers under house arrest in August 1861. With the addition of other women prisoners, including Eugenia Phillips, a prominent critic of the Lincoln administration, the house became known as Fort Greenhow. Confinement did not prevent Greenhow from trying to continue her intelligence work, and, as a result, in January 1862, she and her daughter were sent to Old Capitol Prison for five months until they were exiled to the Confederacy. Phillips suffered house arrest, placement in Fort Greenhow, and then banishment to New Orleans. There, further conflict with Union General Benjamin Butler over her public laughter during a funeral led to her three-month confinement on Ship Island at the mouth of the Mississippi River.

The physical conditions faced by imprisoned women varied greatly depending on the military officials in charge of their cases. Phillips most likely exaggerated when she spoke of the filthy rooms and soiled beds in the attic of the Greenhow house. Other sources described her accommodations there as a plush apartment. Even in prisons, women lived in better sheltered and less cramped conditions than men did. Some women, however, faced difficult conditions. For instance, at Ship Island, Phillips lived in an abandoned boxcar, battled insects, and ate stale, rancid food. Elsewhere, in a St. Louis jail, women lived without heat, had to bribe guards to secure adequate food, saw their letters of protest burned, slept in rags, and were possibly forced into

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prostitution. Mary Walker, a Union army surgeon captured in April 1864, spent four months in a Confederate prison. The filthy conditions and poor food caused her long-term health problems, with one of her relatives claiming that Walker had lost half her body weight during her incarceration.

Class combined with gender to shape the treatment of arrested women. Wealthy women received benefits not accorded to their poorer sisters, particularly the possibility of house arrest rather than incarceration. In Richmond, Virginia, as many as one hundred women, charged with crimes such as treason, disloyalty, and other minor offenses, spent time in the city's dreaded Castle Thunder prison. While women of modest means suffered in prison, Mary Allan, an elite woman accused of being a spy, was first housed in a convent. After paying $100,000 for bail in February 1864, her attorney managed to secure a sufficient number of trial postponements so that her case remained untried at the end of the war. Elsewhere, even the Beast, Benjamin Butler, permitted Phillips to bring an Irish maid with her to Ship Island.

As the war progressed, the treatment of civilians by both armies worsened. Consequently, the probability that women would be imprisoned both for their own actions and for the actions of their male relatives increased. In areas where the Union army faced Confederate guerrillas, women could be arrested as bushwhackers or taken as hostages. In Kansas City, Missouri, five women held in this manner died when their rickety jailhouse collapsed in 1863. These deaths possibly contributed to the unrestrained violence of Quantrill's raid on Lawrence, Kansas, which took place only a week later. In some areas, Confederates jailed Southern women who helped their husbands dodge the draft or desert from the army. Ironically, in other instances when officers tried to maintain a sense of prewar gender distinctions, men could be arrested for their wives' verbal threats or physical attacks on soldiers.

A limited number of women entered the army disguised as men. Of these, a still smaller number were captured by enemy forces and recognized to as women. Because both armies officially prohibited women's enlistment, neither army's regulations stipulated what to do with female prisoners of war. Instead, the armies dealt with these women on a case-by-case basis with releasing the prisoner being the most frequent choice. Generally, a woman's gender was discovered upon capture, but unsubstantiated stories tell of women whose gender was allegedly discovered only upon their giving birth in prison. Although rarely requesting special consideration, most female prisoners of war received separate accommodations and more lenient treatment than their male counterparts.

John M. Sacher

See also Boyd, Belle (1844–1900); Butler, Benjamin F. (1818–1893); Cushman, Pauline [Harriet Wood] (1833–1893); Domesticity; Female Combatants; Female Spies; Greenhow, Rose O'Neal (ca. 1814–1864); Northern Women; Phillips, Eugenia Levy (1819–1901); Separate Spheres; Southern Women; Walker, Mary Edwards (1832–1919).

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Jackson, Mary Anna Morrison (1831–1915)
Anna Jackson was the wife of Thomas Jonathan "Stonewall" Jackson and one of five sisters who married Confederate officers or officials.

Born July 31, 1831, in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, Mary Anna Morrison was the third daughter and fourth child of Reverend Robert Hall Morrison and Mary Graham. Her childhood was spent at Davidson, where her father was president of Davidson College and at the family's Lincoln County plantation, Cottage Home. Anna was educated at Salem Academy.

In 1851, Anna Morrison met Major Thomas J. Jackson through her sister Isabella Hill, wife of Major D. H. Hill. Both men taught at colleges in Lexington, Virginia. In 1853 Jackson married Elinor Junkin, who died fourteen months later. In 1856 Morrison and Jackson met again after having not seen each other for several years. The two were married July 16, 1857, in Lincoln County, North Carolina, where her family lived after Robert Morrison's retirement. Before the Civil War called the major to duty, the Jacksons lost their first daughter, Mary Graham. During the war, Anna lived in Charlotte in her sister's home. She delivered her second daughter, Julia, in November 1862. Anna was visiting in Richmond when she received the news that her husband had been wounded at Chancellorsville. She traveled to Guiney's Station, Virginia, where he had been moved and was with him when he died on May 10, 1863.

Anna Jackson remained at her father's house in Lincoln County until about 1873, when she moved to Charlotte. There she provided a good life for her daughter and divided her time between her church, First Presbyterian, and two ancestral societies, the Stonewall Jackson Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Mecklenburg Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, both organized in 1898. She also wrote a book about her husband, published in 1892 and another about her daughter, published in 1910. Julia Jackson, who died in 1889, had married William Edmund Christian and had had a son and daughter.

Anna Jackson was beloved not only in North Carolina but in all the former Confederate states. Veterans visited her throughout her life, and she was often referred to as the First Lady of the Confederacy after Varina Davis died in 1906. Anna Morrison Jackson died March 24, 1915, of pneumonia and received military honors at her funeral. As a sign of respect, the Charlotte City Hall and other businesses were closed the day after she died and on the day of the funeral. She is buried in Lexington, Virginia, next to her husband.

Debra A. Blake

See also Southern Women.

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Jacobs, Harriet Ann [Linda Brent] (1813–1897)

Born into slavery, Harriet Jacobs escaped in 1842. In 1861, she published her autobiography, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl,* which detailed the horrors of slavery, especially those peculiar to slave women. Although the beginning of the Civil War muted the initial impact of *Incidents,* it remains an important source of information on life in slavery for women. The book was never reprinted in Jacobs' lifetime and its authorship was often debated. However, Jacobs maintained her dedication to African American causes throughout her life. She remained an active champion of rights for freedpeople until her death in 1897.

Harriet Jacobs was born in 1813 in Edenton, North Carolina, to Delilah, a slave of Margaret Horniblow, and Daniel Jacobs, a slave of Andrew Knox. Like many young African Americans, Harriet did not realize she was someone's property until the age of six, when her mother died. When Harriet was a child, Horniblow taught her to read and sew, but Horniblow died in 1825, bequeathing Harriet to her three-year-old niece, Mary Matilda Norcom. Jacobs moved in with the Norcom family, where she was subjected to repeated sexual advances from Mary's father, physician James Norcom.

Jacobs's grandmother, freed slave Molly Horniblow, encouraged Jacobs to leave the Norcom residence and offered to help. Jacobs was frightened, however, and would not leave. Instead, in 1829, she began a relationship and had two children, Joseph and Louisa, with white attorney Samuel Tredwell Sawyer. Jacobs's behavior infuriated Norcom, who sent her to one of his plantations to work as a field hand. Terrified that her children would be forced to follow the same path, Jacobs ran away. After staying with various neighbors both black and white, she moved into a tiny crawlspace above a storeroom in her grandmother's house in 1835. She hoped that her absence would prompt Norcom to sell her children to their white father. Norcom, as expected, posted a reward for Jacobs's capture and return.

Jacobs remained in hiding in the crawl space for almost seven years. The space was nine feet long and seven feet wide, and had no light or ventilation. During those years, Jacobs emerged only for brief periods at night to exercise. She spent her time sewing, reading the Bible, and sending letters to Norcom to confuse him as to her whereabouts. Sawyer purchased their children but did not emancipate either one of them. He moved them to a house nearby, and Jacobs could sometimes watch them through a peephole she had made as they played outside.

When Sawyer won a seat in the United States House of Representatives in 1837, he moved to Washington, D.C., without the children. Instead he sent Louisa to Brooklyn to work as a house servant.

In 1842, Jacobs escaped by boat and headed to Brooklyn in search of Louisa. Although free from her life as a slave, she lived in constant fear of recapture. For the next ten years, Norcom continued to search for her. Jacobs found a job for herself as well as a place for her to live with both of her children. She worked as a nursemaid in Boston for Mary Stace and abolitionist poet Nathaniel Paker Willis. In 1849, Jacobs began eighteen months living above the Rochester, New York offices of Frederick Douglass's antislavery newspaper, *The North Star.* In Rochester, she worked with her antislavery lecturer brother, John S. Jacobs, also a fugitive slave. She traveled frequently between Boston and New York, becoming an active member of a group of antislavery feminists, including Amy Post, who encouraged Jacobs to share her story with the public.

In 1852, the Willises purchased Jacobs and freed her. She then began working on her autobiography, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl.* She wrote at the Willises' home, Idlewood, an isolated, fourteen-room writers' retreat on the shore of Moodna Creek. By day, Jacobs tended to the Willis children, and by night she worked on her memoirs in secret. Jacobs's letters to Post reveal a connection between her decision to tell her story and the recent death of

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her grandmother, Molly Horniblow. Jacobs felt that she could never share the sordid details of her life while her grandmother still lived; she feared that the sexual realities of her life as a slave would horrify her grandmother. In addition, Jacobs initially hoped that Harriet Beecher Stowe, author of the recently released *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* would make a good partner in the effort. Although this collaboration did not materialize, Jacobs's belief in the relationship between her own life's story and Stowe's fictional antislavery work indicates Jacobs's understanding of her potential contribution to the growing canon of slave literature.

Jacobs's work on her autobiography initially took the form of several anonymous letters to *New York Daily Tribune,* where they were published in 1853. Jacobs's published letters tackled central issues from her life story and addressed head-on the sexual abuse of slave girls and the efforts of their mothers to protect them. Her account of her sexual abuse shocked the American public and ultimately made it difficult for Jacobs to find a publisher. By the summer of 1857, Jacobs had completed her account of her life as a slave. She then enlisted the help of antislavery author Lydia Maria Child to get her story into print. Jacobs contracted with the Boston publishing house Thayer & Eldridge to publish the book, but the publisher went bankrupt. Undeterred, Jacobs and her antislavery friends had *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* published in late 1860 by a Boston printer. It was published in London in 1861 as *The Deeper Wrong; Or, Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl.* In both editions, Jacobs used a pseudonym, Linda Brent.

The first fugitive slave narrative written by a woman, *Incidents* received praise from antislavery circles in the United States and Britain. It revealed the horrors of slavery from a woman's point of view and highlighted the sexual perversion of the South's peculiar institution. Abolitionists hoped the book would incite others, especially women, to oppose slavery based on its corrupting sexual aspects. In an era that stressed women's proper roles, as well as the proper treatment of women by white men, a detailed account of how slavery denied women protection shocked many readers.

In *Incidents,* Jacobs never revealed her true identity. She instead maintained the alias Linda Brent and similarly renamed other actors in her life's story. Jacobs later stated that her primary motive was to address white women of the North on behalf of thousands of slave mothers and to appeal to their common identities as women and mothers. She also hoped to arouse the sympathy of her readers by showing herself as a victim of horrible circumstances that she could not control. She emphasized, however, the parts of her life that she could control. Throughout her autobiography, Jacobs portrayed herself not as a victim but as an active agent in her story, controlling her own sexuality by choosing to take a white lover while risking the wrath of her master and pursuing her own freedom.

Throughout the Civil War, Jacobs involved herself in relief efforts in the Washington, D.C. area. In particular, she aided the former slaves who had become wartime refugees, nursed African American troops, and taught the freedpeople. In 1863, she and her daughter founded the Jacobs Free School in Alexandria, Virginia, to train African American teachers for the freedpeople. When Jacobs and her daughter headed to Savannah, Georgia, in 1865, they moved the school with them. Jacobs returned to Edenton in 1867, where she promoted the welfare of former slaves. She remained in the South, working to aid her fellow freedpeople until racial violence finally drove her out.

In the postwar era, Jacobs continued her aid efforts. In 1868 she and Louisa raised money in London for an orphanage and home for the aged in Savannah, Georgia. Then the two returned to Massachusetts where, in 1870, they opened a boarding house in Cambridge. By the mid-1880s, Jacobs had settled in the District of Columbia with Louisa. In Washington, Jacobs worked at newly formed black schools and later at Howard University. Soon before her death, she was involved in the organizing meetings of the National Association of Colored Women.

Harriet Jacobs died in Washington, D.C., on March 7, 1897, at the age of eighty-four. She is buried next to her brother, John, in Cambridge's Mt. Auburn Cemetery.

Eloise E. Scroggins

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See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; African American Women; Child, Lydia Maria Francis (1802–1880); Contrabands; Domesticity; Douglass, Frederick (ca. 1818–1895); Slave Families; Stowe, Harriet Beecher (1811–1896); Teachers, Northern; Teachers, Southern.

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Jewish Women

During the American Civil War, Jewish men and women were divided in their political and social alliances. Although most Jewish families lived in the North and supported the Union, many Southern Jews supported the Confederacy.

Like women of all faiths, Jewish women supported the war efforts by urging their men to enlist and assisting the war through various social organizations. According to one estimate, at least seven thousand Jewish soldiers fought for the Confederacy and the Union. In addition, Jewish communities organized to support the war from behind the battle lines. In addition to synagogues, which orchestrated many wartime relief efforts, Jewish women formed and joined various religious and nonreligious welfare organizations and took active roles as individuals in the support of the Union and Confederacy. Across the country, Jewish men and women ministered to the wounded, the widowed, and the orphaned. In establishing communal charitable societies, Jewish women organized and raised money to support impoverished families. Jewish women in the North and South held weekly meetings in local synagogues and private homes to discuss further involvement in the war relief effort. With the money they raised through public events, Northern women bought medical supplies, clothing, stationery, and food to send to the United States Sanitary Commission for soldiers.

Even though Jews on both sides of the battle suffered from a wartime shortage of kosher foods, especially during Passover, they continued to celebrate their traditional holidays. Many found additional meanings in wartime holidays, comparing their situation to that of their ancestors. In addition, every Jewish holiday was utilized to help in the war effort. The largest sum collected by any congregation for the Sanitary Commission came from Shearith Israel Congregation in New York City from their 1864 Purim carnival.

In some Northern cities, Jewish women established organizations to aid both the Union cause as well as the people left behind on the homefront. In Philadelphia, for example, Rebecca Gratz founded a number of Jewish women's organizations, including the Female Hebrew Benevolent Society, the Philadelphia Orphan Society, and the Jewish Foster Home. Gratz's active participation in the war effort came even though she was deeply distraught that her family members held opposing loyalties to the North and the South.

Jewish women in the South were similarly supportive of their own war effort, often taking on dangerous responsibilities. For example, an antebellum philanthropist who had married at age sixteen, Rosanna Dyer Osterman served as a Confederate nurse and a spy during the war. In 1838, the couple had moved from Baltimore to Galveston, Texas, to establish their business. While Union forces besieged Galveston, Rosanna nursed the wounded, both Union and Confederate, in her home. When Galveston fell to Union forces, she secretly delivered strategic information to Confederate officers in Houston. Aided by this military intelligence, Southern forces recaptured Galveston on New Year's Day in 1863.

Eugenia Levy Phillips followed a similar path to wartime prominence. A native of Charleston, South Carolina, she married prominent lawyer Philip Phillips and moved with him to Alabama. When he was elected to Congress, they decided to reside permanently in Washington, D.C. Shortly after the war broke out, Eugenia, her two daughters, and her sister were put under house arrest, suspected of spying for the Confederacy. They fled to New Orleans after their release. From there, Eugenia delivered a

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Eugenia Levy Phillips, Confederate spy (1820–1902). (Clay-Clopton, Virginia, *A Belle of the Fifties: Memoirs of Mrs. Clay, of Alabama, Covering Social and Political Washington and the South, 1853–1866*, 1905)

coded message from Confederate spy Rose O'Neal Greenhow to President Jefferson Davis. Phillips's loyalty to the Confederacy caused her to clash with General Benjamin Butler, the Federal commander of New Orleans, and she was imprisoned again and sent to Ship Island in the Gulf of Mexico.

Phillips's sister, Phoebe Yates Levy Pember, served as the matron of the Chimborazo Military Hospital in Richmond, Virginia. The hospital had one hundred and fifty wards, and by the end of the war seventy-six thousand Southern soldiers had been treated there. In her memoirs, *A Southern Woman's Story* (1879), Pember, one of the first women to infiltrate the male-dominated discipline of nursing, described the difficulties that wartime women nurses faced.

Many women in the Union and Confederacy kept diaries during the war to record the momentous events around them. Jewish women were no different. For example, in her journal and letters, Emma Mordecai, a member of several affluent Jewish families, narrated the travails of daily life during the war and gave details about the fall of Richmond and the capture of Jefferson Davis. In New Orleans, Clara Solomon, who was sixteen when the war started, kept a diary from June 1861 to July 1862. Commenting on the daily news and current events from a pro-Confederate viewpoint, Clara repeatedly declared her belief in the imminent victory of the Southern states.

Despite these notable exceptions, primary sources describing the war from a Jewish female perspective are not abundant. The majority of the extant sources come from assimilated Southern Jewish women of the upper class. The surviving manuscripts and documents, mainly memoirs, journals, and letters written by Jewish women, depict numerous tales of immeasurable suffering, self-sacrifice, and acts of bravery.

Dina Ripsman Eylon

See also *Confederate Homefront;* Diaries and Journals; Enlistment; Female Spies; Greenhow, Rose O'Neal (ca. 1814–1864); Letter Writing; Northern Women; Nurses; Religion; Pember, Phoebe Yates Levy (1823–1913); Phillips, Eugenia Levy (1819–1901); Solomon, Clara (ca. 1845–1907); Southern Women; Union Homefront; United States Sanitary Commission.

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Johnson, Ann Battles (1815–1866)

A free woman of color during the Civil War, Ann Battles Johnson experienced the ambiguities experienced by black slaveholders.

Born a slave in Natchez, Mississippi, in 1815, Johnson obtained her freedom in 1826. She joined a sizable free black community in the town's relatively small urban community. She was already literate, and she had free and slave family members in and around Natchez.

At the age of twenty, she married William T. Johnson, a successful barber, businessman, and free man of color in Natchez. After their marriage, he purchased a small cotton plantation with as many as eight slaves, whom he managed as an absentee owner. The couple had eleven children, nine of whom lived to adulthood. Ann spent most of her time in their Natchez home, taking on all of the responsibilities of a free slaveholding woman. Early in their marriage, Ann performed many household chores, including taking care of a large garden, tending to livestock, and providing well-rounded educations to their children. Ann also taught her daughters how to become talented seamstresses. As they became more prosperous, Ann became a manager of household slaves who were purchased to help.

William Johnson was murdered in 1851 as the result of a land dispute with Baylor Wynn, another free man of color. Although Johnson named his assassin before his death, Wynn avoided conviction by claiming that a black man could not testify against him because he falsely claimed he was white. William's death and Wynn's acquittal were devastating to Ann.

As a widow, Johnson took control of an estate estimated to be worth more than $25,000. For the next fifteen years, she administered the properties and businesses left to her. She sold her agricultural holdings and began renting rooms in her Natchez home. She added rooms to her home and built a building in Main Street to augment her rental income. She also continued to manage William's barbershops, make small loans to family and friends, and use slaves to bring her goods to and from the marketplace.

During the war, Johnson experienced financial difficulties common in the urban South. More concerned with survival than with the meaning of the war, she found the war unsettling. With money in short supply and Union troops occupying New Orleans, rents and occupancy rates fell. She also suffered from the economic loss of her slaves, many of whom ran away to Union lines. Now reliant on free labor in an economically depressed region, Johnson struggled to feed her family. When the war ended, she began to rebuild her life as an African American landowner in the postemancipation South.

Johnson did not live to see how her family would survive in the postwar South. She died in August 1866, at the very outset of Reconstruction.

Andrew K. Frank

See also African American Woman; Confederate Homefront; Free Blacks; Shortages; Slaveholding Women; Southern Women; Urban Women, Southern.

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Keckley, Elizabeth Hobbs (ca. 1818–1907)
Former slave, seamstress, and organizer of the Contraband Relief Association, Elizabeth Keckley became Mary Todd Lincoln's dressmaker and confidant. She published her memoir, *Behind the Scenes, or Thirty Years a Slave and Four Years in the White House,* in 1868.

The exact birth date and parentage of Keckley have been a mystery. Recent scholarship has established that she was born a slave in February 1818, in Dinwiddie Courthouse, Virginia, the daughter of Agnes Hobbs. Her father has been variously identified as George Pleasant, a slave from a nearby plantation, or Colonel Armistead Burwell, a white master. She later gave birth to a son by another master, Alexander Kirkland. Loaned to one of Burwell's daughters, Anne Garland, she moved to St. Louis and worked as a dressmaker for the seventeen members of this family for two years. Sometime around 1852, she married James Keckley, an emancipated slave. During the early 1850s, she convinced the Garlands to allow her to buy her freedom and that of her son, George. Her dressmaking customers finally raised the funds, and she was issued a deed of emancipation in 1855. In 1860, she separated from James and went to Washington, D.C., establishing a dressmaking business there.

She sewed for politicians and their wives, including Jefferson and Varina Davis, Adele Cutts Douglas, Stephen Douglas's widow, and Ellen Stanton, wife of the secretary of war. On March 3, 1861, First Lady Mary Todd Lincoln hired Keckley as her dressmaker.

Keckley's son, George, whose light complexion allowed him to pass as white, volunteered for the First Missouri Volunteers of the Union army. He was killed during the Battle of Wilson Creek, Missouri, in August 1861.

In 1862 Keckley founded the Contraband Relief Association, a group that assisted freedmen in the Washington, D.C. area. It was later named the Freemen and Soldiers' Relief Fund. On behalf of this group, she collected contributions from Frederick Douglass, Mary Lincoln, and anti-slavery societies in England and Scotland.

Keckley consoled Mary Lincoln after the death of her son William Wallace "Willie" Lincoln and later, following President Lincoln's assassination. After the Civil War, Keckley accompanied Mary to Chicago to help market some of the former first lady's wardrobe, a project that ended in disaster. Keckley returned to Washington, D.C., and reopened her dressmaking business.

G. W. Carleton published Keckley's memoir, *Behind the Scenes,* in 1868. The volume has also been variously attributed to James Redpath, Hamilton Busbey, and Jane Swisshelm. Originally written to help Mary Lincoln financially, it contained many confidential letters Keckley had not intended for publication. For matters of identity, she consistently signed her formal name as Elizabeth Keckly; when signing her first name only, she wrote Lizzy, not Lizzie as Mary Lincoln had done.

Elizabeth Keckley died on May 26, 1907, in the National Home for Destitute Colored Women and

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Children in Washington, D.C. Francis Grimké, husband of Charlotte Forten Grimké and uncle to Angelina Grimké, delivered the eulogy.

Ralph Hartsock

See also African American Women; Contraband Relief Association; Davis, Jefferson (1808–1889); Davis, Varina Banks Howell (1826–1906); Douglass, Frederick (ca. 1818–1895); Forten (Grimké), Charlotte L. (1837–1914); Grimké (Weld), Angelina (1805–1879); Lincoln, Mary Todd (1818–1882); Slave Families; Swisshelm, Jane Grey (1815–1884); Union Homefront.

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Kelley, Abby (1811–1887)

Raised as a Quaker in Worcester, Massachusetts, Abby Kelley became a radical abolitionist and feminist who spoke out for social change in antebellum America.

Abby Kelley was born to a farming family of strict Quakers. She attended Quaker schools and decided to teach for a living. After attending a female seminary, she accepted a teaching position in Lynn, Massachusetts, in 1836. There, Kelley was exposed to the growing abolitionist movement. The values of this movement—the equality of the races and ending slavery—appealed deeply to her. She joined the Lynn Female Anti-Slavery Society, quickly became a leading member, and began attending state and national female antislavery conventions as well.

When Kelley heard the Grimké sisters, Angelina and Sarah, speak in 1837, she realized that giving abolitionist speeches was a worthy vocation. She first addressed a mixed group (male and female) of abolitionists in 1838 and was encouraged to become a public speaker. She returned to her family home in Connecticut and began talking to small groups about the evils of slavery.

Once on the lecture circuit, Kelley confronted many people who believed that women had no place in the public sphere. Kelley found herself defending not only abolitionism, but also her right as a woman to speak in public. She often faced hostile crowds but bravely persevered. For a number of years in the 1840s, Kelley was one of a very few women who spoke in public to mixed groups.

The issue of women giving public lectures led in part to the 1840 split in the antislavery movement. In fact, Kelley's appointment to the business committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, traditionally a male group, was the immediate cause of this split. The conservative members—who opposed women's leadership in the movement—left to form the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. William Lloyd Garrison led the more radical members in the original group.

Members of Kelley's religious faith similarly opposed her participation in the radical abolitionist movement. In 1840, the Quakers disowned Kelley for her radical activism. Despite the position of the church on her activities, Kelley maintained many Quaker ways of thinking and behaviors.

Kelley followed a standard routine on her speaking tours. She usually went to a place that knew little about antislavery principles. She gave between three and six speeches over the course of a week, leaving only to return a few weeks later to give more lectures. At the conclusion of her lectures, Kelley sold subscriptions to abolitionist newspapers. She found this practice most effective in gaining long-term converts to the movement.

In the early 1840s, Kelley lectured across Ohio, where she met Lucy Stone and persuaded her to become involved in the antislavery movement. Throughout her career with the abolitionist movement, Kelley recruited people, including Susan B. Anthony and Ernestine Rose. She married fellow radical abolitionist lecturer Stephen Foster in 1845 and gave birth to daughter Alla in 1847. Kelley kept her maiden name.

The passage of the Fugitive Slave Law in 1850 gave new strength to the abolitionist movement. As the 1850s progressed and the country grew more sectionalized, antislavery activists became less marginalized, but the formation of the Republican Party again split the abolitionists. Many, such as Garrison, welcomed this mainstream political group. However, more radical abolitionists, led by

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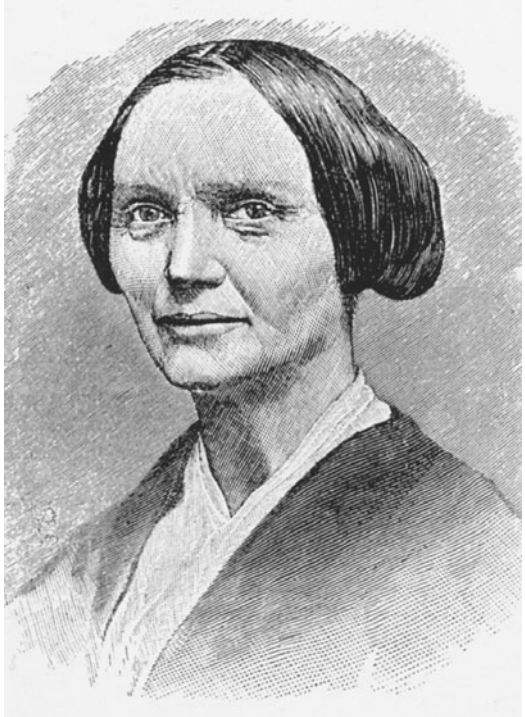

Abby Kelley, abolitionist and advocate of women's rights (1810–1887). (Cirker, Hayward and Blanche Cirker, eds., *Dictionary of American Portraits*, 1967)

the Fosters, distrusted the Republicans, complaining that the party was not against slavery as a whole, but merely opposed the *extension* of the institution into the territories.

Kelley did not support the Civil War. She distrusted President Abraham Lincoln, whose stand against slavery she saw as weak. Despite her misgivings about the war, she worked for the National Women's Loyal League, which petitioned Congress to pass the Thirteenth Amendment.

When the Civil War ended, Abby Kelley and her husband helped prevent the disbanding of the American Anti-Slavery Society, using it to help freedmen fight for their civil rights. Although Kelley was a strong advocate for women's rights, ill health prevented her from taking too active a role in this movement.

Ellen H. Todras

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; National Women's Loyal League [Women's National Loyal League]; Northern Women; Quaker Women; Union Homefront.

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Kemble (Butler), Frances "Fanny" Anne (1809—1893)

British-born actress and writer Fanny Kemble became an outspoken abolitionist after spending time on her husband's Georgia plantation. She achieved acclaim on the stage in her youth and later as a reader of Shakespeare, and she wrote plays, poetry, and other works. Her published journals of America, particularly her exposé of life under the slavery system, *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation,* reveal the horrors of life in slavery and offer a window into nineteenth-century life.

Known familiarly as Fanny, she was born on November 27, 1809, into the famous Kemble family of actors; her uncle was John Philip Kemble, the leading authority on Shakespeare, and her aunt, Sarah Siddons, was the greatest actress of her time. Her father, Charles Kemble, himself a talented Shakespearean actor, assumed management of Covent Garden Theatre after John Philip's retirement. Fanny's sister, Adelaide, became an opera star.

The Kemble family was beset by financial difficulties, and creditors took possession of the theater. Fanny, having previously been deemed to have no acting talent, was given a strenuous crash course in the theatrical arts, and she made her debut as Juliet on October 5, 1825. She was a success with both her audience and her critics; the *Times* pronounced her debut the most triumphant they could remember. She was thrust into a whirlwind of performances and social engagements, and, although she enjoyed acting, she grew to hate the publicity the profession entailed.

Fanny's success on the London stage, however, proved to be not enough to rescue the theater, and her father decided to take her on a two-year profes-

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Frances Ann Kemble, actress, writer, and abolitionist (1809–1893). (Library of Congress)

sional tour of the United States. Fanny abhorred the idea, calling America a "dreadful" place, but consented to go. The two set sail on August 1, 1832. Fanny became a sensation in America, starting fashion trends, causing mobs at the box office, and attracting the attention of dignitaries. She received an audience with several prominent leaders, including President Andrew Jackson. On the whole, however, Fanny was unimpressed with the young republic, and she kept a journal of her observations, including comments on tobacco spitting and on servants who did not know their place.

Fanny also attracted male admirers, the most persistent of whom was Pierce Butler of Philadelphia. Butler came from a prominent Georgia family who owned two plantations on Butler and St. Simon's Islands, with the second largest slave population in the state. He and his brother (who died in 1848) were set to inherit the estates upon the death of their maiden aunt. Pierce's devoted attentions to Fanny and her family and the promise of a secure and comfortable existence away from the celebrity she despised caused Fanny to fall in love with him. She married him in Philadelphia on June 7, 1834. The marriage proved to be a prolonged, bitter struggle, with cycles of feuds and reconciliations that ultimately led to heartbreak, divorce, and public scandal. Fanny expected to continue life the way she had lived it, free to attend the theater, participate in intellectual society, and express her views, whereas Pierce and his family expected her to retire into what they believed to be a respectable life of quiet domesticity. Furthermore, each expected the other to come around to his or her own views on slavery.

To provide for her aunt's heirs, Fanny published her American journal against Pierce's express command, because it contained material he thought embarrassing to his family. Her sharp and witty *Journal of America* (1835) outraged national pride and was criticized by both the American and the British press, even as it became an instant best seller. She gave birth to their first child, Sarah, that year, and to their second child, Frances ("Fan"), in 1838.

Kemble was deeply opposed to slavery even before she met Pierce. When he inherited his estates in April of 1836, she pleaded with him to be allowed to accompany him to Georgia, and he consented. Fanny kept a travelogue of this experience from December 1838 to April 1839.

Although she admired the natural beauty of the land, especially on St. Simon's Island, Fanny was shocked by the primitive and poverty-stricken condition of the South, attributing it to the degrading influence of a slave economy. She criticized the aristocracy with its "ignorance," "sensuality," and "cruelty," and she regretted that Southern courtly manners could charm her native countrymen far more than those of the egalitarian Yankees. But the greatest impact of her journal was in her observations of the wretched conditions and miserable complaints of the plantation slaves. She deeply sympathized with them, especially the women, who were put to hard work, violated sexually, and sometimes even beaten while pregnant. Although she was in Georgia for only four months, Fanny established a slave's hospital and nursery, rewarded cleanliness, and paid her personal servants wages. She also carried pleas and complaints to her hus-

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band, although he inevitably refused to listen to them.

Back in Philadelphia, Fanny circulated her journal among her abolitionist friends, although Pierce forbade her to so. Butler and even her friends the Sedgwicks treated her as if her mental health was failing.

On December 1, 1840, the couple sailed for London with their children after hearing that Charles Kemble had fallen ill. Fanny's father recovered, but Butler prolonged their stay, wasting money on gambling and extravagances. Kemble found letters in 1843 that contained evidence of Butler's infidelity, and she sought legal counsel. The following March, Butler was challenged to a duel for having an affair with a friend's wife.

Butler presented her with a contract for a formal separation, and Kemble left for England in October of 1845. She once again took up acting when Butler reneged on his promise of support. Learning of her return to the stage, he began divorce proceedings; after two years he could claim desertion on her part.

Kemble found success performing readings of Shakespeare, which she preferred to acting on the stage. Learning of Butler's actions to divorce her, however, she returned to America in September 1848. She bought a house called The Perch, in Lenox, Massachusetts, and toured the country, performing. They were divorced September 22, 1849, with Fanny being allowed to see her children for two months each year, but Butler did not honor his promise of support due to financial difficulties. Fanny had to continue her readings for income, and Butler was forced to sell half of his slaves.

Sarah Butler married Owen Wister in 1859. They had one son, Owen Jr., author of *The Virginian.*

With the coming of the Civil War, Fanny predicted a Union victory and the end of slavery. Her two daughters held opposing views. Sarah was supportive of the Union and against slavery, like her mother, and Fan showed sympathies more aligned with those of her father. During the war, Butler was imprisoned for a time by the Federal government on suspicion of disloyalty, causing the girls much anxiety.

While in England in 1862, Kemble became alarmed at the growing sympathy there for the Confederacy. The Union was facing setbacks on the battlefield, and the blockade was hindering the British textile industry. The prime minister, Henry John Temple, Third Viscount Palmerston, spoke in favor of acknowledging and aiding the South, which would have resulted in war between the United States and Britain. Kemble decided the times required the publication of her Georgian journal, and she published it, braving yet more condemnation and possible estrangement from her daughters, particularly Fan.

How influential the book, published in May 1863, was on British policy has been debated, but after the Union victory at Antietam and the announcement of the Emancipation Proclamation, British popular opinion strongly favored the North, making the government's break from neutrality impossible. Kemble's journal, among other abolitionist works, helped bolster antislavery sentiment from cotton factories to the floor of the House of Commons.

After the war, Butler returned to his lands in Georgia to rebuild his estate, accompanied for a time by his daughter Fan, who wrote a journal of her experiences. Kemble remained in Europe, occasionally visiting the United States and keeping busy during her last decades with her readings, writing memoirs and other works, and receiving illustrious friends, like Henry James. In 1867, Pierce Butler died of malaria. Fan Butler married an Anglican minister, James Leigh, and moved to England with him after they had struggled unsuccessfully to manage the Butler Island plantation. Fanny Kemble lived with them in London until her death on January 15, 1893.

Gabrielle Bruns

See also African American Women; Civilian Life; Diaries and Journals; Domesticity; Plantation Life; Rape; Separate Spheres; Slave Families; Slaveholding Women.

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Knapp, Frederick Newman (1821–1889)

Frederick Newman Knapp was a Harvard-trained Unitarian minister and an important member of the United States Sanitary Commission (USSC). Noted for his tact, thoroughness, and sensitivity, Knapp worked to help organize and maintain the USSC, provided immediate care for soldiers of the Union armies, and bridged the gap between commission officials and the women who supplied needed materials and money.

Knapp supervised the Department of Special Relief. He cared for discharged soldiers traveling to their homes and supervised special homes opened up to care for such men. He helped inspect hospitals, observed the operation of the military medical department, and wrote detailed reports about the care of the men by the armies and by the USSC and other civilian workers. Because of his work, he became known as one of the best men in the country for handling emergencies. Along with his other duties, Knapp attended leadership committee meetings held in Washington every six weeks.

As a director, Knapp was also actively involved in carrying many of the commission's plans into action. Because of his responsibilities as commissioner of special relief, he rushed into the field when a battle was reported and, with his team of aid, provided immediate care for the soldiers, a practice started after the first battle at Bull Run. His messages from that battle were among the first to indicate the shocking lack of care for the wounded. The reports he composed following the action included critiques of the medical system, the military, facilities, and supply systems—both civilian and military. His careful, professional notations helped motivate the important work of the commission and convinced commission leaders to begin the operation of hospital ships.

Knapp's inspection tours included careful interrogation of the people he met. He was particularly careful to speak with the women of the aid societies and to maintain correspondence with them. Unlike many of the commission's officials, Knapp had a deep respect for their work and included praise for women's efforts in his reports.

His observations of soldiers in transit motivated him to try to change the kinds of care veterans received. Knapp became convinced that large numbers of discharged and unemployed soldiers posed a threat to middle-class society. He advocated that the commission support and enlarge on the work of local aid societies like those of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, which had created refuges for soldiers making their way home. In that way, the men could slowly re-enter civilian life. The commission failed to embrace the idea, and Knapp found the last months of his service with the group filled with conflict because of his convictions.

Following the war, Knapp undertook a number of ventures. He opened several short-lived schools for boys. He also tried his hand as a cranberry farmer. Knapp died suddenly in 1889.

Karen A. Kehoe

See also Aid Societies; Northern Women; Nurses; United States Sanitary Commission.

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Ladies' Memorial Associations

At the end of the Civil War, Southern women who had been active in wartime soldiers' aid societies found a new purpose—memorializing the Confederate dead. In communities across the South, they formed ladies' memorial associations whose activities consumed the lives of elite Southern white women in the decades immediately following the war. No longer caring for the needs of the living, these memorial associations took responsibility for the fallen—removing the dead from battlefields, burying them in designated Confederate cemeteries, and erecting monuments to the dead in the same cemeteries. Most important, ladies' memorial associations were responsible for the springtime ritual of decorating the graves with flowers and Confederate flags on what eventually became known as Memorial Day.

In many ways, women's wartime experiences had prepared them to assume their postwar memorialization tasks. Confederate women's experience as nurses, laborers in munitions factories, and members of soldiers' aid societies gave them the necessary skills and confidence to meet the social and cultural needs of the region in the aftermath of defeat. Furthermore, memorializing Confederate men did not threaten prescribed gender patterns and was generally accepted as an extension of women's domestic role as caretakers. Their memorial activities enabled elite Southern women to play a significant role in the creation of the New South. They became influential public figures, but under the guise of preserving the integrity and honor of their men.

Carrie Hale, a member of the memorial association in Fayetteville, North Carolina, offered a recollection of women's activities in her hometown. The activities she detailed mirror those that took place elsewhere in the South. She described how the women of Fayetteville recovered the remains of local soldiers killed in battle, reinterred their bodies in the local cemetery, and then built a monument to these men and other Confederate soldiers.

The first Confederate holiday established in the South was Memorial Day, also referred to as Decoration Day, the term more generally applied to the same commemoration in the North. Memorial Day was an outgrowth of the activities of ladies' memorial associations that emerged in the region immediately after the Civil War. Many communities lay claim to being the first to have begun Confederate Memorial Day, making it clear that the ritual developed simultaneously in several places throughout the South, as memorial associations emerged in various communities. More significant, however, is how the holiday developed, what rituals were observed, and what differentiated the South's Memorial Day from the North's Decoration Day

It was important to white Southerners that the South received credit for the national celebration. Articles in the *Confederate Veteran,* the official organ of Southern heritage organizations like the United Confederate Veterans and the United Daughters of the Confederacy, went to great pains

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to document the development of Memorial Day, explaining that it was only after General John A. Logan of the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) witnessed Southern women in Richmond and its environs decorating the graves of Confederate soldiers that the idea of a national holiday emerged.

Having witnessed how the South honored its dead, Logan, also a congressman from Illinois, proposed the resolution to make May 30 Memorial Day for decorating the graves of the Civil War dead. That resolution, which passed on May 5, 1868, established Memorial Day to specifically honor Union war dead. Known as Decoration Day, it marked a divergence from Confederate Memorial Day, and the two evolved along different trajectories.

Rhetorically, the day was intended as a point of sectional reconciliation to honor all the dead. However, separate commemorations offered proof that white Southerners were unwilling to relinquish or compromise their belief that they originated the holiday. Although Northerners and Southerners celebrated differently and often on different days, both sections agreed that Memorial Day was a holiday to honor the common soldier.

Although May 30 was commemorated as Memorial Day in the North, Southerners observed memorial days on different days from state to state. The varying dates depended partially on when each state's flowers were in bloom, but also on the days an individual state imbued with significance. The two most common dates were April 26 and May 10, the day of Joseph E. Johnston's surrender and the anniversary of Stonewall Jackson's death, respectively. June 3 was chosen as Memorial Day in Louisiana in honor of Jefferson Davis's birthday.

Ladies' memorial associations remained active in the South through the early twentieth century. In 1900, they were organized into one overall organization known as the Confederated Southern Memorial Association (CSMA), headed by Katie Behan of New Orleans, Louisiana. Under the CSMA, women's memorial work continued but quickly became obsolete as the last of Confederate veterans died and new generations of women, with no personal attachment to the war, lost interest in the activity. Moreover, the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), founded in 1894, superseded the organization in influence.

Karen L. Cox

See also Monuments; Southern Women; United Daughters of the Confederacy.

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Larcom, Lucy (1824–1893)

Though much of the poetry written during the American Civil War focused on military subjects, Lucy Larcom explored civil matters and patriotism on the homefront in her work. In her writing, Larcom's doubts about the war and slavery surfaced. She believed that both went against God's wishes.

Lucy was born in Beverly, Massachusetts, on March 5, 1824, to Lois Barrett and Benjamin Larcom, a sea captain turned shopkeeper. The ninth of ten children from her father's two marriages, Lucy primarily entertained herself by reading and exploring the outdoors. One of her aunts taught her to read when she was two years old. She could read on her own by the time she was three, and she wrote her first poem when she was eight.

After her father's 1835 death, the family moved to Lowell, Massachusetts. There her mother ran a boarding house for the town's mill workers. Eventually, Lucy joined her sisters working in the mills as a doffer. When Lucy was thirteen, her mother made her quit school to work full-time in the mills, where she worked until she turned twenty-one.

Her early poems were published in *The Lowell Offering,* a magazine published by the mill girls. The magazine was one of the few that women controlled and contributed to. After leaving the mills, Larcom taught for many years before turning her full attention to a literary career.

Larcom found that the outbreak of war intensified her feelings for the United States and its flag. In addition, the war deepened Larcom's apprecia-

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Lucy Larcom was a nineteenth-century poet, teacher, and editor who wrote about her experiences in the Lowell mills. (Cirker, Hayward and Blanche Cirker, eds., *Dictionary of American Portraits*, 1967)

tion of everyday beauty and her connections to family and friends. In October 1861, she knit socks for soldiers and sewed quilts for hospitals, but she expressed that she felt more like a looker-on and wanted to give more. Throughout the war, Larcom felt that patriotism united everyone.

During the Civil War, several of Larcom's poems appeared in *The Atlantic Monthly:* "The Rose Enthroned," "Waiting for the News," and "A Loyal Woman's No." Her poetry during this period reflects her patriotism, her sentimentalism, and her impulse to make sense of the war. In "A Loyal Woman's No," published in December 1863, Larcom countered a distant beau's pro-South sentiment, thus making her personal beliefs known in a public forum. Toward the end of the war, she edited a children's periodical, *Our Young Folks: An Illustrated Magazine for Boys and Girls.*

Her most important work was not poetry but her memoir, published in 1889, *A New England Girlhood.* Her description of working in the Lowell mills captured important facets of everyday life of the period. Larcom died in Boston on April 17, 1893, and was buried in Beverly, Massachusetts.

Rebecca Tolley-Stokes

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; Education, Northern; Factory Workers, Northern; Northern Women; Poets, Northern; Sewing Bees; Teachers, Northern; Union Homefront; Wartime Literature.

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LeConte, Emma Florence (1847–1932)

Diarist Emma Florence LeConte spent the Civil War in Columbia, South Carolina, where she experienced firsthand the shortages and hardships of wartime, as well as General William T. Sherman's campaign in the Carolinas. Emma's diary reveals her constant dedication to the Confederacy and to the ideals of the Old South despite repeated military defeats and the Union invasion of the homefront.

The eldest child of Caroline Elizabeth "Bessie" Nisbet and prominent scientist Joseph LeConte, Emma was born in Athens, Georgia, during her father's tenure on the faculty of the University of Georgia. The LeContes left Athens in 1856 when Joseph took a job at South Carolina College, now the University of South Carolina, in Columbia. There, the family grew with the births of three more daughters, one who died in childhood. A son joined the family in 1870. Emma grew up surrounded by the luxuries common to planter-class families.

Emma became her father's constant companion and student. The rigorous curriculum he designed for Emma included the study of Latin, Greek, French, German, modern languages, and mathematics. Although Emma sometimes attended school, she received most of her education at home through her father's tutoring.

Like those of other Southerners, the LeContes's lives were turned upside down by the Civil War.

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Joseph left Columbia and the college, which closed during wartime, to help the Confederacy. He produced medicines and worked at the niter works. As did most women, seventeen-year-old Emma remained at home with her mother and sisters. She spent her time sewing and otherwise helping Confederate soldiers, reading, worrying about her father and other family members, visiting friends and family, and dealing with wartime shortages and realities.

Emma's brief but descriptive journal illuminates homefront life in South Carolina's capital between December 31, 1864, and August 6, 1865. Throughout her journal, Emma reaffirmed her loyalty to the Confederacy and her confidence in its ultimate success. She, like many other elite white women, spent the war making items for Confederate soldiers and sacrificing luxuries for the cause. She celebrated U.S. President Abraham Lincoln's assassination and despaired at news of Confederate President Jefferson Davis's capture. She also continued to uphold the tenets of slavery.

In particular, Emma's journal offers insight into Southern women's reactions to Sherman's March. As Union soldiers marched out of Georgia after their capture of Savannah, Emma and other South Carolinians correctly assumed that they were headed toward their state. Despite her fear of Union soldiers, Emma remained at her home on the college campus and continued her studies and wartime work. She even attended the city's bazaar to raise funds for Confederate soldiers as Sherman's troops neared the state. She described in detail the evacuation of much of the city as the enemy approached, the preparations for the arrival of Sherman's troops, their invasion of the city, and the desolation the enemy soldiers left behind.

The end of the war and of the South's bid for independence left Emma depressed but determined. She resumed her studies and attended local dances with the returned soldiers. In 1869, Emma married Confederate veteran and fellow Georgian Farish Carter Furman. The couple moved to the Furman farm near Milledgeville, Georgia. After the birth of stillborn twins, Emma gave birth to two daughters, Katherine Carter (1872) and Elizabeth Nisbet (1874). Emma sorely missed her father, who had moved with the rest of the family to Berkeley, California, in 1869.

Emma ran the farm after Farish's 1883 death from malaria. She also took over the education of their daughters. After the turn of the century, she moved to Macon, Georgia, to live with her youngest daughter, Elizabeth, and her son-in-law, Nicholas Talley. During World War I, Emma began another diary, once again recording her observations on military events and the homefront. As she had done during the Civil War, during this war Emma worked with women's aid societies to help the soldiers. Her diary also discusses her involvement in the suffrage movement and her work in a school for African American children.

Emma LeConte Furman died in 1932.

Lisa Tendrich Frank

See also Civilian Life; Columbia Bazaar (January 17–21, 1865); Confederate Homefront; Diaries and Journals; Fairs and Bazaars; Girlhood and Adolescence; Military Invasion and Occupation; Morale; Sherman's Campaign (1864–1865); Shortages; Southern Women.

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Lee, Elizabeth "Lizzie" Blair (1818–1906)

A daughter of the politically prominent Blair family and the wife of Rear Admiral Samuel Phillips Lee, Elizabeth Blair Lee is primarily remembered for her correspondence, rich in historical value. She knew many prominent figures of the Civil War era, and her hundreds of private letters provide a civilian insider's view of affairs in Washington during these times.

Elizabeth was born in Frankfort, Kentucky, on June 20, 1818, the daughter of Eliza and Francis Preston Blair, a member of Andrew Jackson's kitchen cabinet, editor of the Democratic *Washington Globe,* and a founding member of the Republican Party. In her youth she transcribed documents for both Jackson and her father. Her father remained a powerful figure in Washington; her older brother Montgomery served as postmaster general to Abra-

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ham Lincoln and her younger brother Frank became a Missouri congressman, major general, and senator. The Blairs had two homes: a farm six miles from Washington called Silver Spring and a house on Pennsylvania Avenue across from the White House.

On April 27, 1843, against her parents' wishes, Lizzie Blair married Samuel Phillips Lee, a young naval lieutenant. Lee was third cousin to Robert E. Lee, albeit from a less privileged branch of the family. The couple faced initial opposition, but eventually his wife's family embraced Lee, with Preston Blair working with his daughter to secure promotions for Lee while he served.

The couple promised to write one another every day while Lee was at sea, and his wife remained faithful to her promise, often writing her letters in journal style, with dated segments. While her husband was on duty, Lizzie lived with her parents, and many military and political officials frequented both her parents' home and her own. She reported the news to her husband, often with her own analyses. Presumably due to loneliness and boredom while Phil was away, she worked at the Washington City Orphan Asylum, joining its board in 1849. On August 9, 1857, their first and only child was born, Francis Preston Blair Lee.

Lizzie continued to write to her husband during the Civil War, while he fought for the Union. He commanded the North Atlantic Squadron and the Mississippi Squadron, and he was promoted to rear admiral after the war. Her letters to him contained, along with more domestic news of their son, items such as news about the Battle of Bull Run, thirty miles away, and about fleeing Washington for a time for safety. She also wrote of her family's clash with the Frémonts and the struggle in the Republican Party as it grew more radical.

Elizabeth Blair Lee died on September 13, 1906.

Gabrielle Bruns

See also Bull Run/Manassas, First Battle of (July 21, 1861); Letter Writing; Northern Women; Politics; Union Homefront.

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Lee, Mary Anna Randolph Custis (1808–1873)

A member of the Virginia aristocracy, Mary Custis Lee was the wife of Confederate General Robert E. Lee. During the Civil War, she suffered the loss of family members as well as her beloved home, Arlington. A staunch supporter of the Southern cause, she was considered the model Confederate woman for her unwavering faith in military victory as well as for her tireless work on behalf of the army. In spite of her own poor health, she devoted herself to nursing gravely ill relatives during the conflict. After the war, Mary Lee was a vocal advocate of Lost Cause ideology.

Mary Anna Randolph Custis was the daughter of Mary Lee Fitzhugh and George Washington Parke Custis and a great-granddaughter of Martha Washington. Her father, the grandson of Martha and her first husband, had been raised by the Washingtons. George Custis built Arlington House to serve as an early American memorial to President Washington. Mary inherited from her father her devotion to country, love of history, and reverence for her Washington ancestry. Her mother instilled in her a deep religious faith, a dedication to family, and her conviction that the Arlington slaves should receive a rudimentary education and eventual emancipation.

In 1831, Mary Custis and Lieutenant Robert E. Lee were married at Arlington House. For the next thirty years the couple divided their time between Arlington and Lee's duty stations. Between 1832 and 1846, Mary gave birth to seven children, all of whom survived childhood. When Robert traveled to remote locations, Mary and the children often remained at home with her parents. Following her parents' deaths, Mary inherited Arlington.

As the Civil War approached, Mary viewed the political crisis with despair. She initially criticized secession and even expressed her willingness to lay

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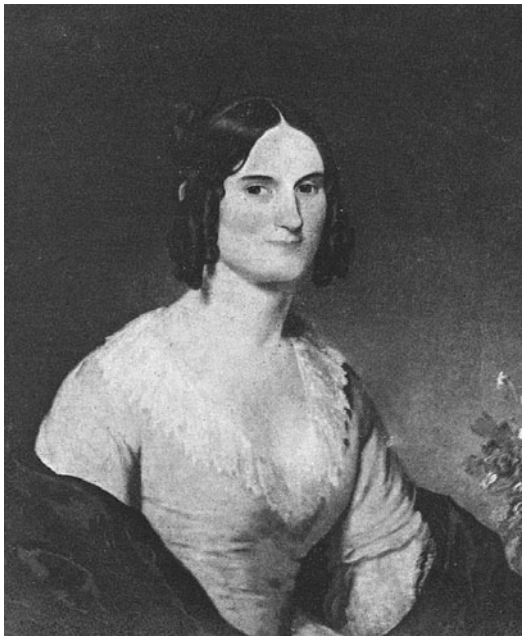

Mary Custis Lee, wife of General Robert E. Lee and staunch Confederate (1808–1873). (Library of Congress)

down her own life to preserve the Union. After Virginia seceded in April 1861, Robert resigned from the United States Army and soon became a Confederate officer. His decision would ultimately cost Mary her home. In May she reluctantly abandoned Arlington.

The war exacted a heavy toll from Mary Lee. In 1862, her two infant grandchildren died and her daughter Annie succumbed to typhoid fever. Despite devoted nursing on her part, Mary suffered the loss of her daughter-in-law after a period of illness. In 1863, her cousin was executed as a Confederate spy. Throughout the war she rose above her personal tragedies. Her faith in the Confederate cause strengthened morale in Richmond, and she was highly esteemed for her production of immense amounts of clothing for the army's soldiers.

While religious faith enabled Mary Lee to accept the deaths of loved ones, nothing reconciled her to the loss of Arlington. The Federal army had occupied her estate in 1861. Unable to comply with a wartime practice that required the personal payment of property taxes in insurrectionary districts, Mary saw her property confiscated by the government. In 1864, it was converted to a national cemetery for Union war dead. Mary viewed this use of Arlington as the ultimate desecration of her home. The demise of Arlington was the one wartime loss from which she never recovered.

In 1865, the Lees moved to Lexington, Virginia, where Robert became president of Washington College. Mary led an isolated existence, confined to a wheelchair by rheumatoid arthritis. She spent her time fundraising for the local Episcopal Church and publishing a new edition of her father's memoirs. She remained a staunch advocate of the Lost Cause. After Robert's death in 1870, Mary became her husband's chief defender. She played a crucial role in Lee's apotheosis through her collaboration with his biographers.

In her final years, Mary found happiness in her grandchildren and church work, but the loss of Arlington remained her greatest torment. In 1873, she returned to her former home. The acres of graves and the absence of everything familiar underscored that the home she loved was gone forever. In her last months, Mary's anguish over Arlington increased. Her grief affected her mind, and she imagined herself back there with her young children. Mary Custis Lee died on November 5, 1873. Although overshadowed by her illustrious husband, she remains a seminal figure of the American Civil War.

Karen Kinzey

See also Confederate Homefront; Lee, Robert Edward (1807–1870); Southern Women.

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Lee, Mary Greenhow (1819–1907)

Mary Greenhow Lee was an avowed Confederate sympathizer in battle-torn Winchester, Virginia. Her actions aiding Southerners and Southern armies led to banishment from her home by the Union army, a rare punishment for an elite woman during the Civil War.

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Mary Greenhow was born to a prominent Richmond family in 1819 and solidified her class status by marrying Hugh Holmes Lee in 1843 and moving to his home in Winchester. After her husband died in 1856, Lee continued to live in Winchester with her two sisters-in-law, two nieces, two nephews, and five slaves. At the onset of war her nephews joined the Confederate army, leaving only women in the Lee household.

Near the border of Maryland, Winchester's transportation network made it highly desirable to both armies. Over the course of the war, six battles took place nearby. In addition, the town changed hands thirteen times and served as headquarters to one occupying army or the other for most of the war. Because of the constancy of the war in these townspeople's lives, Winchester's men were as likely to join one army as the other. Because the remaining men of conscription age were arrested by the Federal Army during one of its occupations in 1862, Lee's household was not unique in being female-only.

Living in a battle zone led to opportunities for Winchester's women to engage in activities that would strengthen their own army and weaken the enemy's. While many in the town were pro-Union, Lee's extended family had vociferously supported secession from the beginning, and her sister-in-law, Rose O'Neal Greenhow, would become one of the most famous Confederate spies in Washington, D.C. By the first year of the war, Lee had clearly dedicated herself to doing whatever she could to support the Confederate cause. Thus, when Southern forces held the town, Lee opened her home to the officers, provided food and supplies to the soldiers, and assisted in caring for the wounded. When Union forces occupied Winchester, Lee hid food to keep the enemy from appropriating it. She also took advantage of Union occupations to buy or steal as much food and provisions as possible to smuggle to or to save for Confederate soldiers. She refused to house Union soldiers or officers, and, when forced to do so, she treated them with as much disrespect as possible. Her house served as a Confederate information headquarters, and she was able to pass on much valuable information, gathered by shrewd observation, to the Confederate armies, including troop strength and movements. Additionally, she ran an illegal underground Confederate postal service.

However, not until the final Union occupation of Winchester in 1865 did Major General Philip H. Sheridan take action to stop Lee's activities by banishing all the white women in the Lee home. Despite the myriad of seriously treasonous activities she had participated in, Lee was convinced that the primary reason for her banishment was her refusal to interact socially with Union officers. Her last act of preserving her power as a Southern lady had been to snub Northern gentlemen, whom she felt were beneath her.

In the course of her banishment Lee traveled to Staunton and Richmond, still collecting and delivering information to the Confederate armies to the utter frustration of Union forces. After the Civil War, Lee bought and ran a series of boardinghouses in Baltimore, Maryland. Although some of her family from Winchester stayed with her for a time, she lived out the latter part of her life primarily with boarders. In 1895, she became a charter member of the Baltimore chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy and served as secretary of the organization in 1896. A secessionist until her death, Mary Greenhow Lee died in Baltimore in 1907, finally returning to Winchester for the first time since her banishment to be buried next to her husband.

Angela Boswell

See also Greenhow, Rose O'Neal (ca. 1814–1864); Sheridan, Philip Henry (1831–1888); Southern Women; United Daughters of the Confederacy.

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Lee, Robert Edward (1807–1870)

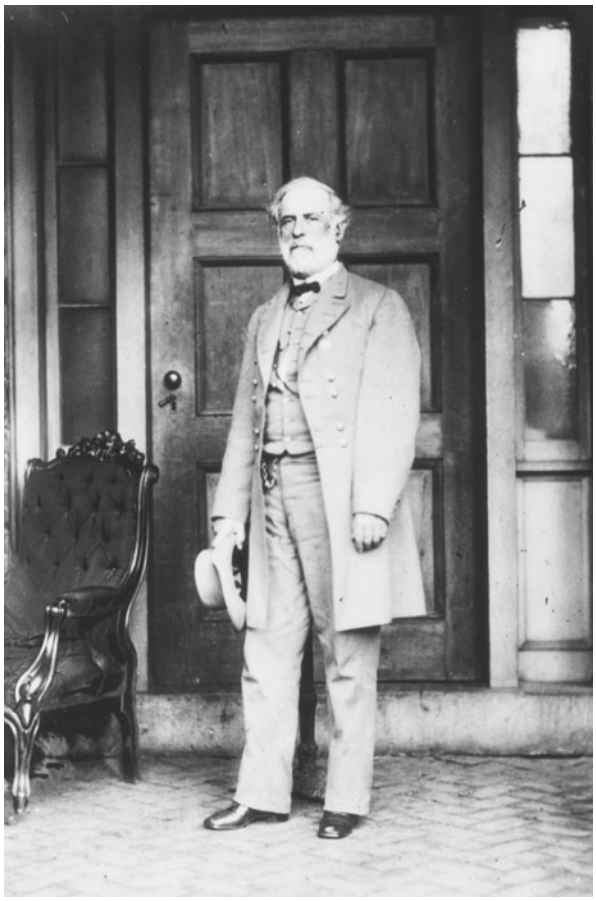
Robert E. Lee commanded the Army of Northern Virginia and became the most renowned Confederate general. Although the general of a defeated nation, Lee remains one of the most venerated of Civil War figures.

Born into a prominent Virginia family, Robert entered West Point in 1825 and graduated with an impressive record as a cadet. He joined the elite Corps of Engineers and saw considerable action during the Mexican War. By 1861 he was seen as one of the most capable and respected officers in the United States Army. The firing on Fort Sumter, Lincoln's call for volunteers to suppress the rebellion, and Virginia's subsequent secession led him to resign his commission and offer his services in the defense of Virginia and the Confederacy.

By the spring of 1862, Lee took command of what would soon be known as the Army of Northern Virginia. Lee and his soldiers dominated the Virginia theater of operations well into 1864, despite setbacks like the loss at Gettysburg in July 1863. In the end, Lee's army was beaten at Petersburg, and he surrendered his command to Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox Court House in April 1865.

Women always played a very important role in Lee's life. His mother, Anne Hill Carter, had a major impact on his emotional development in his pre–West Point years. In 1831, he married Mary A. R. Custis, a descendant of George Washington. From his wife he gained an elevated status in Virginia society as well as the considerable Custis estate, which included the Arlington plantation and its slaves. The Lees had four daughters, who competed with their brothers for an often absent father's attention and love. None of Lee's daughters ever married, and the speculation is that they did not because no potential husbands could ever measure up their legendary father.

Lee enjoyed the company of women and kept up a considerable correspondence with female friends and family members during his life. His popularity as a Confederate hero attracted a legion of female admirers. Although never totally comfortable with being a celebrity, Lee enjoyed the attention given to him by Southern, and sometimes Northern, ladies. After his death, this veneration increased as organizations like the United Daughters of the Confederacy worked tirelessly to memorialize Lee. Such activities continued well into the twentieth century and are a major part of the mythology of the Lost Cause.



Confederate General Robert E. Lee, pictured here shortly after the surrender at Appomattox Courthouse in Virginia on April 9, 1865. (National Archives and Records Administration)

Robert E. Lee spent his last years as the president of Washington College. His reputation as a soldier, gentleman, and Southerner continued to grow after his death in 1870.

Robert A. Taylor

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See also Lee, Mary Anne Randolph Custis (1808–1873); Monuments; United Daughters of the Confederacy.

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Letter Writing

Widespread literacy and a well-established postal system ensured that letters played an integral part in the Civil War in both the North and the South. Women were deeply involved in all aspects of wartime correspondence: as recipients of letters from soldiers in the field; as amanuenses in war hospitals and prisons for those who could not write; and as writers of letters that serve as a record of their own activities as participants in a country at war.

Despite paper shortages and the cost of postage, millions of letters were exchanged during the Civil War. More than a billion 3¢ stamps were produced, and most were used. By 1860 there were 28,498 postal stations in the United States. Although more than one hundred thousand pieces of mail were not delivered to the South by the U.S. Post Office following secession, one of the first acts of the Confederate States of America was the establishment on February 21, 1861, of the Post Office Department of the Confederate States of America, under the administration of a former United States congressman, John Henniger Reagan. Northern blockades, difficulties in obtaining stamps, and severe paper shortages, which forced individuals to use everything from ledger paper to wallpaper as stationery, impeded letter writing in the South but never ended it.

Mothers, wives, sisters, and sweethearts were frequent recipients of combatants' letters. Often these letters were part of a true dialogue, in which letters served to develop new relationships and maintain existing ones. Sometimes, however, the women addressed in soldiers' letters seem less important individually than as a way for a soldier to focus on more personal, nearly private, reportage and reflection. Similarly, in their responses and in the letters they originated, women wrote not only to share news but also to create a kind of journal or diary, exploring their feelings and the changes in their lives.

Women volunteering in war hospitals and visiting prisons often served a secretarial function, ensuring that those who were ill or wounded had the necessary materials and help for writing letters. Women serving as nurses, as well as those who wanted to help but had not yet developed nursing skills, were expected to take dictation from those who, because of illness, injury, or illiteracy, could not write themselves. It is not always possible to know how authentic these letters are and how often the women who served as amanuenses polished and added to the words of those for whom they wrote.

Finally, women were active initiators of correspondence. Those at home wrote of their fears and of their pride in their new accomplishments. Those in the field wrote their own accounts of the war, often with an eye to eventual publication. Louisa May Alcott's first book, *Hospital Sketches,* was assembled from her letters home while she nursed the wounded. She was not unusual in planning on the publication of her letters. In the years that followed the Civil War, nurses, spies, and other women used their letters to create reminiscences and histories of the war.

JoAnn E. Castagna

See also Alcott, Louisa May (1832–1888); Wartime Literature.

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Lewis, Edmonia (ca. 1843–ca. after 1909)

African American and Native American sculptor Edmonia Lewis's depictions of historical and literary figures received international attention. Many

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of her subjects, like Robert Gould Shaw and John Brown, played prominent roles in the Civil War.

Born Mary Edmonia Lewis near Albany, New York, the exact dates of the artist's birth and death, as well as her parentage, are unknown. Lewis claimed that her mother was African American and Chippewa. Her father, Samuel Lewis, was a freed slave who worked as a valet. After her mother's death in 1844, Edmonia lived with her father until he died in 1847. Her brother, Samuel, who prospered during the California gold rush, sent Edmonia to New York Central College at McGrawville. In 1859, she attended the Ladies' Preparatory Division at Oberlin College in Ohio, which featured strong abolitionist activity.

After studying drawing and other subjects, Lewis decided to become a sculptor. In 1862, while still in Ohio, she was accused of poisoning the drinks of Maria Miles and Christina Ennes, two young white women at the college with whom she was friends. A white mob dragged Edmonia into the streets where she was harshly beaten. African American attorney John Mercer Langston represented Edmonia in court and she was acquitted of all charges.

Her brother Samuel encouraged her to move to Boston, where William Lloyd Garrison introduced Edmonia to local sculptors. Lewis studied with Edward A. Brackett and became friends with Lydia Maria Child, a novelist, activist, and friend of Garrison's. In early 1864, Lewis produced a medallion featuring the head of abolitionist John Brown. Lewis funded a trip to Europe for the next year with the proceeds she earned from selling the medallion, along with one hundred copies of a bust she made of Colonel Robert Gould Shaw, Bostonian leader of the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts, the first all–African American regiment.

Lewis joined the expatriate British and American artist community in Italy that included Anne Whitney, Harriet Hosmer, and Charlotte Cushman. Instead of hiring Italian stoneworkers to transfer her plaster carvings into marble, Lewis carved her own marble to dispel any rumors that she was a fraud. Her heroic figures, which blended neoclassicism with realism and naturalism, were in high demand. As a result, her studio became a trendy stop on many Americans' grand tour of Europe. Her work based on Biblical scriptures was popular, but Lewis also depicted scenes and personages from Greek and Roman mythology. However, her most powerful pieces were drawn from her heritage: themes of slavery and emancipation, as well as Native America.

Lewis received national acclaim for "The Death of Cleopatra," which was unveiled at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition in 1876. For most of her life, Lewis lived in Rome, returning to the United States for visits when her sculptures were shown. The last year that anyone saw Lewis alive was 1909. The circumstances of her death are unknown, and her body was never found.

Rebecca Tolley-Stokes

See also African American Women; Child, Lydia Maria Francis (1802–1880); Education, Northern; Free Blacks; Native American Women.

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Lincoln, Abraham (1809–1865)

Abraham Lincoln served as president of the United States during the Civil War. His administration resulted in the preservation of the Union and the emancipation of slaves.

Born in Kentucky, Lincoln lived there and in Indiana before finally settling on the Illinois frontier. He slowly rose above his hardscrabble beginnings, serving as a soldier in the Black Hawk War and becoming a successful attorney, despite almost no formal education. His legal career soon led him into politics. Lincoln was elected to the Illinois state legislature in 1834. He won a term in the U.S. House of Representatives 1847 as a Whig. His opposition to the war with Mexico cost him reelection. However, by 1854 Lincoln re-entered politics in the wake of the controversial Kansas-Nebraska Act, casting his lot with the new Republican Party. After losing an 1858 U.S. Senate seat to Stephen A. Douglas, Lincoln became a leading contender for his party's 1860 presidential nomination. Lincoln won the election with less than 40

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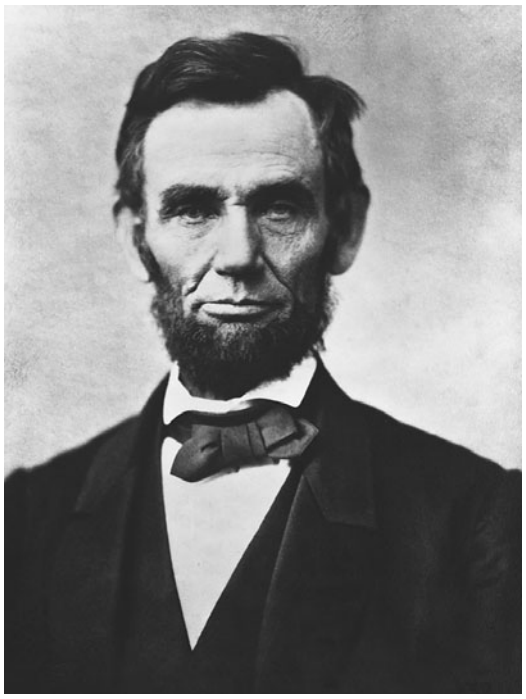

Abraham Lincoln served as president of the United States during the turbulent years of the American Civil War. Lincoln's crucial role in abolishing slavery in the U.S. in 1863 has earned him the informal title of the Great Emancipator. (Library of Congress)

percent of the popular vote. His election fueled sectional tensions that resulted in the ultimate secession of eleven slaveholding states.

President Lincoln faced the daunting challenge of putting down the rebellion of Southern states and restoring the Union. He had to contend not only with determined Confederates on the battlefields, but also with Northern homefront opposition to many of his policies. He skillfully built an administration that he guided to accomplish his primary war goal: saving the Union. When Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863, he added another war aim: the end of slavery. This document effectively ended any real chance of European intervention on the Confederate side and led the way to Union recruitment of African American soldiers. Throughout the war, Lincoln found himself physically and mentally taxed by the tasks of keeping the Union armies fighting. He persevered and won a second term in 1864. A visibly exhausted Lincoln had plans for reconstructing the nation, but fell to assassin John Wilkes Booth's bullet in April 1865 as the war ground to a halt.

Lincoln was never truly comfortable in the company of women, though at times he felt particularly close to his stepmother. He always preferred the sort of rough male society he knew from his days in Illinois, and he had few serious female relationships. In 1842, he married the well-to-do Mary Todd after a stormy courtship. Their marriage was at times rocky, but it endured. The Lincolns suffered through the deaths of a child, relatives, and friends as the Civil War swirled around them. The president often helped his grieving wife in her attempts to use spiritualists to contact the deceased. To calm Mary's fear of losing another child, he refused their oldest son Robert's pleas to be allowed to enlist until the war was all but over.

Lincoln was sensitive to the special agony that mothers faced during wartime. Their petitions to the president often resulted in discharges or the commutation of death sentences for sons charged with crimes like desertion or sleeping on guard duty.

Female guests were common in the Lincoln White House, but not all such visits were cordial. Jessie Frémont, wife of explorer and Union General John Frémont, came to see Lincoln in 1861 to defend her husband's activities in Missouri. After a stormy discussion, the president dismissed her with a curt comment. Lincoln's meetings with women like antislavery activists Harriet Beecher Stowe and Sojourner Truth went much better. Lincoln realized the importance of women to the Northern war effort and to his larger goal of restoring the nation. He highly praised women's efforts in his address to the Washington Sanitary Fair in 1864.

Abraham Lincoln died on April 15, 1865, from a close-range gunshot wound. The first president to be assassinated, his death shocked the nation. Millions of Americans, male and female, turned out to mourn their slain leader.

Robert A. Taylor

See also Election of 1860; Election of 1864; Emancipation Proclamation (January 1, 1863); Family Life, Union; Frémont, Jessie Benton (1824–1902); Lincoln, Mary Todd (1818–1882);

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Politics; Secession; Stowe, Harriet Elizabeth Beecher (1811–1896); Truth, Sojourner [Isabella Baumfree] (1797–1883); Union Homefront.

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Lincoln, Mary Todd (1818–1882)

The wife of President Abraham Lincoln and the Union's first lady during the Civil War, Mary Todd Lincoln was a devoted politician's wife, supporting and encouraging her husband's political ambitions and reveling in the status that her husband's presidential success brought to her. Charming, ambitious, outspoken, and often controversial, Mary's life was one of extreme joys and sorrows. As one of the most socially and politically active first ladies of the nineteenth century, controversy and conflict often surrounded her. Sorrows came with the loss of those nearest to her, especially with the assassination of her husband and the deaths of three of her sons.

Mary Todd was born in December 1818, in Lexington, Kentucky, the third daughter of Eliza Parker Todd and Robert Smith Todd. The Parker and Todd families had founded Lexington in the 1770s, and Mary grew up among the privileged classes in the town. She received ten years of formal education and developed a keen interest in politics, especially in the Whig Party, at an early age.

In the spring of 1837, Mary traveled to Springfield, Illinois, to visit her sisters. There she met a young attorney, Abraham Lincoln. Following her brief employment as a schoolteacher, the two began courting in earnest in 1840. After a sometimes tumultuous courtship, the two married in November 1842. Although the two were opposites in many respects, their differences served more as complements than as obstacles in the relationship. Mary worked to refine her husband's frontier mannerisms and to promote his political ambitions, and his political connections offered Mary the social status she desired. The couple eventually had four sons, and Mary devoted much of her energy to motherhood. She also enjoyed being a hostess and had plenty of opportunities to act as one, as her husband's political status rose throughout the 1840s and 1850s.

Mary Todd Lincoln, First Lady of the United States and wife of President Abraham Lincoln. (Library of Congress)

Mary frequently advised her husband on political personalities and party patronage. She vigorously campaigned for him through letter writing when he was nominated for president in 1860. Her political involvement never extended to a firm stance on prevailing issues of the day or to an advocacy of women's issues, such as the vote, but rather manifested itself in the public persona of first lady and White House hostess throughout Lincoln's admin-

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istrations. She was often criticized for aggressively blending political and social ambition. Her harshest wartime critics rebuked her for overspending her four-year $20,000 allotment for White House furnishings in the first year of the administration. She also spent a lot on clothes, seeing it as a vital symbol of her status; some viewed this expenditure as too extravagant during wartime. Other critics contended that Mary's sympathies were with the Confederacy; this was untrue, and the rumors stemmed from the wartime divisions within the Todd family. All three of Mary's half brothers fought and died for the Confederacy, and her half sister, Emilie Todd Helm, was a vocal pro-Confederate supporter, who once visited the White House during the war and was married to Confederate General Benjamin Hardin Helm.

The deaths of loved ones and corresponding feelings of abandonment pervaded Mary's life. When Mary was six years old, her mother died following childbirth. Poor relations with her stepmother made the loss of her father and of her beloved grandmother Parker in 1849 all the more painful. In 1850, the Lincolns lost their son Eddie, and, while they were in the White House, another son, Willie, died. Mary felt each loss severely, including the death of a third son, Tad, in 1871, but none compared to the assassination of her husband in April 1865. Following Abraham's death, Mary assumed a permanent mourning lifestyle, never surrendering the dark clothes of a grieving widow. Her belief in spiritualism, specifically the ability to communicate with the dead, brought her some comfort and a lingering connection to lost loved ones, but a sense of personal abandonment and loneliness remained a lasting part of her emotional state.

Her life after her husband's death focused on developing Lincoln's legacy as an American hero and on asserting her uniqueness as First Lady. In addition, much of her time was devoted to securing her own financial status, which would eventually lead to controversy in Congress over a political widow's pension and to a bitter and devastating conflict with her only surviving son, Robert. Finally, she spent much of the remainder of her life traveling throughout the United States and Europe in search of relief for her physical ailments. Eventually, her health problems overtook her, and Mary died on July 16, 1882, following a stroke.

Kristen Streater

See also Lincoln, Abraham (1809–1865); Northern Women; Pensions, Union Homefront; Union Widows; Politics; Widows, Union.

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Livermore, Mary Ashton Rice (1820–1905)

Born in Boston in 1820, Mary Ashton Rice Livermore rose through the ranks of Chicago's voluntary associations to serve as an Associate Manager of the Northwestern Branch of the United States Sanitary Commission during the Civil War. Although an experienced writer and leader of women's organizations, Livermore's wartime work proved seminal. During the war she met many people, learned new skills, and took up the cause of women's rights. In the postwar years she became a nationally known public speaker and published *My Story of the War.*

Livermore shared the office of associate manager with two men and Jane Hoge, a friend who divided with Livermore the massive workload and inspired her with confidence. To countless visitors, the two women became the faces of the commission. Many times each day they sold the agency's merits to skeptical would-be donors. In addition, they oversaw the sorting of tons of donated goods, packing and sealing boxes to be sent to the front lines. Both had children of their own and functioned as surrogate mothers to convalescing soldiers. They recruited nurses to serve at army posts and, in their spare minutes, handled a voluminous correspondence among local aid societies, family members, and the rank and file of the army. Finally, they planned and led two huge fairs in Chicago that raised money, eventually disbursing more than $1 million in relief.

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Mary Livermore made an important contribution as an organizer of medical relief services for the Union army during the Civil War. An ardent supporter of women's rights, she also co-founded the American Woman Suffrage Association. (Library of Congress)

Besides office responsibilities, Livermore's wartime activities involved a fair amount of travel. She visited sites ranging from Washington, D.C., to the battle lines in the Western theater, meeting such people as President Abraham Lincoln and General Ulysses S. Grant. Following an early 1863 visit to the armies camped outside Vicksburg, Livermore helped prevent an outbreak of scurvy there by collecting and shipping more than one thousand bushels of fresh potatoes, onions, and other vegetables to the troops. Moreover, she represented the commission to a wide range of people, encouraging the exhausted members of aid societies to keep up their labors, telling them what the armies needed and why they should make their contributions through the Sanitary Commission. Finally, in an era when women who spoke to mixed audiences were considered promiscuous, Livermore learned to present brilliant and compelling speeches before large groups of men and women.

Livermore's wartime work made her aware of the restrictions that society imposed on women. In 1863, a builder refused to sign a contract with her and Hoge because they were women, even though they were agents of the Sanitary Commission and had in their possession both the money and the lumber necessary to construct the building they needed. In the decade following the war, righting wrongs against women became one of Livermore's most important causes. She wrote articles for various magazines, helped organize the Illinois Woman Suffrage Association, and in 1869 briefly published a magazine that she entitled *The Agitator.* For this effort, Livermore won the admiration and praise of the suffrage movement's national leaders, including Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony.

While Livermore continued to maintain a presence among woman suffragists, by 1870 she had begun shifting her priorities toward launching a speaking career. She moved to Boston, merged *The Agitator* with the *Woman's Journal,* edited by Lucy Stone, and began giving popular lectures. Livermore eventually enjoyed a nationwide speaking career, giving thousands of lectures, including more than eight hundred presentations of "What Shall We Do with Our Daughters?"

Still being printed today, Livermore's *My Story of the War* sold approximately sixty thousand copies in its first decade. It offers a woman's perspective on the Civil War, gives details about military hospitals and relief work, describes her encounters with prominent Union officials, and provides glimpses into the operations of the United States Sanitary Commission. She was a nationally known figure by the time she died in Boston in 1905.

Nancy Driscol Engle

See also Fairs and Bazaars; Hoge, Jane Currie Blaikie (1811–1890); Northern Women; Nurses; Societies; Union Homefront; United States Sanitary Commission.

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Long, Ellen Call (1825–1905)

The daughter of Richard Keith Call, Andrew Jackson's protégé and future Florida territorial governor, Ellen Call Long published her fictionalized memoir of the Civil War, *Florida Breezes,* in 1883.

According to some sources, Ellen Call was the first white child born in Florida's new territorial capital on September 9, 1825. Her father farmed, practiced law, and engaged in land speculation before eventually becoming involved in territorial politics. He eventually served two terms as governor, first as a Democrat and later as a Whig.

During her youth, Ellen attended schools in Maryland and Pennsylvania. She was ten years old in 1836 when her mother, Mary Letitia Kirkman Call, died. After finishing her schooling Ellen returned to Tallahassee in 1843. One year later she married local lawyer Medicus A. Long, and the couple had four children. Medicus's activity in Democratic politics put him in opposition to his father-in-law, by that time an ardent Whig. At some point in the 1850s, Medicus left Ellen and his children for Texas, perhaps for health reasons. Though the couple evidently never divorced, they never reunited.

Long's father remained a staunch Unionist during the secession crisis, which led to much criticism from his former constituents. In her later writings, Ellen defended her father and attacked Floridians who took the state out of the Union. Brokenhearted with the outbreak of war, Richard Call died at the family estate, The Grove, in 1862. Remaining in Tallahassee throughout the war, Ellen supported, if not enthusiastically, the Confederate war effort, helping to organize a ladies' benevolent association. Her son served in the Confederate army and her brother-in-law, Theodore Brevard, rose to high military rank. As the war ended, Long was relieved at the return of peace, but angry and humiliated at the Confederate defeat.

In the postwar years, Long became involved in various patriotic activities, including serving as a delegate in 1876 to the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition. Before suffering financial difficulties later in life, she traveled regularly and was active in Tallahassee social circles. In the 1880s she received criticism for her support of a black man to serve as the local postmaster.

Always a regular letter writer and diarist, Long became a formal author after the war. In 1883, she published *Florida Breezes; or, Florida, New and Old,* a memoir of life in antebellum and Civil War Florida. The volume consists of two sections. In the first, Long tells her story through a fictional character, Harry Barclay, a Northerner who visits Florida for two years during the 1830s and who subsequently corresponds with a Florida friend after returning north. The book's second section offers a number of letters written between Barclay and Ruth, the niece of his Tallahassee friend, during the secession crisis and the war years. Though Call's decision to use fictional characters in *Florida Breezes* somewhat limits its usefulness as a reference, it still provides unique details on the Second Seminole War, slavery, dueling, and antebellum and Civil War events in Florida. While offering a romanticized view of life in the Old South, *Florida Breezes* also displays the author's contempt for the Southern extremists who prevailed during the secession crisis of 1860–1861.

In addition to *Florida Breezes,* Call authored a number of magazine and newspaper articles, as well as the book *Silk Farming in Florida* and the pamphlet *The Battle of New Orleans: Jackson and Packenham.* She also wrote a biography of her father and a history of Florida, but both of these remain unpublished.

Ellen Call Long died in Tallahassee on December 18, 1905. She was buried at The Grove beside her father.

David Coles

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See also Aid Societies; Confederate Homefront; Nationalism, Confederate; Nationalism, United States; Secession; Southern Women.

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Loyalty Oaths

From the beginning of the war, President Abraham Lincoln's administration concerned itself with measuring or defining the loyalty of citizens and Southerners. In April 1861, Lincoln ordered all civilian employees in the executive branch to take a loyalty oath. Congress quickly followed by demanding a similar pledge from its employees and went on in December 1861 to draft the Ironclad Test Oath. The Ironclad Oath, which took effect in July 1862, required professions of both past and future loyalty to the Union, disqualifying Confederates and their supporters from voting or office holding.

Loyalty oaths spread throughout the South, particularly in Louisiana, Tennessee, and Missouri. As areas came under Union military control, oaths were administered in an attempt to build a critical mass of loyal citizens to bring states back into the Union. Union soldiers also administered oaths to Southerners who sought to travel into Union-controlled territory, necessitating some intellectual and moral gymnastics on the part of Confederates. Many Confederates who took the oath justified their actions to themselves and others by arguing that an oath taken under coercion was not binding and that it could therefore be violated with impunity. Much as children cross their fingers to negate a promise, Confederate oath takers held their breath and put thoughts of perjury and dishonor out of their heads in order to tolerate what they believed to be an intolerable predicament.

Loyalty oaths also played a significant role in the struggles between Lincoln and congressional Republicans over the shape of wartime Reconstruction. Lincoln's Ten Percent Plan had a low standard of loyalty, requiring only a pledge of future allegiance to the Union, while the congressional Wade-Davis bill called for the more stringent Ironclad Oath. Oaths served to disfranchise many Southern whites during the elections of 1864 and 1868, ensuring Republican control of the presidency.

Anne Sarah Rubin

See also Civilian Life; Confederate Homefront; Military Invasion and Occupation; Northern Women; Reconstruction (1865–1877); Southern Women; Union Homefront.

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M

Maury, Elizabeth "Betty" Herndon (1835–1903)

During the American Civil War, Betty Herndon Maury, who was pregnant with her second daughter, started a two-volume diary documenting her wartime experiences from 1861 to 1863.

Born in Charlottesville, Virginia, on June 25, 1835, Elizabeth "Betty" Herndon Maury was the eldest daughter of Ann Hull and Matthew Fontaine Maury, a brilliant scientist at the United States Naval Observatory and later Secretary of the Navy for the Confederate States of America. Betty married Judge William Arden Maury before the Civil War began.

Maury's Virginia family was sharply divided by the war. Her diary details these divisions as well as the tensions in her marriage that resulted from her husband's initial reluctance to leave his post in Washington, D.C., to join the Confederate army. It also documents her experience as a refugee, after her mother's familial home in Fredericksburg was invaded and occupied by Federal troops. Although Maury was at heart a patriotic Southern woman who volunteered her time sewing clothing and tents for Confederate soldiers, she often felt conflicted between her patriotism and her concern for the safety of her father, husband, and brothers, all of whom served the Confederate cause. A confirmed Southerner, Maury was equally critical in her writings on the Union and Confederate administrations and on their ineptness at prosecuting the war. Her daughter, Alice Mary Parmalee, who was born in May 1863 when Maury's diary came to a close, later donated the diary to the Library of Congress.

Betty Herndon Maury died in 1903.

E. Susan Barber

See also Aid Societies; Civilian Life; Confederate Homefront; Diaries and Journals; Nationalism, Confederate; Politics; Refugees; Southern Women.

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May, Abigail Williams (1829–1888)

As the chairperson of the United States Sanitary Commission (USSC) in 1862, Abigail Williams May distributed more than $1 million in supplies to Union and Confederate soldiers, and she traveled aboard a hospital transport ship to gain personal knowledge of wartime conditions to ameliorate the shortages and suffering of soldiers on the front. She directed the USSC until it was disbanded in 1888 but was called Chair the rest of her life due to her leadership of the commission and her reform efforts in Boston, Massachusetts. May's leadership bridged the gap between women's political efforts at the local level and the growth of concerted efforts on behalf of women at the national level.

The product of two prominent New England families, the Mays and Goddards, Abigail May was born in Boston on May 21, 1829, as the third of Samuel J.

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and Mary (Goddard) May's seven children. Her parents were involved in the abolitionist movement. Their example served May well; she too found her life's work in reform efforts, including freedmen's aid, woman suffrage, and women's education.

Besides her parents' influence, May's lifework was informed by the ideas of several people. The preaching of several Unitarian ministers, including Theodore Parker, her brother Samuel J. May, Jr., and her first cousin Samuel Joseph May, also influenced her passion for philanthropic endeavors. May was first cousin to the social worker Abigail May Alcott and a close friend of Louisa May Alcott. Brought up believing that women should be educated and work outside the home to prevent future poverty and hardship, May attended Boston's private schools and the Boston School of Design, which she later shepherded as part of its governing committee.

Prior to her involvement with the USSC, May founded and served as secretary of the Obstetrics Clinic of New England Female Medical College in 1859. Her USSC efforts began in 1861 at the local level in Boston where she served as secretary of the New England Women's Auxiliary Association, a branch of the USSC. She worked in this capacity until, at age thirty-two, she coordinated the war relief efforts for the entire New England region. Then, in 1862, May became chairperson of the USSC, the only civilian relief organization to receive official government sanction. Its women solicited supplies from localities for national distribution, offered battlefield support, and consulted with the Union army on medical matters. Given women's traditional role as nurses in the home, meeting the commission's objectives allowed women to expand their endeavors into public areas, prove their mettle as leaders, and address social and health needs. May strove to create a strong network of local relief organizations that would eventually meld into a larger, national movement.

May never married; her love of and dedication to public work and service outweighed any notions she had of being a man's helpmeet. Her family's financial support, coupled with the emotional support of her steadfast female friends, sustained her work. May died from an ovarian cyst at Massachusetts Homeopathic Hospital in Boston on November 30, 1888.

Rebecca Tolley-Stokes

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; Aid Societies; Alcott, Louisa May (1832–1888); Livermore, Mary Ashton Rice; Northern Women; Schuyler, Louisa Lee (1837–1926); Separate Spheres; Union Homefront; United States Sanitary Commission.

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McCord, Louisa Susana Cheves (1810–1879)

Proslavery writer and poet, Louisa Susana Cheves McCord ran a hospital for Confederate soldiers, formed a soldiers' aid society, and used her plantation to provide food for the wounded during the Civil War. She published her defenses of slavery and Southern paternalism in antebellum newspapers.

Born in Charleston, South Carolina, on December 3, 1810, to Mary Dulles and Langdon Cheves, Louisa was the fourth of ten Cheves children who survived infancy. Her family's prominence and wealth—her father was a lawyer, planter, and politician—allowed Louisa rare opportunities for education and travel. Although she learned housekeeping from her mother, Louisa felt closer to her father, and he may have helped foster her love of intellectual pursuits. Her formal schooling prepared her for life as a wife and mother, but she managed to gain a more intellectual education on her own.

Louisa married David McCord in 1840, and the couple had three children. Unlike most women of her time, upon her marriage Louisa maintained control of the plantation she brought to the marriage. Between 1848 and 1856, Louisa published a volume of poems, a play, essays, book reviews, and a translation of a book on political economy. In her work, she offered a vehement defense of slavery and she promoted women's proper place in society.

A widow when the war began, Louisa became a fervent supporter of secession and the Confederacy. After her son and two brothers enlisted in the Confederate army, she found ways to help the sol-

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Louisa Cheves McCord, staunch Confederate and author (1810–1879). (Duyckinck, E.A. and George L. Duyckinck, eds., *Cyclopaedia of American Literature*, 1855)

diers. She formed a local soldiers' aid society and outfitted her son's regiment. In addition, she became the matron of the hospital at South Carolina College (now the University of South Carolina). She used her plantation to supply food not only to her family, but also to her patients. The loss of her son, a brother, and several nephews did not dampen Louisa's support for the Confederacy.

When Union General William Tecumseh Sherman and his troops arrived in Columbia in 1865, Louisa and her family remained. They gained some protection from the looting when their home became General Oliver O. Howard's headquarters, but the presence of the enemy in their home did not please anyone in the family. The end of the war found Louisa clinging to the idea of an independent Southern nation; Louisa put on a mourning dress when, out of necessity, she signed the oath of allegiance to the United States.

After the war, Louisa helped commemorate the Lost Cause, becoming the president of the South Carolina Monument Association. Depressed by the loss of so many things and ideals that she held dear, she left for Canada in 1871 and did not return until 1876.

Louisa Cheves McCord died in Charleston on November 23, 1879.

Lisa Tendrich Frank

See also Aid Societies; Confederate Homefront; Domesticity; Education, Southern; Food; Hospitals; Loyalty Oaths; Nurses; Poets, Southern; Politics; Separate Spheres; Sherman's Campaign (1864–1865); Southern Women.

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McDonald, Cornelia Peake (1822–1909)

Confederate diarist Cornelia Peake McDonald kept a detailed record of her war experiences. Her journal, which runs from her husband's departure for the battlefield in March 1862 through the summer of 1863, describes life in occupied Winchester as well as life as a Confederate refugee.

Cornelia Peake was born June 14, 1822, in Alexandria, Virginia, to Anne Linton Lane and Humphrey Peake. She spent some of her childhood in Missouri. She married Angus W. McDonald III in 1847 and raised her family, which would eventually include nine children, in Winchester, Virginia.

When the Civil War started and Virginia seceded in 1861, Cornelia and her husband were devoted Confederates. Cornelia had never viewed slavery as a positive institution, and she expressed concern for her own slaves' conditions. However, she bemoaned the loss of slaves, especially after the Emancipation Proclamation, and she maintained the racial views of other middle- and upper-class Southern women of the era. Angus volunteered for Confederate military service, eventually securing a post in Richmond. As he left in the spring of 1862, he asked his wife to keep a record of her wartime experiences. Cornelia remained alone in Winchester to provide

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for her family and to secure their home against invading armies.

Cornelia's wartime experiences were difficult. Throughout much of 1862 and 1863, Union troops occupied the town, and Union commanders frequently approached her and demanded the use of her home for their headquarters or hospitals. She persistently resisted the invasions and was generally successful in keeping most Union troops out of her home. However, her family's land, animals, and supplies were constantly susceptible to passing troops, making basic survival a challenge. Purchasing food was difficult, not only because of Confederate currency's depreciated value, but also because many shopkeepers would not sell to anyone who had not taken the oath of allegiance to the Union, something Cornelia was unwilling to do. Bartering with others, including Union soldiers, with the supplies she had allowed Cornelia to feed her family through much of the war.

In the face of renewed Union aggression in the area in the summer of 1863, Cornelia abandoned her home. She and her children became refugees for the remainder of the war. They eventually secured a home in Lexington, Virginia, but continued to face economic hardship. Her husband came home briefly, but, as Union troops invaded the state, he was forced to leave again in the summer of 1864. Following a protracted illness, exacerbated by his capture by Union forces, he died in December of that year. Now left completely alone, Cornelia taught drawing lessons to Lexington girls to provide for her family. After the war, the family remained in Lexington until 1873, when they moved to Louisville, Kentucky, where Cornelia penned many of her reminiscences of the war. She died in Louisville on March 11, 1909.

Kristen L. Streater

See also Confederate Homefront; Diaries and Journals; Loyalty Oaths; Military Invasion and Occupation; Refugees; Shortages; Southern Women; Teachers, Southern.

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McEwen, Henrietta (Hetty) Montgomery Kennedy (1796–1881)

Hetty McEwen gained a reputation as a fearless Unionist by flying a homemade United States flag from the chimney of her Nashville, Tennessee house while Confederates held the town during the first several months of the Civil War. Ignoring Rebel orders to remove the flag, Hetty threatened to shoot anyone who attempted to tamper with it. Even after Tennessee's Confederate governor, Isham G. Harris, dispatched soldiers to collect civilians' guns, Hetty resisted relinquishing hers, vowing that should the governor come in person to remove her weapons, he would risk his life. When violent secessionists threatened to burn her house, she publicly announced she would guard it with her shotgun. Federal occupancy in early 1862 preempted a confrontation with Harris. Nashville's Union commander presented her a silk flag in recognition of her staunch patriotism.

Hetty was born July 29, 1796, to Ester and Robert Campbell Kennedy, both of Scot-Irish ancestry. Several members of Kennedy's family fought at the Battle of King's Mountain during the Revolutionary War. Raised in Washington County, Virginia, Kennedy moved from East Tennessee to Nashville in 1786. Nearly twenty years later, he settled in Lincoln County, Tennessee, and began farming and operating a mill. Hetty and some of her siblings attended Valladolid Academy in Nashville. In 1815, Hetty married Robert Houston McEwen, a first cousin of Sam Houston, who had served with her brother William in the War of 1812. The McEwens began married life in Fayetteville where McEwen owned a dry goods store. He opened a new one in Nashville when the family moved there in 1828. The McEwens had seven children who survived to adulthood. McEwen was Tennessee's first state superintendent of public schools, holding this position between 1836 and 1840. Subsequently he was a collector for Eastern Merchants, Brokers, & Bankers.

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Although Hetty came from a slaveholding family, by the eve of war her household included only one occupant listed as a servant, a young woman born in Ireland. Hetty's brother William had sent numerous slaves to Liberia through his membership in the Colonization Society. Some of Hetty's extended family supported secession, and others wanted to preserve the Union. After the war, Hetty continued charitable work through the Presbyterian Church and the Nashville Protestant School of Industry. She died January 19, 1881, in Augusta, Georgia. She and her husband are buried in Mt. Olivet Cemetery, Nashville.

Nancy L. Adgent

See also American Colonization Society; Confederate Homefront; Nationalism, United States; Southern Unionists; Southern Women.

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McGuire, Judith White Brockenbrough (1813–1897)

A diarist and refugee in Richmond, Virginia, during the Civil War, Judith White Brockenbrough McGuire was born into an elite family on March 5, 1813, near Richmond, Virginia.

The fifth child of William Brockenbrough and Judith White Brockenbrough, Judith grew up in luxury. Her father served Essex County in the Virginia House of Delegates and in 1834 became a judge on the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals. On November 26, 1846, she married the Reverend John Peyton McGuire, a rector in Essex County and later principal of the Episcopal High School in Alexandria, Virginia.

As ardent Confederates, John and Judith McGuire fled Alexandria in 1861 when Federal troops threatened to occupy the city, and they remained refugees for the rest of the war. After spending the rest of 1861 with friends and family in Winchester and other parts of northern Virginia, the McGuires finally settled in Richmond in February 1862 and remained there for the rest of the war. Like many refugees, the McGuires encountered financial hardships and difficulty finding affordable housing in overcrowded Richmond. Both found it necessary to earn money to support themselves. John worked as a clerk in the post office and then as a hospital chaplain, while Judith obtained a position as a clerk in the Confederate Commissary Department.

Judith McGuire began a diary in 1861 and kept it faithfully throughout the war. Intended originally to be a record of the war for future family members, she was persuaded, perhaps because of financial straits, to publish it in 1867 as the *Diary of a Southern Refugee during the War.* McGuire's diary clearly shows the upheavals and hardships the war caused for elite families. She describes the scarcity of housing, food, and clothing items that pervaded Richmond and affected all classes of people. In particular, she notes the toll that the war took on women, who were often left without financial support as widows, orphans, and refugees. McGuire carefully follows the war news and chronicles battles and troop movements, the death of important leaders such as Stonewall Jackson, and events in Richmond itself, including the Bread Riots in April 1863. Throughout her narrative, McGuire remains fiercely supportive of the Confederate cause.

After the war, the impoverished McGuires ran a small school in Essex County, Virginia. After her husband died in 1869, McGuire continued to run the school herself until 1880. In 1873, during her widowhood, she completed a second book, intended for the use of her scholars, called *General Robert E. Lee, the Christian Soldier,* and donated the profits to her church. McGuire died in Richmond on March 21, 1897, and was buried beside her husband in Essex County.

Amy Minton

See also Bread Riots; Confederate Homefront; Diaries and Journals; Refugees; Southern Women; Teachers, Southern; Urban Women, Southern.

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McKay, Charlotte Elizabeth Johnson (1818–1894)

Union field nurse Charlotte McKay aided wounded soldiers, often in close proximity to the battlefields. Receiving no pay for her services, she felt a moral obligation to perform her nursing duties. She was awarded the Kearny Cross by her brother's regiment for her brave work in a field hospital within three miles of the Battle of Chancellorsville.

Charlotte Johnson was born in 1818 in Maine, one of seven children and the daughter of a successful physician. As an adult, she married and had a daughter. Her husband died in 1856, only two years after they married, and in 1861 their only child died. Stricken with grief, McKay devoted herself wholeheartedly to nursing.

In the spring of 1862 she moved to Frederick, Maryland, and found work at a hospital, caring for the wounded from the battles of Winchester, Second Manassas, and Antietam, as well as distributing supplies to the troops. The Union troops abandoned Frederick in September 1862, but she stayed there for a short time helping wounded Confederate soldiers, expressing in her memoirs surprise at finding them gentlemanly. She also wrote in her memoirs about how the soldiers suffered from their wounds and the lack of food.

In January 1863, McKay became a field nurse and was stationed near Falmouth. She rode on boxcars and supply wagons to get supplies and food to the troops. In May of that year, she worked in a field hospital not three miles away from the fighting at Chancellorsville, crossing the Rappahannock on a pontoon to get there. As the line of fire eventually drew near to them, the medical staff retreated to Fredericksburg, 13 miles away, with the wounded soldiers.

Around this time, McKay's brother, a lieutenant in the Seventeenth Maine, was mortally wounded. In May 1863, McKay was awarded the Kearny Cross, which was presented to her by the Seventeenth Regiment's Maine volunteers.

When the Army of the Potomac moved into Pennsylvania in pursuit of Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia, McKay accompanied them. She nursed soldiers wounded at the Battle of Gettysburg, doing her duties about five miles from the battle. Here she also cooked for the men, dealing with a shortage of food and utensils. McKay continued her nursing duties in 1864 and 1865, serving at the battles of the Wilderness, Spotsylvania Court House, and Cold Harbor. After March 1865, she no longer nursed, but she remained in Virginia for over a year teaching the freed slaves how to read and write.

When her work with the freedmen ended in 1866, McKay moved to Massachusetts. She had no military pension; in fact most, if not all, of her nursing work during the war had been without pay. It is likely that she may have relied on her siblings and other family members during this time for financial support. It was in Wakefied, Massachusetts, that she wrote her memoirs, publishing them in 1876.

In the 1890s, McKay moved to San Diego. She died there in 1894 at the age of seventy-five.

Sigrid Kelsey

See also Antietam/Sharpsburg, Battle of (September 17, 1862); Bull Run/Manassas, Second Battle of (August 29–30, 1862); Chancellorsville, Battle of (April 29–May 6, 1863); Education, Southern; Gettysburg, Battle of (July 1–3, 1863); Northern Women; Nurses; Teachers, Northern.

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Meriwether, Elizabeth Avery (1824–1916)

Novelist, playwright, journalist, public speaker, and crusader for temperance and woman suffrage, Elizabeth Avery Meriwether is best known for her memoir, *Recollections of 92 Years,* which offers an intimate and often frank look at the life of a white Southern woman struggling against female subordination.

Born and raised in West Tennessee, Elizabeth Avery was largely self-educated. She married civil engineer Minor Meriwether of Kentucky in 1852, and bore three sons.

Before the outbreak of the Civil War, she participated pseudonymously in discussions of issues of

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the day in local newspapers, always from a feminist standpoint.

While her husband served as an engineer officer in the Confederate army, Meriwether sought to maintain her household of children and a few slaves, lending her voice to secession and Southern nationalism. Expelled from Memphis by Union commander William T. Sherman in late 1862, she gave birth to her third son, author and journalist (Minor) Lee Meriwether, while seeking refuge in Mississippi. The family spent most of the war in Tuscaloosa, Alabama. To help support herself, she wrote "The Story of a Refugee," which received a monetary prize and in 1864 was serialized in the exiled newspaper, *The Sunday Mississippian.* Drawing on incidents in her life in Memphis under Federal occupation, she hinted at some of the themes—the feminine nature of the South versus the masculine, militaristic North, and the injustice of the legal disabilities placed on women in both regions—that she would treat at greater length in postwar works.

The most notable of these, besides her memoir, is her novel, *The Master of Red Leaf.* Set on a Louisiana plantation during the Civil War, this work posits both the benignity of the slave system (in the proper hands) and the malignity of a social structure that subordinated women to men. A typical Victorian potboiler in many ways, replete with coincidence and disguise, some of the main female characters are much more than they seem.

After the war, the Meriwethers returned to Memphis, where Minor become a successful lawyer. Elizabeth herself became an expert on coverture, the legal subordination of wives to husbands, and became known as a public speaker, as well as the publisher and editor of a short-lived newspaper. In one famous incident, she insisted on casting a ballot (which was accepted but not counted) in the 1872 election. By the1880s the family had relocated to St. Louis. Elizabeth became an associate and ally of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, with whom she made a speaking tour.

Unlike many elite Southerners of the era, the Meriwethers were fairly openly skeptical of religion. Elizabeth Avery Meriwether died in late 1916, after the serialization of her *Recollections* in regional newspapers had begun.

Ed Frank

See also Fiction Writers, Southern; Nationalism, Confederate; Refugees; Southern Women.

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Methodist Women

Like many other religious groups, those of the Methodist faith divided along regional and racial lines prior to and during the American Civil War.

The first American Methodists were strongly antislavery, but by the mid-nineteenth century the church had adopted positions that accommodated its Southern adherents. Although Methodists moderated their views about slavery, rising abolitionist sentiment in the North during the 1830s and 1840s again brought the issue to the center of denominational life. The greatest schism in the Methodist ranks occurred in 1845 when Methodists in the Southern and border states created the Methodist Episcopal Church, South (MEC South) in which the ownership of slaves was acceptable. Although Union victory encouraged Northern Methodists to attempt to win back the Southern churches by force, white Southerners resisted and maintained their ecclesiastical independence after 1865. The rift was not healed until 1939.

Official Methodist tepidity on the slavery issue resulted in a number of additional schisms prior to the Civil War from impatient Northern factions. Notable were the Wesleyan Methodist Connection, founded in upstate New York in 1843, and the Free Methodist Church, organized in 1860 in the same area. The Wesleyan Church, as the denomination is now called, and the Free Methodist Church were strongly influenced by the Holiness movement and its leader Phoebe Palmer. Palmer instructed thousands at a time when women were not generally granted positions of leadership or authority in America, and she became the spokesperson for a

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powerful religious impulse that would wield worldwide influence.

A third schism in the Methodist denomination occurred much earlier in the century over the issue of race relations. The African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME) was formed in 1816 after two decades of friction between white and black Methodists in Philadelphia. By the outbreak of the Civil War, the AME had nearly twenty-three thousand members, had founded the first African American magazine in America (1841), and had acquired Wilberforce University in Ohio (1856). A similar controversy in New York led its African American members to found the AME Zion Church in 1821. As Union armies moved into the South, both of the AME churches began missions among the freedmen that they sustained during Reconstruction. By 1896 the denominations together claimed nearly one million members.

In all of these Methodist denominations, women played a vital role during the Civil War. Methodist women formed church aid societies that provided soldiers and freedpeople with necessary articles of clothing and food. Women like Annie Turner Wittenmyer and Laura Smith Haviland participated in aid societies outside the confines of the local church. Wittenmyer helped organize local soldiers' aid societies in Keokuk, Iowa, and briefly served as the state sanitary agent of Iowa. Wittenmyer's most important contribution to the war was the creation of a system of special diet kitchens for the sick and wounded in hospitals. By the outbreak of the Civil War, Haviland, a Wesleyan Methodist, had already devoted many years to the abolitionist cause, assisting fugitive slaves through the Underground Railroad. During the war, she directed the Raisin Institute in Michigan Territory, a school she and her husband founded in 1837 that taught white and African American male and female students. In 1863 she became a leader of freedpeople's relief in the South and in Kansas. During the last years of the war, she traveled throughout the South assisting Union prisoners and inspecting refugee camps and hospitals.

Methodist women supported with special vigor the Methodist Society, the largest and most active agency for supplying literature to the Confederate troops. In the South, Methodist women cared for the wounded in hospitals located in homes and churches. As the war wore on in the South, many churches stopped holding services because ministers enlisted or served as chaplains in the military or because the churches had been destroyed. In response, women organized their own prayer services and increasingly turned to their Bibles for inspiration and instruction.

African American Methodist women of remarkable talent and fortitude participated in the war effort as well. Fanny Jackson Coppin, wife of Levi Coppin, the pastor of Philadelphia's Mother Bethel Church (the first AME church), was a leading educator of the nineteenth century and the first black woman to receive a full-fledged collegiate education from Oberlin College. During the war, she remained at Oberlin and set up night classes for the hundreds of newly freed men and women who arrived in town. In 1865, she took a position at the Institute for Colored Youth in Philadelphia and four years later was the school's principal, the first African American woman in the country to occupy such a position. She was also a founder of the national Association of Colored Women. During the 1880s she became a leader in the Home and Foreign Missionary Society of the AME and served a number of terms as its president. After thirty-seven years of teaching, she resigned in 1902 to become a missionary, traveling with her husband to South Africa.

One of the most widely known nineteenth-century African American women was Frances Ellen Watkins Harper. Harper did not serve in the Civil War, but she wrote a novel about it. *Iola Leroy* (1892) was the best-selling novel by an African American in the nineteenth century. It is the story of educated, light-skinned, free blacks who are sold into slavery. Iola and her brother join the Union army as a nurse and a soldier, and then they reunite, older and much wiser, after the Civil War. Harper's first career was as a teacher at Union Seminary in Ohio, a school organized by the AME Church. Both the AME Church and the Unitarians have claimed Harper as a member. Indeed, she joined the First Unitarian Church in Philadelphia in 1870 but never broke ties with the AME Church. Harper, in fact,

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was reluctant to choose between the two. The AME was the church in which she had been raised. She published numerous short sketches in the AME Church publication, *The Christian Recorder,* and continued to teach Sunday school at Mother Bethel Church in Philadelphia throughout the 1870s.

By the end of the Civil War, the MEC South had lost about a third of its members, the majority of whom were former slaves who joined the Northern Methodist or the AME Church. Within fifteen years, however, the MEC South had doubled its membership. As a custodian of the Lost Cause, it quickly regained the dominant place in Southern life. With the coming of peace, the church went separate, segregated ways in the North and South. The Colored (now Christian) Methodist Episcopal Church was formed in the South in 1870, and in 1866 the Northern Methodist church organized a separate African American conference with its own bishop. North and South reunited in 1939. Although many African Americans participate in the Methodist tradition, the large majority belong to one of the three major black Methodist denominations: AME, AME Zion, and Christian Methodist Church.

Karen Fisher Younger

See also Aid Societies; Coppin, Fanny Jackson (1837–1913); Harper, Frances Ellen Watkins (1825–1911); Haviland, Laura Smith (1808–1898); Religion; Wittenmyer, Annie Turner (1827–1900).

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Mitchell, Maria (1818–1889)

Pre-eminent American astronomer and strong advocate for women's rights, Maria Mitchell grew up on Nantucket Island. She became famous in 1847 after discovering a comet. She was one of the first professors at Vassar College, the first post-secondary institute for women in the United States.

Mitchell credited her upbringing for much of her later success. Nantucket's isolation from the continent secluded the residents from many contemporary influences. People on the island prized learning, and Mitchell's Quaker upbringing stressed hard work, a quiet demeanor, and, in many respects, equal opportunities for women.

Mitchell was the first of ten children in her family, nine of whom survived childhood. Her father was a banker and astronomer and her mother a librarian. From her early years, Mitchell loved to go up on the house's catwalk at night to practice astronomy with her father. By the time she was in her twenties, she led these expeditions to view the stars. In 1836 she assumed the position of librarian at the newly built Athenaeum. The job suited her

American astronomer and women's rights advocate Maria Mitchell (seated) in 1889. (Special Collections, Vassar College Libraries)

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well, because she could pursue her own studies when not helping someone.

In 1843, after much deliberation, Mitchell left the Quaker faith. She could not bear its distrust of color and beauty, and she disliked its harsh punishments for members whose infractions were, in her opinion, relatively mild. Nevertheless, she continued to hold onto Quaker attitudes, such as valuing simplicity and directness.

On October 1, 1847, Mitchell noticed the appearance of a strange fuzzy body through her telescope that she had never seen before. She called her father who identified it as a comet. He immediately reported the discovery, which turned out to be the first viewing ever of that particular comet. Maria Mitchell became an overnight sensation for her discovery. In 1848 she became the first woman member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the first of many honors. In 1849, Mitchell began working for the *American Euphemeris and Nautical Almanac.*

In 1857, a wealthy Chicago banker invited Mitchell to chaperone his young daughter through the South and then abroad to Europe. Mitchell saw this as a great opportunity to view the world and kept a journal of her experiences in the South. In her journal, Mitchell discussed the issue dominating the nation: slavery. She visited a slave market in New Orleans, heard white Southerners' defense of slavery, and observed related Southern attitudes about Northern "intrusions" into Southern affairs. As a result of her trip, Mitchell concluded that slavery was at least as great an evil for the master as for the slave.

One of Mitchell's brothers, Andrew, commanded a Union merchant ship in Mobile Bay during the Civil War. Another brother, Forster, went to the South to educate freedmen and later became a missionary.

After the war, Maria Mitchell took a position teaching astronomy at Vassar College in Poughkeepsie, New York. Throughout her twenty-three-year tenure there, she was a strong supporter of and role model for women's rights. She died on June 28, 1889, in Lynn, Massachusetts.

Ellen H. Todras

See also Northern Women; Teachers, Northern.

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Monuments

The women of both the North and the South led or aided efforts to build thousands of Civil War monuments in cemeteries, battlefield sites, parks, city streets, and town squares. Grateful citizens also erected memorials to individual women and to groups of women for their efforts and sacrifices during the war. Southern women played a larger role in monument building than did their Northern counterparts. Women's efforts at monument building began before the Civil War concluded and continued into the 1930s.

Northerners began erecting monuments to their soldiers before the war ended. For example, a citizens' committee in Detroit, Michigan, began planning a monument in 1861. The town of Berlin, Connecticut, claims to have built one of the first Civil War monuments in the nation. A local reverend, Charles B. Hilliard, and sculptor Nelson Augustus Moore provided much of the impetus in the fundraising for the monument that Berlin's citizens dedicated on July 28, 1863.

Local Grand Army of the Republic chapters and leading men of the communities dominated postwar monument building in the North. The Women's Relief Corps, an auxiliary of the Grand Army of the Republic, instigated some monument building on their own, including a memorial to the unknown Union dead in Baltimore and a soldiers' monument in Cumberland, Maryland. However, in the case of most monuments, Northern women served in supporting roles, unlike their Southern counterparts who initiated and led much of their local monument building activity.

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Southern women were more active in monument building than Northern women for several reasons. First, immediately after the war and during the Reconstruction era, military officials and newly elected Republican politicians curtailed large gatherings of ex-Confederate veterans or displays of the Confederate flag. The authorities found it more acceptable for women to form processions and gather in cemeteries to honor their fallen heroes, so Southern women became the accepted memorializers. Furthermore, Southern women's participation in monument building was a natural progression from the more accepted feminine roles of caring for and mourning the dead. The Federal government paid for a massive effort to re-bury and mark the graves of the thousands of Yankee soldiers buried throughout the South, but it was left to the former Confederate states and localities to pay for the proper burial and memorialization of their soldiers. Southern women took the leading role in the reburial effort.

The early efforts were typical of the local efforts to memorialize the dead Southern soldiers. The monuments were a natural extension of local women's efforts to mark and bury the dead in the immediate vicinity. For example, the Ladies' Memorial Association in Cheraw, South Carolina, erected what is likely the first monument to the Confederate dead. The women, led by Mrs. D. B. McLeod, met in the summer of 1866 and proposed building a memorial to mark the graves of sixty-two Confederate soldiers buried in the town. The ladies unveiled the monument, a thirteen-foot pillar of marble, on July 26, 1867. In contrast to later Confederate monuments, the inscription on the Cheraw memorial contains no mention of "Our Confederate Dead." The captain of the local Federal garrison did not want the inscription to glorify the Confederate cause but did not object to the more generic inscription "To Our Heroic Dead."

Similarly, the women of Fayetteville, North Carolina, led by Ann Kyle and Maria Spear, dedicated an early Confederate monument in Cross Creek Cemetery on December 30, 1868. Kyle and a group of women met to discuss their plans soon after Union General William Tecumseh Sherman left Fayetteville in March 1865. They saw to the reburial of approximately thirty soldiers who had been hastily interred throughout the town. The women also determined to build a monument in memory of the fallen soldiers. Before they could proceed, they had to raise the money to build the proposed monument, a simple obelisk topped by a cross. At the suggestion of Spear, the women sewed a quilt and sold raffle tickets with the quilt as a prize. They sold $300 worth of tickets and had the monument built. In a show of continued loyalty to the failed Confederate nation, the winner of the quilt presented it to former Confederate President Jefferson Davis.

Honoring the fallen soldiers of the Lost Cause contained an inherent political element. In the years immediately following the Civil War, Southern women had more freedom than men did to participate in the commemoration of the Confederacy and its soldiers. However, the withdrawal of Federal troops from the former Confederate states and the re-enfranchisement of former Confederate leaders did not end Southern women's role in erecting monuments and memorializing lost soldiers. The decades from 1890 to 1920 saw an increase of monument building throughout the South as ex-Confederates and conservative whites began to flex their political muscle in a more public way. The unveiling ceremonies often drew thousands of spectators and featured politicians of note as well as former Confederate officers as orators.

During this period, Southern women formalized their monument associations into chapters of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC). They still used the fundraising methods pioneered by the early monument builders, such as selling their handicrafts and holding dances. Southern women, who were assumed to be, as women, apolitical, also began lobbying their state assemblies for matching funds to commemorate fallen soldiers.

Most of the Civil War monuments built during this period were statues of a standing soldier. This common style is visible on hundreds of Southern courthouse lawns and town squares. In some instances, Southern women commissioned local or nationally prominent sculptors to craft the statues for their community. Far more common, however, were monuments mass-produced by companies

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that aggressively marketed their products through advertisements in *Confederate Veteran* and with elaborate catalogs touting easy payment plans. Although early monuments had been erected primarily in cemeteries, they began to be placed in more public spaces. The change in venue illustrated the change in the message of the memorials from one that stressed the remembrance of dead Confederate soldiers to one that highlighted the importance of passing on the legacy of the soldiers' noble cause and sacrifices to succeeding generations. Another marker of the change in focus came with the inclusion of children in prominent roles in dedication ceremonies.

Many onlookers saw the unveiling of the Confederate monument in Arlington National Cemetery on June 4, 1914, as a vindication of the United Daughters of the Confederacy's earlier memorial building efforts and as a symbol of national reconciliation. To erect the monument, the UDC raised money nationally with time-tested methods such as ice cream socials and Confederate bazaars. In addition, the innovative idea of selling Confederate Christmas seals enabled the organization to raise the $50,000 necessary to build the monument.

Women not only built monuments, but they were also honored with them. During the 1890s, veterans of the Confederate army began efforts to build monuments to the women of the South. The monuments were intended to acknowledge women's perseverance and sacrifice during and after the Civil War. A joint committee consisting of members of the United Confederate Veterans and the Sons of Confederate Veterans decided in 1909 to choose a common design for the monument and then let states purchase casts of it for their state capital grounds. The committee decided on a design by Belle Kinney, a native Tennessean and daughter of a Confederate veteran. In the end, only two states, Tennessee and Mississippi, used the chosen design, which featured a woman placing a palm of glory on a dying Confederate soldier while an allegorical figure of fame placed a crown of palms on her head.

Ultimately, seven of the eleven former Confederate states erected monuments to their women. South Carolina unveiled the first state monument to Confederate women on April 11, 1912. Their monument depicted an angel and two winged, cherubic children honoring a seated woman and was erected on the grounds of the new State House. North Carolina's 1914 monument and Florida's 1915 effort shared similar designs, featuring a seated woman reading to children the "true" history of the Civil War from an open book. Arkansas and Maryland dedicated their respective monuments in 1913 and 1918. Individual communities also erected monuments to their women. In 1934, the citizens of Wadesboro, North Carolina, dedicated a monument to the community's Confederate women. The Wadesboro monument featured two bas relief sculptures: one panel depicted a hoopskirted Southern belle sending a man off to war, and the other showed the same lady handing an infant to a stereotypical mammy figure.

The Northern states had no regional effort to specifically honor their Civil War women as a group. The headquarters building of the American Red Cross, dedicated in Washington, D.C., in 1917, was originally intended to honor the women of the North and their sacrifices during the Civil War. Former Union General Francis C. Barlow spearheaded the original effort of building a monument to these women, in part to honor his wife, Arabelle Wharton Barlow, who had died in 1864 of a fever she had contracted while working as a nurse at a Union hospital. Congress passed a bill to fund the building in 1913. However, in its final form, the bill stated the building was intended to honor women of both the North and the South.

In many cases, however, grateful Northern citizens erected monuments to individual women who played vital roles in the Civil War. For example, on September 9, 1962, the Maryland Civil War Centennial Commission dedicated a plaque on the Antietam battlefield to Clara Barton, the Civil War nurse and founder of the American Red Cross. The town of Frederick, Maryland, similarly dedicated a monument in 1914 to Barbara Fritchie. This legendary heroine of the poem by John Greenleaf Whittier supposedly waved an American flag in defiance as Confederate Brigadier General "Stonewall" Jackson and his men marched through the town.

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Other Northern monuments honor the women who served as nurses. In Washington, D.C., at the intersection of M Street and Rhode Island Avenue, sits a memorial honoring the nuns who nursed the wounded during the Civil War. In 1906, the citizens of Galesburg, Illinois, dedicated a monument to Mary Ann Ball "Mother" Bickerdyke, a Civil War nurse and postwar advocate for veteran's pensions. The monument shows Bickerdyke kneeling and tending to a wounded soldier. The statue sits on the courthouse lawn, an area usually reserved for the commonplace standing soldier statues.

Thomas Vincent

See also Barton, Clara (1821–1912); Bickerdyke, Mary Ann Ball "Mother" (1817–1901); Mourning; Northern Women; Southern Women; United Daughters of the Confederacy.

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Moon, Charlotte "Lottie" (1829–1895)

Lottie Moon was the elder of a pair of sisters who served as spies, couriers, and smugglers for the Confederacy during the Civil War.

Born Cynthia Charlotte in Danville, Virginia, on August 10, 1829 to Dr. Robert S. and Cynthia Ann (Sullivan) Moon, Moon was independent and strong-minded from an early age. Her natural proclivity for horsemanship, marksmanship, and acting served her well in her activities on behalf of the Confederacy in later years. Moon's brothers Robert and William served in the Confederate army and Navy respectively, while she and her sister Ginnie did their part on the homefront.

Before marrying Peace Democrat Judge James Clark on January 30, 1849, Moon was betrothed to Ambrose Burnside who later became a general with the Union army. She and Burnside met while she visited Brownsville, Indiana, and he courted her, bringing small gifts to her younger sisters Ginnie and Mary, at her family's home at Oxford, Ohio. On their wedding day, June 21, 1848, Moon arrived at the altar and said that she had changed her mind and would not marry Burnside.

As the South withdrew from the Union, Clark avowed states' rights and supported secession. Moon's subterfuge began when she pretended that her son Frank was ill and ordered medical supplies, which she then delivered to wounded Confederate soldiers. Clark's and Moon's Jones Station home became the central hub of anti-Union activities in Butler County.

Her first mission was in the summer of 1862. Walker Taylor, a nephew of Zachary Taylor, arrived at Jones Station, Ohio, with a message from General Sterling Price to Colonel Edmund Kirby Smith in Lexington, Kentucky. Taylor was too recognizable to carry the message, so Lottie volunteered. Disguising herself as an Irish woman, she easily passed the papers to a Confederate officer who placed them in Kirby's hands.

On another mission in October 1862, she traveled to Canada disguised as a British woman, and she carried letters from Reverend Stuart Robinson, who tried to convince Jefferson Davis that the Confederacy should unite with the Knights of the Golden Circle. Her acting abilities, flair for costume, and ear for accents coupled with her uncommon skill at knocking her joints out of place eased her crossing of lines and supposedly landed her in President

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Abraham Lincoln's party—though one account places her in his carriage—when he reviewed the Army of the Potomac. She allegedly met Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton on that occasion.

Finally recognized by General Ambrose Burnside, Moon was caught and her usefulness to the Confederacy ended. Some scholars suggest that Moon exaggerated her exploits because her movements were logistically impossible and that she was never captured by Burnside, but created a fictionalized account based on her sister Ginnie's capture.

After the Confederacy's fall, Clark and Moon moved to New York City where she became a war correspondent for the *World* during the Franco-Prussian War. Returning to Manhattan, she wrote novels under the pseudonym Charles M. Clay. She died of cancer at her son's home in Philadelphia on November 20, 1895.

Rebecca Tolley-Stokes

See also Davis, Jefferson (1808–1889); Female Spies; Imprisonment of Women; Lincoln, Abraham (1809–1865); Moon, Virginia "Ginnie" (1844–1925); Southern Women.

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Moon, Virginia "Ginnie" (1844–1925)

Ginnie Moon was the younger of a pair of sisters who served as spies, couriers, and smugglers for the Confederacy. She was also the most noted female spy working in Memphis, Tennessee.

Ginnie was born Virginia Bethel in Oxford, Ohio, on June 22, 1844 to Dr. Robert S. and Cynthia Ann (Sullivan) Moon. Unlike the stereotypical Southern belle, Moon was independent and noted for carrying a pearl-handled pistol in her skirts.

When her family moved to Memphis at the beginning of the war, Ginnie stayed behind at Oxford Female College. She soon got around the school rule prohibiting young women from leaving the college unescorted. The school expelled her for shooting the stars out of an American flag flying on campus, and she joined her family in Tennessee.

In Memphis, Moon comforted sick and wounded Confederate soldiers in many ways, including becoming engaged to sixteen of them. She prepared bandages and helped in other efforts. When the city fell to Union forces in 1862, Ginnie's beauty and charm beguiled many Union soldiers and officers who revealed information that she passed to Confederate officials. In the winter of 1863, Ginnie, like her sister Lottie, acted as a courier for General Sterling Price, carrying his message from Jackson, Mississippi, to her brother-in-law, Judge James Clark, of Jones Station, Ohio. A young, charming woman, Moon easily slipped into and out of Union territory with sensitive information.

Detained by Union officials as she traveled aboard the *Alice Dean* from Cincinnati to Memphis on April 3, 1863, Moon drew her Colt revolver on Captain Harrison Rose when he tried to search her without anyone else in the room. After Ginnie threatened to kill him if he touched her and to report his behavior to General Ambrose Burnside, Rose left her in the cabin. She removed sensitive dispatches relating to the Northwest Conspiracy from her corset, wet them, and swallowed them. As Rose accompanied her to the Custom's Office, the clanking of her hoopskirt gave her away. Quilted within her clothing were vials of morphine, opium, and camphor, and Moon was charged with smuggling.

Burnside, an old family friend and spurned beau of Lottie's, kept informed of Ginnie's case and released her into her mother's custody. They stayed in Cincinnati for three weeks until Union officials transferred Ginnie to Fort Monroe, Virginia, where she was imprisoned for several months. Eventually, she was paroled to Jones Station, Ohio, home of her sister and brother-in-law.

Moon's version of the events leading to her arrest and detention at Fort Monroe differs significantly from published accounts. In April 1864, she, her sister-in-law Lizzie, along with Lizzie's two children and their nurse, boarded the *Flag of Truce* at Richmond bound for Newport News. They planned to

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take the steamer to Baltimore and then go on to Europe to join Moon's brother in Liverpool, England. General Benjamin Butler detained the party before they boarded the steamer, demanding that they swear an oath of allegiance to the Union; Ginnie refused. The provost marshall walked her two blocks to Fort Monroe where she stayed a little over a month. Her mother had not known that Ginnie was imprisoned until she returned to Danville, Virginia, where she corresponded with Confederate President Jefferson Davis. At Danville, Ginnie took charge of a ward at the General Hospital, overseeing the care of fifty soldiers. On one occasion, a seriously wounded charge would not eat the hospital food, so Moon downed two robins, had them cooked, and brought them to him. Before he died, he asked that Moon get his cap and pistol to his family in Kentucky upon his death. Moon attended his funeral as his chief mourner. The soldier's father came for his son's body after the war and heard of Moon's ministrations. In the summer of 1866, the soldier's father visited Memphis to take her to Kentucky to live as his adopted daughter. Ginnie refused, but she visited the family when coming home from a trip north.

Moon devoted her life to helping others and is remembered in Memphis as the heroine of the yellow fever epidemic of the early 1870s. She appeared in several movies after moving to California to pursue her interests in acting and aviation. Eventually settling in Greenwich Village, New York, she died on September 11, 1925.

Rebecca Tolley-Stokes

See also Davis, Jefferson (1808–1889); Female Spies; Imprisonment of Women; Moon, Charlotte "Lottie" (1829–1895); Nurses; Southern Women.

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Morale

Maintaining morale over the course of four years of war taxed both the material and emotional resources of Confederate and Union women. Wartime morale was directly related to patriotism, loyalty, and military success. Nineteenth-century conceptions of wartime morale were highly gendered. Men demonstrated their commitment to war aims primarily by volunteering to serve in the armed forces and then by re-enlisting to continue their service to their respective nations until war's end. For women, supporting the war effort required sustained self-denial and sacrifice, demonstrated by encouraging male kin to do their duty by enlisting, by contributing their time and resources to supply the armies, and by providing emotional support through letters and stoicism. Morale on both the Union and Confederate homefronts surged and plummeted, responding to military defeats and victories, political missteps and initiatives, and economic circumstances across seasons.

At the outbreak of the war, women of the Confederacy and Union witnessed the eagerness with which their male kin and neighbors volunteered for military service. They lent support by encouraging the men who did not readily enlist to do so and by providing uniforms, flags, and other supplies to local companies heading off to defend home and country. However, women's assistance was moderated by their fears regarding male relatives' battlefield deaths and the potential for their family's economic instability. Even so, women were expected to endure soldiers' leave-taking with smiles, kisses, and approval rather than with tears, fears, and doubts.

Confederate women earned high regard as they were swept up in the excitement of the South's declaring war and hearing about the early victories in the fall of 1861 through the summer of 1862. Demonstrating their faith in the Confederate cause through patriotic verse, prose, and plays, with letters to absent men, and by grieving stoically for

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fallen soldiers, women attempted to reinforce positive attitudes about the war and the sacrifices that both they and their male kin made on the Confederacy's behalf. These efforts to maintain morale were generally accepted because they adhered to expectations regarding Southern white womanhood rather than challenging them. Confederate women also pursued less socially acceptable ways of demonstrating patriotism by engaging in activities that threatened perceptions of their femininity and purity. These included volunteering as nurses, criticizing or questioning political and military decisions and actions, and developing an increasing sense of independence through managing farms and plantations. Forming volunteer organizations, like the Charleston Soldiers' Relief Association or more informal neighborhood groups, to collect and make items to send to local military units gave Southern white women a greater sense of purpose and a way to contribute materially to the war effort. Gathered together in one another's homes, churches, and town halls, they were able to reaffirm their commitment to the cause individually and collectively, as well as provide emotional support to each other in the event that they received bad news from the battlefield.

Despite Northern women's efforts to organize local soldiers' aid societies, sew flags, collect lint, and roll bandages in unprecedented numbers and to wave as their soldier kin boarded steamboats and railroad cars, they were criticized by some for not committing themselves as fully to the Union war effort as had their Confederate counterparts. Southern women were held up as the model of female patriotism, whereas Northern women did not meet that standard, according to newspapers and political leaders. In spite of, and sometimes in response to, these complaints, many Union women dedicated themselves to improving soldiers' physical environment, comfort, and spirits. They did so formally as agents of the United States Sanitary Commission or as nurses employed by the Federal government, as well as informally through visits to military camps and the delivery of care packages containing items from home. Soldiers consistently reported that women like Clara Barton and Mary Ann "Mother" Bickerdyke raised their spirits by providing personal care and spreading cheer among the wounded and weary.

Fundraising fairs, bazaars, and performances sponsored by women's volunteer organizations in both the Confederacy and the Union generally garnered public approbation. In cities like New York City and Chicago, Columbia and Atlanta, these activities attracted large numbers of people willing to contribute items for sale or auction as well as generous sums of money. In towns and villages, people attended ice cream socials, dances, and lyceums to share war news from local units and to visit with soldiers on furlough. Displaying festive decorations and banners and offering patriotic music and speeches, these gatherings, both large and small, were public exhibitions intended to reinvigorate civilian morale, especially as the war stretched from months into years.

Some women were reticent about the war, if not unsupportive. From the beginning of the war Fannie Chamberlain, wife of Union Gettysburg hero Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain, resented her husband's war career, especially after he received a life-threatening wound; she also eschewed women's soldiers' aid organizations and activities. Although neither her diffidence nor his poor health undermined her husband's commitment to the war, other wives' ambivalence toward their male kin's war service and their criticism of the military as well as the political leadership did have an adverse effect on their soldiers' morale, especially as the war casualties rose and letters requesting, pleading, and then demanding men's return increased in the last two years of the war. Some soldiers wrote home to persuade women of the worthiness of their military service and of the need for women's loyalty, attempting to boost the morale of their wives and mothers.

Socioeconomic class distinctions strained women's commitment to the war effort and willingness to sacrifice their male kin and the family's well-being. The Union government, with its superior resources and established bureaucracy, increasingly responded to women's economic hardships by issuing incentives like bounties and pensions to alleviate some of the economic distress faced by working-class soldiers' families. In addition, the government

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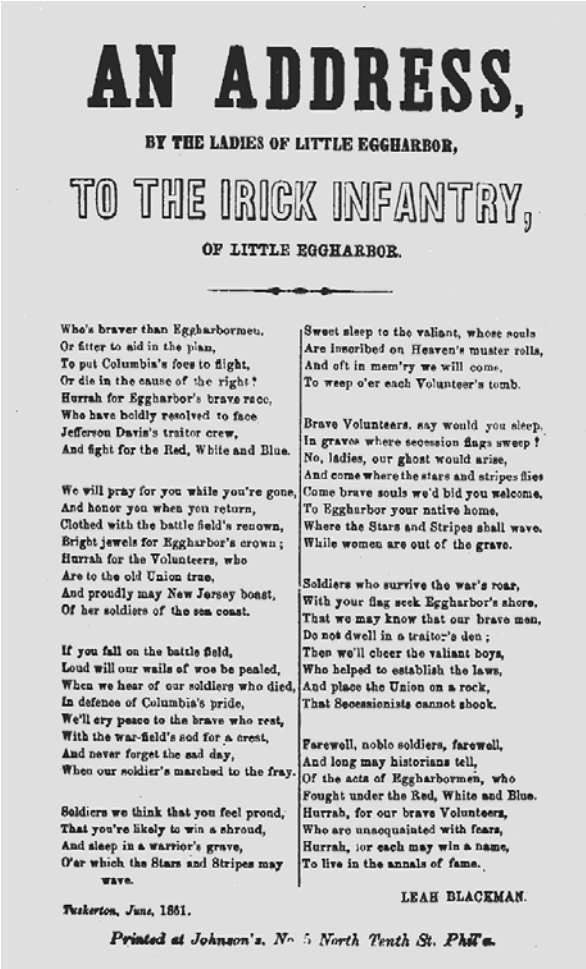

AN ADDRESS,

BY THE LADIES OF LITTLE EGGHARBOR,

TO THE IRICK INFANTRY,

OF LITTLE EGGHARBOR.

Who's braver than Eggharbormen,
Or fitter to aid in the plan,
To put Columbia's foes to flight,
Or die in the cause of the right?
Hurrah for Eggharbor's brave race,
Who have boldly resolved to face
Jefferson Davis's traitor crew,
And fight for the Red, White and Blue.

We will pray for you while you're gone,
And honor you when you return,
Clothed with the battle field's renown,
Bright jewels for Eggharbor's crown;
Hurrah for the Volunteers, who
Are to the old Union true,
And proudly may New Jersey boast,
Of her soldiers of the sea coast.

If you fall on the battle field,
Loud will our wails of woe be pealed,
When we hear of our soldiers who died,
In defence of Columbia's pride,
We'll cry peace to the brave who rest,
With the war-field's sod for a crest,
And never forget the sad day,
When our soldier's marched to the fray.

Soldiers we think that you feel proud,
That you're likely to win a shroud,
And sleep in a warrior's grave,
O'er which the Stars and Stripes may wave.

Sweet sleep to the valiant, whose souls
Are inscribed on Heaven's muster rolls,
And oft in mem'ry we will come,
To weep o'er each Volunteer's tomb.

Brave Volunteers, say would you sleep,
In graves where secession flags sweep?
No, ladies, our ghost would arise,
And come where the stars and stripes flies
Come brave souls we'd bid you welcome,
To Eggharbor your native home,
Where the Stars and Stripes shall wave,
While women are out of the grave.

Soldiers who survive the war's roar,
With your flag seek Eggharbor's shore,
That we may know that our brave men,
Do not dwell in a traitor's den;
Then we'll cheer the valiant boys,
Who helped to establish the laws,
And place the Union on a rock,
That Secessionists cannot shock.

Farewell, noble soldiers, farewell,
And long may historians tell,
Of the acts of Eggharbormen, who
Fought under the Red, White and Blue.
Hurrah, for our brave Volunteers,
Who are unacquainted with fears,
Hurrah, for each may win a name,
To live in the annals of fame.

LEAH BLACKMAN.

Tuckerton, June, 1861.

Printed at Johnson's, No. 5 North Tenth St. Phil'a.

An address, by the ladies of Little Eggharbor to the Irick Infantry of Little Eggharbor, New Jersey, 1861. (Library of Congress)

offered expanded employment opportunities for women as nurses or clerks as another form of financial assistance. Some soldiers' relief societies directed their funds and supplies to poor women whose male breadwinners were away serving in the war, leaving their families without means of support.

On the other hand, some commentators glorified poor women's suffering and suggested that wealthy women should emulate their sacrifice. In the cash-poor Confederacy, with inflation spiraling out of control, many women and children hovered at the edge of subsistence and poverty. With their husbands no longer providing for and protecting them, white women looked to Confederate leaders to assume the role of provider and protector; however, the government was ill equipped to ameliorate their plight. By the spring of 1863, the dire economic conditions led to bread riots, instigated by women protesting merchants' extortionist prices and the government's inability to offer assistance. Their wealthy counterparts communicated their waning support for the Confederate cause through hosting extravagant parties and purchasing luxury items instead of donating to support the war effort.

Before 1863, Northern African American women organized supplies to send to Southern slave families rather than to white Union troops. Escaped slave women in Union army military camps offered their services as laundresses and cooks, sometimes as a way to aid the army but most commonly as a means to support themselves. Their labor clearly improved soldiers' and officers' morale, however, as they benefited from clean uniforms and well-cooked meals. African American women experienced a marked increase in their dedication to Union war efforts after the Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863, and they actively engaged in recruiting for the new black regiments. Abolitionist Sojourner Truth spoke at rallies to boost support for the Republican Party in 1864, and other black women involved themselves in relief efforts for escaped and newly freed slaves. African American women faced fears that extended beyond those experienced by white soldiers' wives because of Confederate policy to kill or enslave black Union soldiers. In addition, unequal pay and benefits to black soldiers had adverse effects on their wives and children; they therefore endured economic hardship, which then caused their men's morale to decline.

Following the Union victories in the summer and fall of 1863 and then the military stalemate in the winter of 1864–1865, war weariness had set in on both sides of the Civil War, although it was much more pronounced in the Confederacy. Enduring the many economic hardships, labor problems, and loss of male relatives and neighbors, Confederate women's morale fell to an all-time low. Sacrifice and suffering, once the foundation of women's patriotism, prompted some women, their morale

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exhausted, to beg their husbands to desert the army and return to their families. Some historians suggest that Confederate women's waning support for the war contributed significantly to the Confederacy's loss. Many Union women, too, urged soldiers either not to re-enlist at the end of their three-year term of service or to leave the army before their enlistment term expired, despite the indications that the war would result in a Union victory. After Abraham Lincoln's death and with the war's conclusion imminent, Northern women varied in their assessment as to whether the war merited their four years' worth of sacrifices and losses. The Civil War's cost to both Union and Confederate women physically, materially, and emotionally far exceeded their expectations.

Andrea R. Foroughi

See also African American Women; Aid Societies; Barton, Clara (1821–1912); Bickerdyke, Mary Ann Ball "Mother" (1817–1901); Bread Riots; Camp Followers; Chamberlain, Frances Caroline "Fannie" Adams (1825–1905); Columbia Bazaar (January 17–21, 1865); Confederate Homefront; Contrabands; Domesticity; Emancipation Proclamation (January 1, 1863); Enlistment; Fairs and Bazaars; Family Life, Confederate; Family Life, Union; Flags, Regimental; Food; Fundraising; Hospitals; Letter Writing; Nationalism, Confederate; Nationalism, United States; Nonslaveholding Southerners; Northern Women; Nurses; Plantation Life; Politics; Rural Women; Separate Spheres; Sewing Bees; Shortages; Slaveholding Women; Southern Women; Truth, Sojourner [Isabella Baumfree] (1797–1883); Union Homefront; Wartime Employment.

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Morgan, Sarah Ida Fowler (1842–1909)

Sarah Morgan of Baton Rouge was nineteen in 1862 when she began what was to be one of the most important diaries of the Civil War years, chronicling her experience of the dislocation and devastating personal loss experienced by many families in the South. She wrote with wit and insight, and so well that the published version required little editing.

Born in New Orleans on February 28, 1842, Sarah was the daughter of Judge Thomas Gibbes Morgan and Sarah Hunt Fowler. Her father had migrated before 1820 from Pennsylvania to Baton Rouge, where he practiced law and married into the local plantation aristocracy. All the Morgan children except for Sarah and her younger brother Jimmy were born in Baton Rouge on the site subsequently occupied by the state capitol. Judge Morgan was appointed collector for the Port of New Orleans, and it was there Sarah was born. The Morgans returned to Baton Rouge in 1850. Sarah was educated almost entirely at home and read widely on her own. She was introduced to New Orleans society in 1860.

Sarah's journal begins with a retrospective of the April 1861 death of her brother Harry in a duel and of Judge Morgan's fatal illness six months later. She adopted the political views of her father, a Southern Whig who favored preserving the Union but, upon secession, became a loyal Confederate. Three of Sarah's remaining brothers fought for the Confederacy. Philip was a Union supporter and sister Lavinia

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married a Union officer, complicating but not diminishing Sarah's fervent Confederate patriotism. In 1862, shelling from Union gunboats drove the Morgans out of Baton Rouge and their home was looted. Much of Sarah's narrative chronicles the family's experiences as refugees, Sarah's flirtations with Confederate officers, her convalescence after a serious back injury in a November 1862 buggy accident, and the family's mourning for the two brothers who died in Confederate service.

After the war, Sarah and her mother lived with brother Jimmy in South Carolina. She was courted by the influential Charleston newspaper editor Francis Warrington Dawson, who encouraged her to begin writing for his paper in 1873. Sarah's anonymous columns were very popular and afforded her modest financial independence. After marrying Dawson on January 25, 1874, she wrote only occasional book reviews. The Dawsons had three children, one of whom died in infancy.

Sarah's life was shattered in 1889 by her husband's murder. Subsequent financial difficulties led her to write stories for magazines, but few were published. In 1899 she moved to France to live with her son. *Les Aventures de Jeannot Lapin* (1903), a French version of the Brer Rabbit stories, was her greatest literary success.

Sarah Morgan Dawson died in Paris on May 5, 1909, and is buried next to her husband in Charleston.

Nancy Gray Schoonmaker

See also Civilian Life; Confederate Homefront; Diaries and Journals; Refugees; Southern Women.

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Mosby's Rangers

Officially known as the Forty-third Battalion of Virginia Cavalry, Mosby's Rangers were Confederate troops who disrupted Union supply operations in several northern Virginia counties during the Civil War. Commanded by Colonel John Singleton Mosby, the Rangers were known for their daring exploits. Gathering information, supplies, and support from the local populations, the Rangers came into close contact with many civilians. Their proximity and reliance on Southern civilians, however, led Union forces to target these non-military allies as well.

The Rangers' success can be credited to the exploits of their famed leader. Not only did he give his name to the command, but Mosby also recruited, coordinated, and led his men on various raids and attacks. Born in 1833, John Singleton Mosby attended the University of Virginia and was practicing law when the Civil War broke out. Mosby served in the First Virginia Cavalry as a scout and a picket. He eventually joined the staff of famed Confederate cavalry general James Ewell Brown "J.E.B." Stuart.

In January 1863, Stuart approved Mosby's request to lead a small band of men in guerrilla operations behind Union lines. To sustain the thousands of troops in the field, the Union army needed a secure depot and a reliable supply train that could connect the main army with its base. The farther the Union army advanced, the longer and more vulnerable these supply lines became. Mosby suggested that he and his guerrillas might be able to disrupt these lines and keep many Union troops from joining the main army because they would have to be detailed to protect their supply trains.

Aside from professional soldiers, most of the men Mosby recruited were in their twenties and thirties. Many of them were lured by the belief that raiding Union trains on horseback was a romantic and adventurous ideal. As men with families in the immediate area, they could also remain close to home and kin while serving the Confederacy. From its beginnings as a small group of about fifteen men, Mosby's command eventually grew to several hundred. By the end of the war, nineteen hundred men had served under his command at one time or another.

Mosby's Rangers operated mainly in the northern Virginia counties of Fauquier and Loudoun, but they also struck Union troops in surrounding counties, sometimes crossing into the Shenandoah Valley as well. Their favorite stomping grounds soon became known as Mosby's Confederacy. The Rangers relied on agility, coordination, and surprise to overcome the Union's numerical superiority. They struck camps, broke into garrisons, raided

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wagon trains, and even held up a locomotive. After a raid, the troopers would disappear, blending in with the civilian population, until they were summoned again. Perhaps Mosby's most daring exploit was the capture of Union General Edwin Stoughton as he slept in a Union-held town. For a period, Union defenders were even concerned that Mosby—nicknamed the Gray Ghost—might sneak into Washington to kidnap President Abraham Lincoln.

The Rangers relied heavily on a friendly civilian population. As members of the community, they could count on shelter and food from many civilians. Men and women in the area who were loyal to the Confederate government sought to help their soldiers and protect them from capture. Furthermore, earning local support allowed Mosby an intricate knowledge of the forests, farms, and roads in the region. Many women served as spies, passing information they had gained from Union troops back to Mosby. Mosby created a network for passing along information, which helped him pinpoint Union columns as they entered the region, seeking to capture or destroy his forces.

All raids had the potential for disaster, and many Rangers fell wounded or were captured during the course of their various operations. Mosby himself was severely wounded during a nasty skirmish. The Rangers faced many determined Union commanders. Among the most vicious were the troops under Union General Philip Sheridan, who operated against Mosby from the late summer of 1864 to the early months of 1865. Charged with clearing out the Shenandoah Valley, Sheridan could not allow Mosby's Rangers to threaten his supply base. Consequently, he ordered thousands of cavalrymen to ride into known guerrilla territory to destroy any supplies that might be used by the partisan fighters. The contest between these two opposing sides escalated when Mosby threatened to hang a Union prisoner for each of his Rangers who was captured and executed by the Union commander.

Since Mosby's men blended in seamlessly with the local population, Union authorities concluded that they must target Mosby's civilian supporters. To this end, various Union raids netted old men and young boys who, they suspected, were aiding the guerrillas. In addition, they arrested some women for allegedly giving aid and information to Mosby's men. During the most vicious period of war between Mosby and his Union counterparts, barns and outbuildings, where the guerrillas might have hidden, were burned, and livestock were butchered or hauled away so that they could not be used to feed the Rangers. These Union raids destroyed millions of dollars in property, all in the name of capturing or chasing away Mosby's men.

Despite the harsh tactics, Union countermeasures never fully halted Mosby's operations. Even though they did force the guerrillas onto the defensive from time to time, Union commands could never capture Mosby himself or curtail his activities. In the same vein, although Mosby's men were a great annoyance and brought fear to Federal troops garrisoned in northern Virginia, they had limited success in derailing the main Union operations in the field. Mosby never surrendered his command, choosing instead to quietly disband it at the end of the war.

Kanisorn Wongsrichanalai

See also Civilian Life; Confederate Homefront; Destruction of Homes; Destruction of Personal Property; Family Life, Confederate; Female Spies; Food; Foraging, Effects on Women; Honor; Guerrilla Warfare; Morale; Southern Women.

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Mott, Lucretia Coffin (1793–1880)

A Quaker minister, leader in the abolitionist movement, and women's rights activist, Lucretia Mott organized the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society and ran a station on the Underground Railroad at her Philadelphia home. She worked with Frederick Douglass and William Lloyd Garrison in the fight against slavery.

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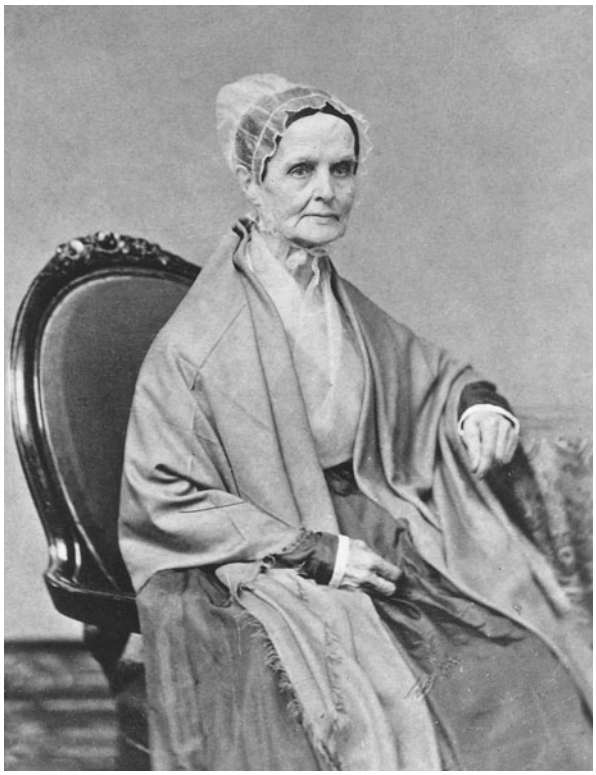
Lucretia was born on January 3, 1793, in Nantucket, Massachusetts, to Anna and Thomas Coffin. Raised in the Society of Friends, Lucretia's views on slavery and women's rights were set at an early age. The Coffin family moved to Boston in 1804, and the children attended public school so that they would be familiar with all types of people. In 1806 Lucretia was sent to the Quaker boarding school at Nine Partners, New York, where she eventually became an assistant teacher. She was unhappy to learn that the female teachers made only a fraction of the salary of the male teachers. In 1809, the family moved to Philadelphia, where Lucretia remained for the rest of her life.

On April 10, 1811, Lucretia married James Mott, whom she had met at Nine Partners. Together, they had six children, some of whom would actively participate in their parents' abolitionist activities.

In 1821 Lucretia was designated as a minister in the Society of Friends, and by 1829 she was preaching against slavery in the colored churches in Philadelphia. In general, the Quakers did not take a strong antislavery stand, and Lucretia's views were met with animosity by her fellow church members. Undeterred, Lucretia made her first prominent appearance at an antislavery convention in Philadelphia in 1833, where she delivered a speech that was met with both praise and vilification. At one point, the Society of Friends discussed dissolving Lucretia's membership with the church.

Around this time Lucretia organized the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society. She served as the organization's first secretary and then as its president for many years. This group labored for thirty-six years, and its membership included Lucretia's daughters Anna Mott Hopper and Maria Mott Davis. In 1840 the Philadelphia society elected Lucretia as a delegate to attend a world antislavery convention in London. No women were allowed to speak at the convention, however, and those who were allowed to attend were seated as visitors. Lucretia met Elizabeth Cady Stanton at the convention in London, a meeting that eventually led to the Equal Rights Convention at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848.

After the 1850 passage of the Fugitive Slave Act, Lucretia continued speaking publicly against slavery and engaged in further antislavery and nonresistant activities such as the Underground Railroad. Lucretia worked closely with other antislavery advocates, such as Frederick Douglass and William Lloyd Garrison. When the Civil War broke out in 1861, Lucretia, an advocate of nonviolence, denounced the war. However, she hoped the war would end slavery. Lucretia served as vice president of the Pennsylvania Peace Society, which raised money for the education of free blacks and those who had become newly free.



As a Quaker minister, abolitionist, and women's rights advocate, Lucretia Mott played a major role in the early American reform movement. (Library of Congress)

After the war, Lucretia served as the first president of the American Equal Rights Association, an organization devoted to securing the vote for former slaves. Because women had no participation in politics, Lucretia's energies were attracted to the organization and maintenance of freedmen's associations to relieve the acute demand for food and to promote industry and self-support among blacks.

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Mott and other female proponents of equal rights initially opposed the Fourteenth Amendment because they wanted it to include votes for women. However, they met with much derision and had to accept that black men would get their rights first. Mott and other women's rights activists hoped that voting rights for women would follow in the not too distant future.

Lucretia's husband James died on February 26, 1868. Lucretia quietly lived out the remainder of her life, never wavering in her beliefs on equality for all people. Her last public address was made in May 1880 at the Philadelphia yearly meeting of the Society of Friends. She died at home on November 11, 1880.

Gwen Thomas Mays

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; Douglass, Frederick (ca. 1818–1895); Fourteenth Amendment; Garrison, William Lloyd (1805–1879); Northerm Women; Quaker Women; Stanton, Elizabeth Cady (1815–1902); Union Homefront.

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Moulton, Louise Chandler (1835–1908)

One of the most popular American women writers of her time, both in the United States and abroad, Louise Chandler Moulton sponsored two salons, which became gathering places for eminent literary figures in Boston and London. Her poetry received praise from authors such as Robert Browning and Thomas Hardy, and her short stories and novels were popular as well.

Born April 10, 1835, in Pomfret, Connecticut, Louise Chandler was the only child of Louisa Rebecca Clark and Lucius Lemuel Chandler. She grew up in a strict Calvinist household, receiving her education at a Pomfret school and later at Emma Willard's Female Seminary in Troy, New York. At fourteen, Louise first submitted poetry to a newspaper and continued writing for periodicals under the name Ellen Louise. At eighteen, her first book, *This, That and the Other,* a collection of her newspaper and magazine writings, was published. It quickly sold over twenty thousand copies.

Following the publication of her book, Louise enrolled at Mrs. Willard's, graduating after one year. On August 27, 1855, she married William Upham Moulton, editor and publisher of the *True Flag,* a Boston literary journal to which she had regularly contributed. The couple had one daughter. During the 1850s, Moulton contributed to magazines such as *Godey's Lady's Book* and *Peterson's Magazine,* common venues for literary work at the time. Her second book, *Juno Clifford,* published anonymously in 1855, achieved great popularity.

Moulton's writing during the Civil War shared themes encouraging women to support their husbands and sons in the war effort. Morally didactic, her stories of this time contain women bravely and generously seeing the men in their lives off to war. "Buying Winter Things," for example, features a young woman's struggle to be brave and to busy herself with work to ease her wait for war's end. A widow in "Captain Charley" has to decide whether to let her son enlist, and "Kitten" and "My Thanksgiving" have women with sweethearts in the war.

From 1870 to 1876, Moulton was the Boston literary correspondent for the *New York Tribune.* In 1876, she made her first trip to Europe, staying abroad for close to two years. Henceforth, she visited England almost every summer, and London soon became her second home. She became friends with Robert Browning and met celebrated writers like Alfred Lord Tennyson and Dante Gabriel Rossetti. Moulton, popular for both her writing and her recitations, was well received in England.

Moulton entertained her literary contemporaries, including Ralph Waldo Emerson, James Russell Lowell, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and Robert Browning, at her "salons" in Boston and London. She was noted for her charming personality and kindness.

In 1877 her first book of poetry, *Swallow Flights,* was published in America; the English edition was

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Louise Chandler Moulton, popular American writer (1835–1908). (Library of Congress)

published in 1878. She continued writing into the 1890s, publishing two books for children. Her trips to Europe ceased for two years after her husband William's death on February 19, 1898.

Louise Chandler Moulton died in Boston on August 10, 1908, following a lengthy illness.

Sigrid Kelsey

See also Fiction Writers, Northern; Northern Women; Poets, Northern; Union Homefront; Wartime Literature.

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Mountain Charley [Elsa Jane Guerin aka Charles Hatfield] (n.d.–n.d.)

Mountain Charley was the name used by Elsa Jane Guerin, a woman who dressed as a man to find work, go westward during the gold rush, and eventually enlist in the Union army. In 1861 she published an autobiography of her pre–Civil War life, *Mountain Charley, or the Adventures of Mrs. E. J. Guerin, Who Was Thirteen Years in Male Attire: An Autobiography Comprising a Period of Thirteen Years Life in the States, California, and Pike's Peak.* Information about her wartime activities was later published in a series of articles in the *Colorado Transcript.*

In *Mountain Charley,* Guerin explained how her early life influenced her strange choice in careers. Her lack of a regular family, her time away at school, and her marriage and young widowhood meant that she had long depended on herself. Widowed with two young children to raise, Guerin searched for a way to survive. She understood the difficulties she would face as a young woman, so she decided to dress as a man to get a job.

Charley soon discovered both the economic and social benefits of being male. She gained freedom as a man who could go wherever he wanted and do as he wished. In the spring of 1855, Charley joined a party of sixty men who were bound for California, the Land of Gold. By 1859 she was running a bakery and saloon in Colorado, and, although several people now knew that she was a woman, she continued dressing as a man. She married her barkeeper, H. L. Guerin.

Although her book ends before the Civil War began, Mountain Charley corresponded with an old friend, newspaper publisher George West, with specific details about her wartime activities. She explained that she had enlisted in Iowa as Charles Hatfield and had served in Western units. In Missouri, she had persuaded the generals that she could spy on the Confederate camp disguised as a woman. She successfully fooled not only the enemy, but even some former friends, now also serving in the war, who had known her as a man but who did not recognize her as a woman. At one point Charles was wounded and her sex discovered, but surprisingly

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the doctors did not reveal her secret to military officials. She was eventually promoted to first lieutenant and served until the end of the war. Charley delighted in her ability to move back and forth between gender identities.

Although Mountain Charley's adventures were unique, accounts of other Civil War cross-dressers appeared quite regularly in wartime literature, newspapers, and memoirs. It is estimated that as many as four hundred women dressed as men to fight in the Civil War.

Tiffany K. Wayne

See also Female Combatants; Female Spies; Western Women.

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Mourning

One in five of the more than 31 million people living in the United States in 1860 had died in service to the Union or the Confederacy by the time the Civil War ended in 1865. During and after the war, people of the North and South looked to belief in the justness of their cause and in God's promises of reunion and eternal life to cope with the sacrifice of sons, brothers, and husbands. Religion was mainly the province of women in the nineteenth century, as were mourning and its rituals. The war resulted in more mourning women than battle dead. Over half of all military fatalities during the Civil War were the result of illness, but almost every dead soldier was survived by a bereaved mother, wife, or sister.

Before the disruptions of the war, death and mourning in Victorian culture were ritualized observances with the home at their center. Loved ones died in their own beds, surrounded by family, who cherished the last sentimental details of parting and often clipped a lock of the deceased's hair as a token of remembrance. Crepe was hung on the front door to announce a death. Bodies were prepared for burial and laid out in the parlor. The family watched over the body and received condolences as the community filed through the parlor to pay its respects. A funeral in the parlor was followed by a graveside service. The family wore black—crepe hatbands for the men and the women in head-to-toe "deepest mourning" garb. The roles of family members and the responses of close friends and the larger community were formulaic. If one were not properly brought up to read and respond to the cues of the family—or to deploy them after one's own loss—popular advice manuals were available to help.

Death and ritualized mourning customs loomed large in the antebellum public imagination. Mourning manuals delineated strict periods of successively lighter mourning and the appropriate attire and accessories for each, down to the width of the black borders on handkerchiefs and stationery. Men wore crepe hatbands and armbands to mark the loss of members of their fraternal and civic organizations, and they composed testimonials affirming the worthiness of the deceased's character and the inestimable loss to his family, friends, and community. Women wore black, curtailed their activities, and tended the graves.

There were clear guidelines for acceptable mourning attire. In deepest mourning, a woman wore only the most somber fabrics, especially dull crepe, merino, and bombazine; she swathed herself in a heavy black crepe veil when she left the house. After six months she might add a white collar to signify that she was beginning to emerge but was still mourning, and after a year she could move into somber purples and lilacs. Advice manuals detailed the length of each phase of mourning in remembrance of husbands, siblings, children, and other relations and described the attire and activities appropriate to each stage. Manuals admonished that the entire family, down to the youngest child, must observe these guidelines. Whole emporiums in large cities catered to the "black trade" and fed the demand for an ever wider array of mourning accessories. The death of Prince Albert, husband of Britain's Queen Victoria, in late 1861 sparked

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renewed interest in mourning as a becoming and fashionable mode of dress.

At the dawn of the Civil War, most people adhered to the dictates of custom, but many had begun to openly criticize this formalized public expression of private grief. Publications such as *Godey's Lady's Book*, which reached one hundred and fifty thousand women in the North and South in 1860, both reinforced and questioned mourning customs, reflecting the extent to which they were both important and problematic. Antebellum Americans cherished sincerity and pure sentiment. Critics decried the increasing commercialization of the "trappings of woe" and pointed out that the manuals' rules to govern emotions and sentiments were at best arbitrary and artificial. At worst, they allowed those who were not truly grieving to pretend to be and to lay claim to sympathy and empathy they did not deserve.

For Christians, whose beliefs were pervasive in public discourse, the rituals surrounding death derived much of their meaning from their religious significance. Christians were admonished to bear their losses without a murmur as the will of divine Providence and to console themselves with the promise of blissful eternal togetherness for all who professed their faith. Carried to what some saw as a logical conclusion, grieving for one who was in Heaven with God was blasphemous.

The Civil War swept away most of these prewar critiques. For families whose soldiers died far from home, there were no tender deathbed scenes with professions of faith and loving leave-takings. Often there was no body, no funeral, and no grave to visit. Mourning attire became an important symbol of loss and for many the only ritualized observance of death the war allowed them. The ranks swelled of women wearing black—"putting on mourning"—in remembrance of a father, brother, or son sacrificed to the cause. A lady in black reminded the world of the real cost of the war, and that she had paid dearly.

Women of faith in the Union and Confederacy fretted about their unconverted men, who might die without professing their faith and ensuring eternal togetherness for the family. Families of soldiers who died far from home cherished letters from comrades or nurses describing the deaths and reassuring the bereaved that they were lovingly remembered at the end and that their soldier had died professing religious faith. Some even included a lock of hair.

The Civil War was the first war on American soil since the antebellum rural cemetery movement had made the grave a sacred site for religious meditation in an attractive, well tended cemetery. Embalming became a booming industry, especially in the Union; families yearned to have the remains of war dead shipped home for burial. When the war ended, undertaking was professionalized.

White women in the South were three times as likely to lose a son or husband in the Civil War as were those in the North. Their desire to dress in black in honor of their heroic dead was complicated by the Northern blockade of Southern ports, which by the second year of the war had slowed imports to a trickle. The war created shortages of all kinds, and the demand for black fabric and mourning accessories was acute. In early 1863, Confederate nurse Phoebe Yates Pember wrote to her sister that she could not find black merino. By November 1863, diarist Kate Stone complained that she would have to stop wearing mourning clothes for her brother because she could get nothing black to wear. Nearly every household, she noted, mourned someone.

In the early days of the war, senior officers who died in battle lay in state in public buildings and were given elaborate funerals; others were buried with appropriate military ceremony. Soon the number of dead far outstripped the ability of prewar military customs to adequately honor them. As casualties mounted and death became commonplace, the general public grew more and more numbed to the sorrow of others. In the South, war news crowded out published memorial testimonials, with the blockade making paper scarce. As the war ended, the assassination of Abraham Lincoln occasioned a state funeral and public expressions of mourning across the North. There was a general outpouring of grief; buildings were draped in black.

Public mourning for the Civil War dead continued after the war. In the spring of 1866 Southern

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women organized memorial observances and spruced up the gravesites of both Union and Confederate soldiers. Societies devoted to the erection of memorial monuments soon formed, especially in the defeated Confederacy. After Reconstruction, Memorial Day or an equivalent day of remembrance was observed North and South with speeches, reunions of soldiers, parades, picnics, and cemetery visits. Civil War veterans were buried with military pomp well into the twentieth century.

Nancy Gray Schoonmaker

See also Confederate Homefront; Domesticity; Monuments; Northern Women; Religion; Pember, Phoebe Yates Levy (1823–1913); Southern Women; Stone, Sarah Katherine "Kate" (1841–1907); Union Homefront.

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Murfreesboro, Battle of (December 31, 1862–January 2, 1863)

Also known as the Battle of Stones River, this Union victory allowed the Federal army to gain control of central Tennessee, and served to boost Northern morale after a withering defeat at Fredericksburg, Virginia, weeks earlier. It was also at this battle that the identity of one of the soldiers of the Second East Tennessee Cavalry, Frank Miller, was revealed to be a young woman named Frances Hook.

Major General William S. Rosencrans's Union Army of the Cumberland, with a force of nearly forty-five thousand men, secured Nashville, Tennessee, after Confederate forces had threatened it during the fall of 1862. Repairing the railroad line from Louisville, Kentucky, to Nashville enabled Rosencrans to resupply and reorganize his troops and to begin their movement south toward Murfreesboro, where Confederate General Braxton Bragg was entrenched. Rosencrans had taken over command of the Union forces in Kentucky from Brigadier General Don Carlos Buell, who had so far been unable to push Bragg from East Tennessee after his hasty retreat from Kentucky in early October.

On December 30, Rosencrans, with forty-three thousand men, moved into position across Stones River from Bragg, a point just northwest of the town of Murfreesboro, where the Nashville Turnpike and the Nashville & Chattanooga Railroad intersect near the river. Bragg, with thirty-seven thousand men, had been successful in evading Buell, and he was now entrenched along the eastern edge of the river a little north of the town.

Bragg took the offensive and, under the cover of heavy fog on December 31, struck Rosencrans's right flank in a predawn raid. Unprepared for the early assault, Rosencrans retreated three miles under heavy fire throughout the morning. Rosencrans's right center division commander, General Philip H. Sheridan, was prepared for the assault and, in heavy fighting, slowed the Confederate advance. The ensuing battle cost Sheridan three of his brigade commanders and a third of his men. Major General George H. Thomas held the center with artillery support from Colonel William B. Hazen, while Rosencrans reinforced a new right line.

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Bragg ordered his division commander, John C. Breckinridge, to continue with a frontal assault, causing many casualties on both sides. According to eyewitnesses, the roar of constant fire was deafening and deadly, with Union soldiers and officers falling rapidly in the intense fighting. Rosencrans held his position, though both his right and left flanks were beaten back significantly. By nightfall, a confident Bragg cabled Richmond, announcing Rosencrans's impending retreat. Rosencrans, however, regrouped and stood his ground with a little advancement on New Year's Day.

The following day, January 2, Rosencrans advanced across Stones River to assault Bragg's communications base. Bragg ordered Breckinridge to advance on this division, and, though initially successful in pushing Rosencrans back to the river, heavy Union fire halted Bragg's advance. Breckinridge's men faced fifty-eight Union guns placed strategically on a hill above the river, and he lost two thousand men in twenty minutes. Buoyed by Breckinridge's hasty retreat and by Bragg's inability to reorganize his men for another assault, Rosencrans advanced again and by nightfall had claimed high land overlooking Murfreesboro. On the morning of the third, Rosencrans, fresh with reinforcements from Nashville, was now positioned on the east side of the river and poised to bombard Murfreesboro. That night, Bragg abandoned the town and retreated some twenty-five miles south to the Duck River.

Frances Hook, known as Frank Miller to the men of the Second Tennessee, had been wounded badly during the Union advance across Stone's River. While attending to her wounds, the army physician discovered her sex and reported her to Rosencrans. Though impressed with her bravery and skill as a soldier, he forced her to return to her parents in Pennsylvania. A seasoned war veteran, having served with several other regiments and having been taken prisoner on at least one occasion, Hook reenlisted with the Eighth Michigan, where, disguised again, she served throughout the rest of the war.

This Union victory boosted sagging Northern morale but at a heavy price. While both sides sustained nearly a third of their troop strengths in casualties, including killed, wounded, and captured, Rosencrans's army was so weakened he could not attempt another offensive movement for months. Later that year, under orders from General Ulysses S. Grant, Major General George H. Thomas relieved Rosencrans of his command of the Army of the Cumberland.

Bragg, already under fire for retreating from Kentucky, fought and argued with his division commanders, who by then were questioning his leadership. Bragg, expecting to be replaced as head of the Army of Tennessee, remained in his post because political infighting prevented the immediate appointment of another, more competent general. By the end of the year, however, poor leadership and continued complaints by Bragg's superiors and subordinates forced Jefferson Davis to relieve him of his command. After a stunning loss at Lookout Mountain, near Chattanooga, Tennessee, in November 1863, Davis appointed General Joseph E. Johnston to lead the Army of the Tennessee.

After Murfreesboro, one of the bloodiest battles of the war, tending to the thousands of wounded soldiers required immense resources. With over three thousand dead and sixteen thousand wounded, the United States Sanitary Commission rushed nurses and supplies to the battle area, but some soldiers lay on the battlefield for days before help could arrive. The nurses were overwhelmed by the devastation they encountered, and many remained stationed there for months tending to the injured, sick, and dying.

Kate Clifford Larson

See also Female Combatants; Northern Women; Nurses; Southern Women; United States Sanitary Commission.

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Music, Northern

Northern Civil War music encompassed a broad range of published songs, military marches, min-

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strel tunes, and imported European opera and symphonies. Many of these were created or reinterpreted to present an idealized vision of Northern patriotism and unity while not alienating Southerners, since the fundamental Northern war aim was to restore the Union.

Military and civilian brass bands were pervasive throughout the Civil War. For the benefit of the Union armies, they played rousing marches and patriotic tunes like "The Star-Spangled Banner," "The Red, White, and Blue," and "Yankee Doodle." Patrick Gilmore, through his innovations as leader of all Massachusetts military bands, made lasting contributions to the development of American instrumental music. Brass bands were also common features at public events throughout the North.

Northern patriotic songs were popular for enlistment rallies, parades, and other army functions. The earliest patriotic songs sought to rally Northerners around the Union cause and therefore contained frequent references to the American Revolution, the strength of the Union, and glory on the battlefield. The most popular Union rallying song, George Frederick Root's "The Battle Cry of Freedom," was published in the summer of 1862, in response to President Abraham Lincoln's call for three hundred thousand new troops, and it employed a dual rhetoric of Union and liberty. In addition, Northern patriotic songs often sought to glorify the contributions of individual soldiers and were less likely than Southern patriotic songs to contain favorable references to high-ranking officers. The most prominent expressions in Northern patriotic songs drew on common rhetoric of political liberty, the Union as a family of the living and the dead, the obligations of soldiers toward their comrades and the Federal government, and the justice and holiness of the Union cause.

While the patriotic songs appear most often in twentieth-century compilations of Civil War music, sentimental ballads generally formed the core of both the soldiers' and the civilians' song repertoire. The sentimental songs of the Civil War, often composed for performance in minstrel shows but also for purchase by amateur musicians, helped personalize the conflict for soldiers and civilians alike. These songs allowed the singer to imagine the reaction of a single soldier—or his mother, sweetheart, child, or brother—to the impersonal effects of the war. Thus, they were often performed by a single person instead of a large group. Many Northern sentimental songs were popular in both the Union and the Confederacy because they generally eschewed obvious statements of national identity.

Sentimental war songs also usually involved female characters, departing from the masculine rhetoric of the rallying songs and creating a crucial link between the battlefield and the home. Mothers were particularly prominent in Northern sentimental songs like Root's "Just Before the Battle, Mother" and Charles Carroll Sawyer's "Who Will Care for Mother Now?" Both of these songs, though published in the North, were also available from Southern publishers. Other female characters also appeared regularly in wartime sentimental songs. Moreover, young middle-class women were the primary consumers of the sheet music for these songs, which fit easily into the broader genre of parlor music.

Northern women were not merely consumers of wartime music, they also played key roles in the production of both sentimental and patriotic songs. Female composers and lyricists took part in a contest to create a new national hymn in the summer of 1861. More famously, Julia Ward Howe penned new lyrics to the Methodist hymn "Say, Brothers Will You Meet Us?" which had already been reworded once as "John Brown's Body," and created the rousing and elegiac "Battle Hymn of the Republic." Ethel Lynn Eliot Beers of Massachusetts wrote a poem entitled "The Picket-Guard," which eventually became the popular song "All Quiet along the Potomac Tonight." In the realm of art music, Northern opera singers Clara Louise Kellogg and Isabella Hinckley tailored their performances to bolster Union patriotism, and women were largely responsible for keeping philanthropic symphony societies alive during the war.

Jaime Amanda Martinez

See also Civilian Life; Morale; Music, Southern; Union Homefront.

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Music, Southern

Southern Civil War music, whether for performance by military bands or for publication and purchase by civilians, was central to the construction and maintenance of Confederate national identity. General Robert E. Lee's oft repeated exclamation that he could not have an army without music could be extended to the entire country; Southern music idealized Confederate unity by iterating key themes like liberty, protection of the home, and the legacy of the American Revolution.

The Confederate music publishing industry was not well developed at the outset of the war, but enterprising Southerners quickly realized the necessity for publication of new Southern songs. Acknowledging the fundamental importance of patriotic music in the support of a new nation and its war effort, they produced music that helped in the process of creating a Confederate national identity. This music highlighted the major themes of Confederate nationalism, such as liberty, rights, honor, protection of the home, and adherence to Revolutionary ideals. The most famous Confederate song, however, espoused none of this rhetoric, for "Dixie" predated

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the war and was written by the Ohio minstrel performer Daniel Decatur Emmett. Two new Southern songs emerged to solve this problem, although they failed to fully surpass "Dixie" in popularity. The first, Harry Macarthy's "Bonnie Blue Flag," contained frequent assertions of Southern rights, particularly property rights, and Southern unity. The second, "My Maryland," with lyrics by Baltimore native James Ryder Randall, encouraged residents of Maryland to join the Confederacy by cataloguing examples of Union tyranny and recalling Maryland's participation in the American Revolution. In addition to these rallying songs, Southern publishers produced many purely instrumental waltzes, polkas, and marches dedicated to famous Southern officers, particularly in the first year of the war.

Although the patriotic songs appear most often in twentieth-century compilations of Civil War music, sentimental ballads formed the core of both the soldiers' and the civilians' song repertoire. Composers altered preexisting musical forms to create new genres of sentimental songs tailored to the needs of the Southern wartime population—farewell songs, letter songs, camaraderie songs, remembrance songs, and deathbed songs. The sentimental songs of the Civil War, often composed for performance in minstrel shows but also for purchase by amateur musicians, helped personalize the conflict for soldiers and civilians alike.

Many Northern wartime sentimental songs were popular in the Confederacy as well because they generally eschewed obvious statements of national identity, but Southern sentimental songs were often as clear in their national allegiance as the patriotic rallying songs. Macarthy's "The Volunteer," for example, mixed Southern wartime rhetoric of honor, Northern treachery, and the country's cause with sentimental musical flourishes and the individual medium of a soldier's farewell to his wife. Interestingly, while Northern composers most often addressed sentimental songs from the soldier to his mother, Southern composers wrote more songs in which the soldier addressed his wife or sweetheart. This seems to be a general trend, but there were obviously many deviations on both sides.

Sentimental war songs usually involved female characters, departing from the masculine rhetoric of the rallying songs and creating a crucial link between the battlefield and the home. Southern women also participated in the wartime music industry as consumers, performers, and producers of popular songs. Lottie Macarthy stood on stage with her husband, waving a Confederate flag, as he performed his songs "The Volunteer" and "The Bonnie Blue Flag." Constance, Hetty, and Jennie Cary of Baltimore first turned Randall's poem "My Maryland" into a song by wedding the lyrics with the Christmas carol "O Tannenbaum." Catherine Ann Warfield of Kentucky wrote the ferociously patriotic song "You Can Never Win Us Back," creating a powerful statement of Southern resolve to fight, Confederate racial ideology, and the religious imagery with which Southerners justified their war effort. Southern women in urban areas like Richmond and Charleston also regularly patronized performances of opera and other forms of European art music.

Jaime Amanda Martinez

See also Civilian Life; Confederate Life; Morale; Music, Northern.

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N

National Women's Loyal League [Women's National Loyal League]

A group of reformers who wanted to play an active political role in the outcome of the American Civil War organized the National Woman's Loyal League (NWLL) in 1863.

After President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation freeing slaves in the rebel states, effective January 1, 1863, abolitionists and women's rights activists Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton issued a "Call for a Meeting of the Loyal Women of the Nation" and organized women to urge Congress to pass a Constitutional amendment permanently ending slavery everywhere. The resultant NWLL first met in New York on May 14, 1863, and its primary work over the next year and a half of its existence was to collect signatures in support of such an amendment. By August 1864, the League had approximately five thousand members and had collected and presented to Radical Republican allies in Congress some four hundred thousand signatures. The Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, abolishing slavery throughout the United States, was ratified after the war in 1865.

The founders and officers of the NWLL had been prominent women's rights leaders before the war. While the war temporarily slowed the efforts of the organized women's movement, many reformers from both the women's rights and the antislavery movements continued their efforts on behalf of the emancipation of slaves while emphasizing the need for an expanded role for women. At the first meeting of the NWLL, Stanton articulated women's desire to make a contribution to the war beyond sacrificing their sons, nursing, and supplying soldiers with clothes and food. Although society had given men the ability to act on the battlefield while women primarily remained on the homefront, Stanton emphasized that women had a vital part to play in the war.

In their effort to include the concerns of women, Stanton and Anthony revived the issue of the vote—of women's right to equal citizenship—as one of the goals of the war. In a special resolution at the first meeting of the League, they declared that the peace and survival of the nation required equal rights and voting for all women and African Americans. Not all League members agreed with the demand for suffrage, however, with the opposition declaring the idea of giving the vote to women as well as blacks would endanger the League's larger goal of gathering support for immediate abolition. Newspapers reported on this debate and controversy within the NWLL by criticizing the fact that a group that had been created with exemplary patriotic motive to end slavery had instead transformed into a radical movement for women's rights. The woman suffrage resolution passed, but membership in the League declined after that point.

Although supportive of the Union cause, NWLL leaders such as Stanton and Ernestine Rose were publicly critical of President Abraham Lincoln for not demanding full emancipation as a stated goal of

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the war. For this political boldness, these women faced criticism by some newspapers, including the *New York Herald,* which cynically suggested that perhaps the women might take over national politics themselves. The NWLL met weekly in New York, even during the week of the July 1863 draft riots, and all of the major newspapers covered the proceedings of this "great uprising" of Northern women.

Thinking that their Republican congressional allies at least would agree with their aims, the women must have been disappointed when Charles Sumner thanked them for their work in collecting signatures but expressed dissatisfaction that women felt called to engage in the masculine field of politics. In the end, the relative success of the women's efforts in gathering and delivering their petitions was more a function of the public's perception of the wartime political participation of women as a function of extraordinary circumstances, not as a desirable model for women's continued political action. After the war, and especially after black men were granted the vote in 1870 with the Fourteenth Amendment, white women of the National Women's Loyal League and their allies returned to a reorganized women's rights movement now focused exclusively on securing the vote for women.

Tiffany K. Wayne

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; Anthony, Susan B. (1820–1906); Draft Riots and Resistance; Emancipation Proclamation (January 1, 1863); Fourteenth Amendment; Lincoln, Abraham (1809–1865); Northern Women; Politics; Stanton, Elizabeth Cady (1815–1902); Thirteenth Amendment; Union Homefront.

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Nationalism, Confederate

With the formal creation of the Confederacy came an urgent need to define the new nation and thereby validate its claim for independence. Recognizing this, white Southerners quickly set about crafting cultural and intellectual scaffolding for their new nation. They lacked most of the usual markers of national distinctiveness, such as a unique language or religion, an exclusive past, or a clearly demarcated territory. Even so they were able to fashion the beginnings of a national identity and a sense of shared national purpose, retaining the major features of United States nationalism and adding a Southern twist by emphasizing the defense of slavery, conservative social and religious values, and a purported return to the original political vision of the Founding Fathers. Confederate nationalism was more a variation on American nationalism than a rejection of it.

White Southern women were crucial participants in the creation of Confederate nationalism. They were most visible in their supporting or symbolic roles: cheerfully waving off the departing soldiers and patiently enduring hardship and sacrifice. But the exigencies of war, combined with the need for united national resolve, opened up more active opportunities to serve the nation and to shape its character. In the end, significant female dissatisfaction with the Confederate bid for independence contributed to its failure, demonstrating the central role that white women played in all stages of Confederate nationalism.

The disintegration of the United States and the formation of the Confederacy sent waves of exhilaration across the white South. Southern women had never in fact been detached from the supposedly male domains of politics and war, but the enormity of the events of 1860 and 1861, permeating not only all areas of the South but also all areas of Southern life, increased their interest in public affairs. Talk of secession and the transfer of loyalties from the United States to the Confederacy filled newspapers, conversation, and the letters and diaries of both men and women. Nationality was now an issue for urgent and open discussion; ordinarily unspoken assumptions about identity and allegiance became explicit as white Southerners weighed the claims of the old United States and the new Confederacy.

In these early days of Confederate independence, Southern women as well as men consciously

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Confederate women send their men to war (*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, May 23, 1863). Southern women demonstrated their commitment to their nation by encouraging their men to enlist in the Confederate army. (Library of Congress)

reflected on the meaning of the new nation and on the nature of their attachments to it. Most understood the Confederacy not as a departure from American nationality, but rather as a new chapter of it, one in which white Southerners would rescue the American experiment of republican self-government from Northern perversions and restore its original promise. Thus the Confederacy's constitution, flag, and even stamps all bore strong similarities to their United States equivalents. The major difference, of course, was slavery, the sine qua non of the new nation. But even as most white Southerners positioned slavery at the heart of the Confederacy, they began to construct around it a broader intellectual justification for their political separation; they began to create an expansive Confederate nationalism. Many made claims for a distinctive Southern identity—so distinctive as to warrant separate national status—with reference to fundamental differences of character and even of morality between Northerners and themselves. Confederates also defined their new nation as a religious community, one whose very existence was mandated by God. Imbuing the new nation with religious meaning helped smooth many Southerners' transition from the United States to the Confederacy and lent a powerful spiritual dimension to their national attachments.

As has been true of most instances of nationalism, gender was an important element of Confederate nationalism. Formal citizenship was understood to be an all-male concern. From the Confederacy's earliest days, men displayed their citizenship and therefore their dedication to the new nation by volunteering for military service—a path closed to women, except for the few who disguised themselves as men. But, even though many Confederate men imagined the national community as an exclusively male comradeship, the important symbolic and supporting roles played by women and femininity were held in high esteem. Furthermore, women took advantage of the new opportunities, made possible by the pressures of war and by the urgent need to defend Confederate nationhood, to participate more actively in the making and remaking of Confederate nationalism.

Female contributions to Confederate nationalism were most often glorified to the degree that they bolstered male nationalism. Reports of public festivities in 1860 and 1861 portrayed white women waving handkerchiefs as the men paraded about displaying their devotion to the cause in appropriately "manly" ways. The women's function in flag presentations to departing troops was also defined as being emphatically supportive. In towns and communities across the South, local women presented flags to departing soldiers in emotional and symbolic ceremonies. Speeches that were, revealingly, delivered by a man even if they in fact had a female author, pledged women's devotion to and appreciation for "their" men, who were so bravely risking their lives by fighting in defense of their family, community, state, and nation. Women's prescribed roles as the supporters of male patriotism

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and as the domestic embodiments of the national cause that men fought to defend were publicly enacted across the South.

The female sacrifice that these rituals emphasized became a permanent staple of Confederate nationalism. White Southerners slotted the image of the ideal Confederate woman into a long-standing mythic tradition of wives, mothers, sisters, and sweethearts who support the national cause by loyally supporting their men. This tradition stretched back to the women of Sparta, but it drew more immediately on the memory of the American revolutionary generation—the women of '76, celebrated in the popular imagination as stoic matrons who had willingly sacrificed their male relatives and the material well-being of themselves and their families. Similar images of devoted and sacrificing Confederate women were celebrated in newspaper reports, songs, and poetry, as well as throughout Confederate culture. In addition to providing many women with a model through which to make sense of their national obligations, these idealized images also helped sustain men's commitment to the Confederate cause. They persisted as the dominant representation of Confederate women for decades after the war.

Even as Confederate culture emphasized women's supporting roles in Confederate nationalism, there were many opportunities for more constructive contributions. Because the Confederacy was at war for almost its entire existence, ordinarily everyday activities were imbued with nationalist meaning and purpose. The domestic production of cloth, for instance, took on new import because of the blockade and the material deprivations of war; consequently, both the making and the wearing of homespun carried nationalistic implications. Sexuality, too, could be deployed on behalf of the nation. Stories circulated throughout the Confederacy of young women denying their favor to men who did not volunteer for the military, thereby holding men accountable for their gender-specific national obligations. By encoding even everyday activities with national meaning, women shaped the evolving Confederate nationalism.

For many women, the new nation offered new opportunities in normally restricted activities. The general atmosphere of political ferment encouraged women to intervene in both private and public discourse about political, military, and other national events. Newspapers across the Confederacy printed letters and poems written by women, many connected to the shaping of Confederate nationalism.

Opportunities for female participation in the process of nationalism were amplified by the exigencies of war. At the same time as men were performing their national citizenship with military or political service, white women performed their commitment to the nation—developing their own version of citizenship—with service of other kinds. The massive mobilization of Confederate men meant that women increasingly filled teaching positions, for instance, and the constant barrage of battlefield casualties drew many women into nursing. Both pursuits could be characterized as service to the nation. Other positions could be found in the government bureaucracy in Richmond, which connected women's work even more directly to the national cause. The most common form of involvement in national affairs, though, was through sewing clubs and soldiers' aid associations. White women formed over one thousand such organizations across the Confederacy, opening up new experiences in public life and new opportunities to perform their Confederate nationalism. In these and other ways, the demands of war and the need to develop new forms of national belonging enabled women to play crucial roles in both the war effort and the shaping of Confederate nationalism.

Of course, some Southern women did not wish to participate in Confederate nationalism at all. African American women had little reason to support or celebrate the new nation, and, insofar as they felt themselves to be a part of a nation at all, it was almost certain to be the United and not the Confederate States. A significant number of white women, too, retained their national allegiance to the United States, especially those with less material investment in the defense of slavery. Unionist men and women across the South kept up their American nationalism in a variety of forms throughout the war.

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Even for those who identified with the Confederacy, the hardships of war could strain newly created national loyalty and purpose. The absence of working-age men meant that women had to perform traditionally male economic roles in addition to their own. These difficulties were only exacerbated by the general deterioration of the Confederate economy. Apparent inequities of material contributions to the war effort generated class conflict, much of it involving women on the homefront, and they fed into a more general disaffection with the war itself. Women wrote directly to government officials, demanding either changes in policy or the release from military service of male relatives who were needed at home to perform crucial economic functions. Officials very rarely agreed to such requests, leaving the most disaffected soldiers with little choice but to desert illegally. The sentiments of women on the homefront influenced some desertions and contributed to a decline in Confederate morale as the military situation became less and less hopeful. Accordingly, some historians have placed considerable responsibility for the eventual failure of the Confederacy's bid for independence on the declining commitment of women. Although not all Confederates, whether women or men, had given up on the Confederacy by 1865, the general pattern was one of declining commitment to the goal of national independence. This trend, as well as the fact that Confederate nationalism developed more as a variant of American nationalism than as a rejection of it, made reintegration into the United States psychologically acceptable—though not typically pleasurable—for the majority of white Southerners.

Even so, a strong white Southern identity, based on the shared experience of war and defeat, persisted long after 1865. White Southern women played a vital role in defining the memory of the Confederacy in the decades after Appomattox. Through organizations such as the United Daughters of the Confederacy, women celebrated the South's attempt at national independence and upheld the idealized image of loyal Confederate women who sacrificed all and who patiently supported their men's failed military endeavor. In emphasizing women's supportive function, such narratives minimized women's more constructive participation in the Confederacy's bid for independence. Nevertheless, white women's central role in the memorialization of Confederate nationalism fittingly reflected the crucial contributions they had made to its making and remaking during the war itself.

Paul D. H. Quigley

See also African American Women; Aid Societies; Civilian Life; Confederate Homefront; Desertion; Diaries and Journals; Domesticity; Enlistment; Fiction Writers, Southern; Flags, Regimental; Morale; Music, Southern; Nationalism, United States; Nurses; Politics; Religion; Secession; Separate Spheres; Southern Unionists; Southern Women; Treasury Girls; United Daughters of the Confederacy; Wartime Employment; Wartime Literature.

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Nationalism, United States

Before the Civil War, nationalism in the United States was limited; Americans identified mostly with their local communities or states. The power of regional loyalties trumped any connections to the larger national community. The slow development of a cohesive nationalism prior to 1861 resulted from several factors, including the lack of industri-

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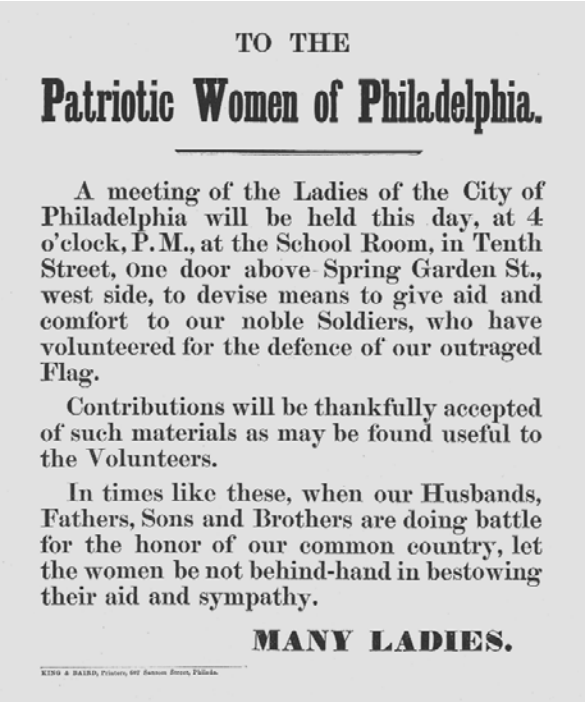
alism, the absence of external enemies, differences between the North and South, and the Federal government's inability to spread patriotism. While antebellum nationalism was weak, the Civil War marked an important turning point in the construction of national identity. During and after the war, citizens of the United States developed a sense of what it meant to be an American, and regional identities became less dominant. The rise of American nationalism after 1865 may have resulted, in part, from industrialization, the role of political elites, socialization, communications, and activities of the federate government. However, women's roles in the growth of American nationalism must be considered.

From 1861 to 1865, many women developed a strong sense of national identity and circulated these ideas as they participated in various activities. They crafted messages of nationalism and created forums where these ideas could be spread throughout the North. Some became public speakers or writers, touring the North as they sought to peddle their view of American nationalism. Several themes were embedded in their messages to the public, such as loyalty to the Union, volunteerism, and Christianity.

One of the most common themes that Northern women focused on during the Civil War was loyalty to the Union. Prior to the war, there was little sense of loyalty to the country or patriotic fervor, because most people were instead tied primarily to their local communities or regions. During the Civil War, however, Northern women helped develop this aspect of American nationalism through numerous sanitary fairs. These fundraising events were designed to lift the spirits of the troops and the nation, as well as to promote a sense of national patriotism. Sanitary fairs encouraged people to donate money and supplies to the Union cause, and spurred them to partake in events designed to demonstrate their loyalty.

Women, who were the central organizers of these events, used sanitary fairs to influence the cultural direction of the nation. After the first sanitary fair was held in Chicago in 1863, women across the United States began to organize local events in other parts of the North, collecting donations and supplies for the war effort. Not only did ladies' aid societies gather items for Union soldiers, but these forums also socialized visitors to think about the country from a patriotic perspective. Sanitary fairs acted as a tribute to the nation, extolling its virtues and creating virtual museums where artifacts of the nation's history were displayed. At the fairs, American art, agricultural wares, and historical documents were made available to the public to examine for the first time. Items were presented in a manner that made Northerners contemplate a sense of what it meant to be American. Consequently, women who arranged these fairs created a narrative of the United States that helped construct its identity.

Women also helped foster United States nationalism through their participation in numerous vol-



TO THE

Patriotic Women of Philadelphia.

A meeting of the Ladies of the City of Philadelphia will be held this day, at 4 o'clock, P. M., at the School Room, in Tenth Street, One door above Spring Garden St., west side, to devise means to give aid and comfort to our noble Soldiers, who have volunteered for the defence of our outraged Flag.

Contributions will be thankfully accepted of such materials as may be found useful to the Volunteers.

In times like these, when our Husbands, Fathers, Sons and Brothers are doing battle for the honor of our common country, let the women be not behind-hand in bestowing their aid and sympathy.

MANY LADIES.

KING & BAIRD, Printers, 607 Sansom Street, Philada.

An 1861 call for the "patriotic women of Philadelphia" to attend a ladies' aid society meeting to help Union soldiers. Women throughout the United States demonstrated their loyalty to their nation through participation in aid societies. (Library of Congress)

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unteer activities, including nursing, sewing soldiers' uniforms, and developing organizations to inspect hospitals. Their participation in aid societies and activities, as well as their encouragement of others to participate, allowed Northern women outlets for their patriotic fervor. These were not, however, the only acts of volunteerism that allowed women to show their loyalty. Some Northern women also sewed American and regimental flags. In addition, a small number of Northern women secretly joined the army and fought in battles to show their patriotism. Volunteerism was a vital indicator of women's nationalism during the war. By donating their time and energy, women demonstrated their commitment to the Union and to its struggle against the Confederacy. Furthermore, civil society was important to these women because it was the main vehicle through which they spread their patriotic messages. Northern women pursued these acts of volunteerism to express their commitment to the American nation.

Religion has played an important role in the political and social life in the United States throughout the nation's history, and the Civil War was no exception. During the Civil War, Northern women helped foster this aspect of the American nation by promoting the Union as Godlike and favored by Divine inspiration. Northern women used Christianity in their wartime nationalistic endeavors, infusing religion into the nationalist message that they spread throughout the North. In particular, they sought to show that God was on the Union's side. This message gained prominence at sanitary fairs across the North, eventually displacing discussions of slavery and states' rights as central themes of the war effort. While religion was a part of America's founding and influenced ideas like Manifest Destiny, women of the North buttressed the idea of the United States as a Christian nation as they planned their wartime aid activities. They helped steer the country to its religious foundations and highlighted Christianity and piety.

Scholars have offered several interpretations of wartime Northern women and United States nationalism. One interpretation asserts that political elites and various commentators pressured Union women to take steps to foster nationalism. In the early years of the conflict, women were accused of not sacrificing for the cause and were blamed for the Union's lackluster performance against the Confederacy. Southern women, some argued, put forth much more effort to help their husbands, sons, and fathers in the conflict than did their Northern sisters. These iconic images of Southern women continue to color interpretations of wartime women's roles, and scenes from *Gone with the Wind* permeate American perceptions of the war and highlight Southern women's selflessness. Scholarly discussions of this image highlight the role of Northern magazines and newspapers in promoting this propaganda in urging Union women to take up the call and to volunteer to help their soldier. Women writers also participated in the effort to shame Northern women into action. Much like the calls to action received by Southern women, Northern women were admonished to relinquish their desire for luxury and instead champion the Union in its fight against the Confederacy. As a result of this pressure, this interpretation holds, Northern women ultimately picked up the pace of their activities and volunteered their time.

Others have offered a somewhat more sympathetic interpretation of the motivations behind Northern women's wartime actions and patriotism. While still accepting that some women were pressured into wartime service, these scholars argue that Federal government officials exploited Northern women during the war. For instance, some historians contend that the United States Sanitary Commission, which sought to organize volunteerism during the war, used women in a way that exploited their labor without adequate compensation or recognition; these women's free labor permitted the government to fight the war without spending additional revenue. Furthermore, the nature of women's wartime work may have benefited the national government by ensuring that women, busy with volunteer work, could not obtain positions that might further women's rights. Their treatment by officials led many women to create their own organizations that would free them from interacting with the Federal government.

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Women's role in the development of United States nationalism did not end with the Civil War. Several years after the war, women pursued different activities designed to show their nationalist spirit, one of which was the creation of a holiday commemorating the war dead. Women played a role in shaping the perceptions of the country by promoting the observance of Memorial Day. The women who worked to institute this holiday were seeking to create a day for Americans to remember those who sacrificed their lives for the nation, thereby promoting the reinforcement of nationalism and patriotism. This day of contemplation and remembrance permitted citizens the opportunity to recall the sacrifices made in the Civil War and to think of their country as a community, helping to foster the solidification of American nationalism. Northern women also worked to create cultural habits that would foster nationalism. In addition to helping establish Memorial Day, women sought to institute the Pledge of Allegiance as a regular ritual in public schools, hoping this would build a sense of national pride among the nation's youth.

Women's traditional household and family duties were incorporated into their wartime roles and reinforced in the process. The image of women sacrificing for the cause, through material or physical means, provided a reference point for Northern politicians seeking to gain the moral high ground in the war. By highlighting the patriotism of pure and virtuous women, political elites in the North claimed a level of superiority that they claimed their enemies did not possess. This imagery also created a perspective of American nationalism that invited Northerners to think about women in terms of purity, charity, and sacrifice for the common good. Although it gained attention for women's impressive war efforts, this approach had its drawbacks for women. Because they were framed in a pious and pure manner, ladies had to restrict their activities to what the larger society deemed as acceptable, or feminine, forms of behavior. These expectations pushed women into sewing, prayer, and fundraising rather than into political and military roles. Even as their image was used to buttress patriotism, the actions of women were simultaneously proscribed by gender stereotypes. Portrayals of women as the protectors of morals and the caretakers of the household framed the acceptable limits of their participation in the Civil War.

Even though Northern women helped forge American nationalism, their role in the nation was not secure following the Civil War. Despite their service to the country in various capacities—including as fair organizers, fundraisers, nurses, spies, and soldiers—they were not granted equal status with men. While many of them pushed to have women's rights included in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, women were unsuccessful in this endeavor; politicians instead focused solely on the freed slaves and their plight. Instead of gaining equal status with men, many women were forced to return to their homes and serve their husbands and families. Although American society embraced other ideas espoused by women, such as loyalty to country, volunteerism, and Christianity, it rejected notions of gender equality as being part of the country's political creed. As a result, women continued to struggle to gain rights as citizens of the nation that they helped construct. Yet their efforts during the war created a legacy that would serve as a model for future generations of women.

Even though women did not receive equal rights following the war, their patriotism and commitment to the Union were important to its victory. Not only did women help build nationalism and raise needed equipment and money for the troops, but their actions also lifted the morale of their husbands, fathers, and sons who were fighting in the war. Women further helped focus the country's attention on the national community and weaken attachments to local and regional identities, thereby buttressing American national identity.

Scott N. Cole

See also Aid Societies; Civilian Life; Domesticity; Fairs and Bazaars; Family Life, Union; Female Combatants; Female Spies; Fifteenth Amendment; Flags, Regimental; Fourteenth Amendment; Fundraising; Morale; Music, Northern; National Women's Loyal League [Women's National Loyal League]; Nationalism, Confederacy; Northern Women; Nurses; Politics; Religion; Separate

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Spheres; Sewing Bees; Union Homefront; United States Sanitary Commission; Wartime Employment; Wartime Literature; Women's Central Association of Relief.

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Native American Women

Native Americans are often overlooked in studies of the American Civil War. Members of sovereign nations within the United States, American Indians had to make hard choices about participation in the national conflict. Some of the indigenous nations engaged extensively in the conflict, others peripherally, and most not at all. Those living close to contesting states found it difficult to escape the war's influence. Women in Native communities, who played as large a role as females in mainstream white culture—and sometimes a larger one—lived through all the hardships and turmoil of the Civil War. Nineteenth-century white culture relegated American Indian women to a double minority status through accepted ethnic and gender biases. This twofold minority status created a unique wartime experience. Their national or tribal identity strongly shaped the particular role Native women would play in the Civil War.

Women living in a Native society structured on a matrilineal (female-centered) system enjoyed a power and an influence unknown to their white and black sisters. Matrilineal social organization gave women ownership of household goods and agricultural fields, control of children, and important influence in the family. The emphasis on women as producers of life, as both mothers and agriculturalists, granted females respect and authority within the communal society. This position affected the experience of Native women during the Civil War. Those who had retained elements of a matrilineal society found themselves in a better position to deal with wartime difficulties than women raised in paternal systems. Less dependent on men for economic and social survival, traditional matrilineal women coped well with the changed landscape around them: They were already supporting and controlling homes and families. However, as the government's "civilization" program made headway in the nineteenth century, many Native groups moved toward a mirroring of the patrilineal, paternalistic structure of Euro-Americans. Women whose societies had weakened their roles in this way experienced the war in a manner more similar to that of white women. However, the influence of matrilineal traditions ebbed and flowed over time, and in some areas the upheaval of war prompted a return to traditional gender roles. Two Native groups who fought in the Civil War—Cherokees and Iroquois—serve as examples of women's roles.

Residing on the border of Union and Confederate Territory, the Cherokees could not ignore the conflict brewing but initially maintained neutrality by the end of 1861 they had allied themselves with the Confederacy. However, rival factions within the nation quickly produced competing military regiments enlisted with the Confederate army. The situation devolved into an internal civil war as the Cherokees split into opposing governments by 1863, one remaining within the Confederacy and the other renouncing the earlier treaty of alliance to the South to support the Union. The Cherokee Nation was now at war both as part of the national struggle and, perhaps more damagingly, with itself.

Apart from the actual fighting, women bore the brunt of the hardships of war. Cherokee women lived in an incredibly unstable area. Their experience is most like that of women in the Border States, where conflicting loyalties split churches, sundered kin groups, and shattered the deepest community ties. Both Confederate and Union

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forces rode through the Cherokee Nation at various times. In addition, numerous groups of armed men operating outside traditional military discipline roamed the region, such as the infamous guerrilla Quantrill and his men. In such an atmosphere, the protection of family quickly became the primary focus of everyone's efforts. With men away in military service, the burdens of maintaining home and hearth fell on women. Cherokee women struggled to stay out of the reach of threats they could not necessarily identify. Because fellow Cherokees could easily be enemies, almost no one could be trusted. Shortages of every type of foodstuff plagued the region. Mills fell in smoking ruin, leaving nowhere to process any grain that might be obtained. Spinning wheels fell silent as cotton and even cards became scarce. Simply holding a family together and meeting basic necessities became a nearly insurmountable challenge for even the best connected women like Sarah Watie, wife of Confederate General Stand Watie. The challenges of providing moral instruction, education, and physical support to dependents seemed impossible in the midst of a bloody civil strife. The losses of the war took a heavy toll on Cherokee women, leaving one-third of them as widows and one-fourth of their children as orphans.

Women throughout the country had to adjust to the challenges brought on by four years of warfare. Northern women rarely dealt with destruction caused by invading armies, but rather they found their lives altered by economic changes. As men went to fight, farms needed planting and harvesting, stores required tending, and women of all ages and classes had to fill in the gaps left by absent males. The concerns of Native American women in Northern areas tended to follow these patterns. Iroquois women were one such group. Traditional Iroquois have often been used as an example of women empowered by matrilineal social structure. Older women governed the longhouse and their families with enviable authority. However, by the mid-nineteenth century, their roles had been altered by the influx of Western ideas, particularly the opinions of missionaries. Other changes had moved the Iroquois toward a market economy, creating jobs primarily filled by men. When these men went off to fight in the Civil War, Iroquois women stepped into the void, and they did well. The war years saw an increase of both crops and livestock on the reservation in western New York. This bounty was produced despite the ravages of smallpox that swept Iroquois communities during the war. However, positive aspects such as empowerment due to a return to matrilineal traditions or involvement in economic production generally waned after the war, and Native women were left to reconstruct lives often immeasurably altered by the conflict.

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See also Family Life, Confederate; Family Life, Union; Northern Women; Shortages; Southern Women.

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Nonslaveholding Southerners

Nonslaveholders, who comprised 75 percent of the households in the antebellum South, were both the mainstay of the Confederacy and the main white body of opposition to the new nation within the South. Despite the popular image of poor white Southerners protesting a "rich man's war and a poor man's f ight," most nonslaveholding whites willingly, and even enthusiastically, joined the Confederacy. Poli-

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tics, economics, culture, and racial identity all gave nonslaveholding whites strong incentives to support breaking away from the Union. And, although the longevity and the destructiveness of the conflict tested the commitment of the middle and lower classes in the South, most white Confederates supported the nation until its collapse in April 1865. Of the minority of Southern whites who opposed secession from the beginning or who developed an animosity to the Confederacy during the war, many were poor whites who found that the new nation's policies no longer matched their interests. The experience of nonslaveholding Southern whites during the war reveals the diversity of experiences and beliefs in a community that is often perceived as monolithic.

Political leaders in the antebellum South justified secession primarily in terms of the damage that would be done to the Southern economy and society if Republicans prohibited the growth of slavery in the Western territories and eventually enacted full emancipation, as white Southerners anticipated they would. The economic disaster that would result from a Republican administration in Washington, D.C., would not only affect the wealthy, they argued; nonslaveholding whites would see their own livelihoods deteriorate and their communities collapse. Nonslaveholding whites took this threat seriously. Emancipation presaged several serious economic problems for all members of Southern society. Many nonslaveholding workers drew their wages from jobs sustained by slave-based agriculture. Iron forges, tobacco factories, railroads, and most of the Southern commercial sector depended on the production of raw goods by slave labor. For white workers on the bottom of the economic ladder, the threat of competing against black workers loomed large. The example of the North, where immigrant workers undercut American workers by accepting lower wages for unskilled and dangerous jobs, seemed to foreshadow the conflict that would engulf the South upon emancipation. Even nonslaveholding farmers feared the disruption of local trade and production that would follow from such an event. Although political leaders often exaggerated their argument about the vulnerability of nonslaveholders, to judge from the broad and deep support given to the Confederacy in the early months of the war, most nonslaveholders recognized the underlying truth to their arguments.

The main problem for nonslaveholders was that the Civil War itself seemed to facilitate the destruction of the Southern economy. As the war extended in time, the Southern economy steadily weakened, and no group in society felt this change more acutely than nonslaveholders. Four factors combined to accelerate inflation: the profusion of printed money; the Union blockade of the Confederate coastline, which increased the scarcity of goods; the reduction of usable land for agriculture; and the breakdown in transportation. With fewer economic resources to draw on, nonslaveholding whites experienced increasing hardships in the search for food. First luxuries and then necessities were priced out of the reach of average Southerners. By 1865, a barrel of flour was selling for $1,200 in Richmond, Virginia. In the face of this problem, many Southerners returned to barter as a system for exchanging the few goods they were able to grow or produce. Most of the burden for feeding families fell on women. One event in particular revealed the depth of their dissatisfaction with how the Confederate government was administering the economy. On April 2, 1863, a group of several hundred middle- and lower-class Virginians, mostly women, began rioting in Richmond. The riots, in which women broke into bakeries and government warehouses where flour was stored, reflected popular dissatisfaction with the escalating price for bread and a deep sense that the burdens of the war were not being borne equally. The crowd dispersed, but only after Jefferson Davis called out a phalanx of regular troops and ordered them to fire on the protesters unless they returned home. Similar bread riots occurred around the Confederacy that year.

The political problem of distributing the costs of the war evenly demanded attention from Confederate leaders precisely because white men had accumulated significant political authority in the antebellum South. When those men and their wives

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expressed public displeasure with certain policies during the war, the government could not afford to ignore them. During the 1840s and 1850s, a number of Southern states democratized their political processes, eliminating property ownership qualifications for voting or holding office and making more offices elective rather than appointed. These changes and the growth of mass political parties drew all white men into a vibrant political culture and promised them a substantive role in the administration of their society. The politics of the antebellum South also tied nonslaveholders to their slave society since political leaders and thinkers explained the necessity of slavery as the basis for true republicanism. Alexander Stephens articulated this connection most clearly in his inaugural address as Confederate vice president, known later as the Cornerstone Speech. Most nonslaveholding whites would have immediately understood his celebration of the Confederacy as the "first" true republic in human history because it honestly and openly based white liberty on black slavery.

The drawback of creating a responsive political system in which all white men were invested was that the system had to remain responsive during the war. The first conflict came with the draft. The Confederacy, like the Union, enlisted its initial group of volunteers for one year, and most of these men planned to return home in the spring of 1862. However, because the Confederacy would have collapsed without experienced soldiers to resist the anticipated Union invasion, the government implemented a draft. An unprecedented action in United States history, the Confederate draft made all white males, aged eighteen to thirty-five, eligible for three-year terms of service. The upper age limit was moved to forty-five and then to fifty-five during the course of the war and the lower limit decreased to seventeen. The legislation creating the draft also automatically re-enlisted all one-year volunteers as three-year men. Exemptions existed for civil servants, teachers, clergy, and men working in war industries. More problematically, the Confederacy also offered one exemption for every twenty slaves a man owned. Since only the wealthiest Southerners owned this many slaves, most Confederates perceived this as grossly unfair legislation that favored the people whom the war was already designed to protect. Substitution, an old American tradition, was included, although this practice was abolished in 1864. The draft generated significant opposition among the soldiers, and the Confederacy experienced a spike in desertion following its enactment. Soldiers perceived their one-year enlistment agreements as contracts violated by the draft. Although the Confederacy needed the draft to ensure that it could field armies to resist Federal troops, conscription became the source of much dissatisfaction among nonslaveholding Southerners.

The Confederacy undertook other centralizing measures as well. These policies, like the draft, angered poor Confederates and alienated some to the extent that they considered abandoning the nation altogether. The 1863 tax-in-kind, a 10-percent tax in key foodstuffs, hit yeomen hard and they complained bitterly about it. Likewise, the policy of impressment, which beginning in late 1863 allowed the Confederate government to seize from civilians whatever items were needed for military use, created a climate of fear. Because civilians were reimbursed for impressed items in Confederate scrip, largely devalued by the persistent inflation, they perceived impressment as arbitrary. Even as poor Confederates complained about the inequity of the system, citing laws like impressment and the tax-in-kind, they applauded the actions of the Confederacy when it, or state or local governments, aided the poor and destitute. The tax-in-kind and impressment both brought food into the coffers of the Confederate government, which could then be redistributed to needy Southerners. The control that the Confederacy exercised over the South angered many yeomen committed to the idea of states' rights, but it was an essential tool for ensuring the nation's ability to feed its families and to preserve itself.

The extent to which nonslaveholding whites rejected the Confederacy and actively aided the Union war effort is hard to measure. Ample evidence exists to show that, in certain places across

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the South, nonslaveholding men rejected the Confederacy and assumed a stance of active rebellion against the government. In Jones County, Mississippi, in Lawrence County, Alabama, and in Floyd County, Virginia, bands of deserters and draft dodgers reigned supreme by 1864. But the motivations varied among these and other communities that turned against the Confederacy. In some places, prewar conflicts manifested themselves as wartime hostilities. In other places, a strong political Unionism prevailed. In others, poor Southerners abandoned the cause when they felt their government had abandoned them through policies that unfairly punished nonslaveholders. The extent of desertion in the army, where such a loss of faith would have had the most effect, is hard to measure because few reliable quantitative studies have been conducted. Over the course of the war, the rate of desertion among Confederate troops probably paralleled that of Northern troops—about 10 percent. But even desertion cannot be reduced to a simple act of dissatisfaction with Confederate policies. Few deserters left explanations of their actions, and, when those actions can be recreated, it appears that local events and immediate problems, like a lack of proper supplies or food or incompetent officering, had as much to do with high rates of absenteeism as did any abstract shift in loyalty. Equally hard to measure is the degree of noncompliance with Confederate civilian policies. Certainly, many people hid goods from impressment officers and cheated on their tax-in-kind applications, but opposition to the state's policies did not necessarily equal opposition to the state. Most nonslaveholding whites remained committed to Confederate victory until the war's end.

This commitment remained intact throughout the war partly because the Confederacy promised to maintain the existing racial order. Many nonslaveholding Southerners were drawn into the conflict to prevent the collapse of that order under Republican rule. The effort to sustain the racial hierarchy of the antebellum South became increasingly difficult as the war progressed, but Southerners did not abandon their efforts. The Army of Northern Virginia acted as a giant slave patrol, arresting escaping slaves and sending them back to their masters. As Lee's army marched into the North in 1862 and 1863, it seized African Americans and sent them back to the South and into slavery. By functioning as state-sanctioned slave catchers and kidnappers, Confederate soldiers proved their commitment to the institution throughout the conflict. The Emancipation Proclamation elicited scorn, derision, and anger among nonslaveholders; all perceived it to be a vile attempt to incite slaves to murder, and some suspected that it would be successful. More problematic even than the Emancipation Proclamation itself was the use by the North of black soldiers. Condemned as barbarism by Confederates, the deployment of the United States Colored Troops throughout the South, as active participants in battles and as garrison troops, inspired Confederates to fight harder against Northern victory and fused the interests of slaveholding and nonslaveholding Southerners.

For nonslaveholding Southerners, the war was physically and psychologically debilitating. The sacrifices made on behalf of the Confederacy yielded little tangible benefits. At war's end, the Southern economy was ruined, much of the region's industrial and agricultural infrastructure destroyed, and its political system nonexistent. Defeat challenged Southern notions of masculinity, autonomy, and racial hierarchy. Nonslaveholders, in particular, suffered a great deal and left them uniquely embittered toward both the Union and the old Confederate government.

Aaron Sheehan-Dean

See also Confederate Homefront; Conscription; Desertion; Enlistment; Factory Workers, Southern; Impressment; Politics; Rural Women; Southern Women; Wartime Employment.

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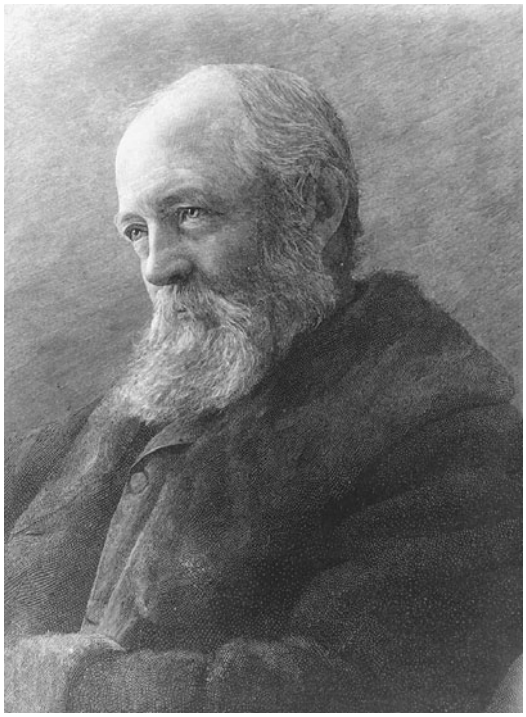
O

Olmsted, Frederick Law (1822–1903)

Although Frederick Law Olmsted is best-known as the landscape architect of New York's Central Park, he also served as the general secretary of the United States Sanitary Commission (USSC) from its inception in June 1861 until his resignation in September 1863. In this capacity, Olmsted was instrumental in promoting the value of women's contributions to the war effort, both on the home-front and close to the battlefield.

In the early 1850s, Olmsted's interest in civic issues and his reputation as a writer convinced the *New York Daily Times* to commission him to travel through the South and record his impressions of slavery there. His two trips led to the publication of three books: *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States* (1854), *A Journey through Texas* (1856), and *A Journey in the Back Country* (1860). These books were well received in the North and established Olmsted as something of an authority on slavery in the South. As a result of his observations, Olmsted believed that slavery was an unhealthful institution and should not be extended to the territories—a key issue, ultimately, in the contentious election of 1860.



Frederick Law Olmsted (1822–1903) served as the general secretary of the United States Sanitary Commission from June 1861 until September 1863. (Library of Congress)

After war broke out in April 1861, women across the North mobilized to help the soldiers in any way they could. The Women's Central Association of Relief for the Sick and Wounded in the Army (WCAR), based in New York City, was perhaps the largest group of this sort. Concurrently, influential Northern men formed the United States Sanitary Commission (USSC) to act as an aid and advisory group for the Medical Bureau of the United States War Department. Although the goal was not specified, the USSC also acted to organize the efforts of women involved in groups such as the WCAR. Ultimately, the WCAR became a branch of the USSC.

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As general secretary of the USSC, Olmsted was an organizational genius. In its first months of existence, the USSC oversaw the health of soldiers in the volunteer part of the Union army, developed a system for inspecting camps and hospitals, and lobbied to modernize the Army Medical Bureau. In October 1861, Olmsted also wrote an open letter to the "Loyal Women of America," describing how the Sanitary Commission would channel supplies to the army and suggesting ways for women to help in this effort. Over forty thousand copies of this letter were distributed across the North.

It was Olmsted, more than any other USSC official, who advocated greater responsibilities for women in the war effort. He agreed to provide salaries for such female organizers as Mary Livermore, and he believed that women would serve admirably as nurses to wounded soldiers. Both of these beliefs were instrumental in breaking down the barriers preventing women from doing work equal to their capabilities.

During the Peninsular campaign in the spring of 1862, an opportunity arose to prove these beliefs in women's abilities. The USSC determined to help the Union army by using ships as floating hospitals to transport wounded soldiers from the battlefields of eastern Virginia to hospitals in the North. Olmsted decided to employ women as nurses on the boats that carried the wounded northward. He remained on the peninsula for months to direct this venture personally. Although Olmsted imagined that these women would be shielded from the horrors of the battlefield on the hospital ships, just the opposite turned out to be the case. As thousands of wounded arrived at river landings, women often worked for several days without sleep. Sometimes they cleaned and fed soldiers who had lain out on the battlefield for days with untended wounds. Female volunteers assisted doctors in amputating shattered limbs. Most of them proved themselves up to the challenge, and many reported that nursing allowed them to be the most alive they had ever felt. Olmsted wholeheartedly praised the women; they, too, were devoted to him.

Once back from the Peninsular campaign, Olmsted again addressed a general appeal to Northern women. He emphasized the necessity of the aid societies and their role in preserving the Union, urging women to forgo local concerns for the greater national good. This appeal coincided with intense military engagement; just a month earlier, the Battle of Antietam, the bloodiest single day of the war, had been fought in Maryland. Northern women responded resoundingly to Olmsted's appeal, and the USSC was at its peak in the fall of 1862.

The hospital transports and other USSC endeavors were so successful that, over time, they merged with the Army Medical Bureau. As the influence of the Sanitary Commission waned, Olmsted began to feel that his presence was no longer necessary. Despite urgings from other Sanitary Commission officers, Olmsted resigned from the position of general secretary in 1863. He and his family moved to California, where he assumed the position of manager of the Mariposa Mining Company. He died August 28, 1903, in Waverly, Massachusetts.

Ellen H. Todras

See also Hospital Ships; Livermore, Mary Ashton Rice (1820–1905); Northern Women; Peninsular Campaign; Union Homefront; United States Sanitary Commission; Wartime Employment; Women's Central Association of Relief.

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P

Parsons, Emily Elizabeth (1824–1880)

Union nurse Emily Elizabeth Parsons supported the efforts of the United States Sanitary Commission during the Civil War.

Born in Taunton, Massachusetts, on March 8, 1824, and educated in Boston, Parsons lived with her family in Cambridge. She refused to let vision and hearing impairments limit her ambitions or activities. When war broke out, Parsons began training as a nurse at Boston's Massachusetts General Hospital. In October 1862, she offered her services to the United States military.

Parsons received a position at Fort Schuyler's MacDougall Hospital on Long Island Sound, but her father's concern about the health risks led her to resign. Parsons moved to New York City to seek a new appointment. She contacted the prominent reformer Dorothea Dix but failed to obtain a position. Soon she became acquainted with Jessie Benton Frémont, wife of Union General John C. Frémont. In January 1863, Jessie Frémont used her connections in the Western Sanitary Commission to get Parsons an assignment at the Lawson Hospital in St. Louis, Missouri. After less than a month, Commission officials gave Parsons the prestigious assignment as head nurse on the steamboat *City of Alton*. In this capacity, she accompanied sanitary stores to Vicksburg. During the voyage on the Mississippi River, Parsons contracted malarial fever, which weakened her and plagued her for the rest of the war. After recuperating, Parsons became superintendent of female nurses at Benton Barracks Hospital, St. Louis, the area's largest hospital. Here Parsons nursed both white and black soldiers, as well as a large number of escaped slaves. Within six months, Parsons suffered another fever attack and went home to Cambridge to recuperate. Although she returned to St. Louis, ill health forced her to resign in August 1864.

Parsons remained active during the last year of the war, working from her East Coast home where she collected and sent supplies to the Western Sanitary Commission for the freedmen and refugees in St. Louis. She also supported Chicago's Northwestern Sanitary Fair in May 1865.

Parsons maintained her commitment to hospital work during the postwar years. In 1867, she established a charity hospital for Cambridge's poor women and children. Within two years the institution closed, but Parsons urged citizens to help create a new facility; Cambridge Hospital opened in 1871. Parsons, who never married, spent the rest of her life supporting the hospital and advocating for the poor.

Emily Elizabeth Parsons died on May 19, 1880. Her father, Theophilus Parsons, published a selection of her wartime letters to raise funds for her causes. Her letters show a collegiality often missing in other Civil War hospital accounts and reflect Parson's deep satisfaction and pride in her wartime contributions.

Kelly D. Selby

See also Dix, Dorothea Lynde (1802–1887); Fairs and Bazaars; Frémont, Jessie Benton (1824–1902); Fundraising; Hospitals; Hospital Ships; Letter

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Writing; Northern Women; Nurses; Union Homefront; United States Sanitary Commission; Wartime Employment.

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Peabody, Elizabeth Palmer (1804–1894)

Transcendentalist, educational reformer, and author Elizabeth Palmer Peabody is considered the first woman publisher in the United States.

The eldest of seven children, Elizabeth was raised in Salem, Massachusetts, by her dentist father, Nathaniel Peabody, and her schoolteacher mother, Elizabeth Parler Peabody. She and her siblings were educated by their mother, and she ultimately taught in the family school before embarking on her own career as teacher and educational reformer.

In 1834 Peabody worked as a teacher and assistant at Bronson Alcott's alternative Temple School. In 1836 she published her notes on the experiment as *Record of a School.* Peabody's publication created controversy about Alcott's methods, and he was later forced to close the school. Her reputation linked with Alcott's, Peabody then turned from teaching to reform work and publishing. In 1840 Peabody opened a bookstore in Boston that became the center of Transcendentalist activities throughout the decade. Peabody also became the publisher for many Transcendentalist and reform essays and books, publishing writings by Henry David Thoreau and her brother-in-law Nathaniel Hawthorne, among others.

Peabody herself authored or edited ten books and more than fifty articles, most of them related to education and educational reform, her primary interest after 1859. In 1860 she was inspired—along with her sister, Mary Peabody, who was married to educational reformer Horace Mann—to establish the first kindergarten in the United States. Elizabeth also founded a journal of the kindergarten movement and promoted the idea throughout the remainder of the century. In the 1880s Peabody joined with former Transcendentalist colleagues and lectured on early childhood education at Bronson Alcott's Concord School of Philosophy.

Elizabeth Peabody, first woman publisher in the United States (1804–1894). (Library of Congress)

Although not active in abolitionist organizations and activities before the Civil War, Peabody claimed that, like many of her reform colleagues, she had always been antislavery. Peabody's efforts often focused more on promoting other writers and reformers, and to this end she worked to garner support and enthusiasm for writer Mattie Griffith's 1856 book, *Autobiography of a Female Slave.* Griffith was in fact a white woman who presented this slave narrative as part of her own antislavery crusade and as an effort to raise money to free slaves she herself had inherited, but the book went largely unnoticed outside of abolitionist circles.

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In 1859 Peabody came to the defense of another crusader, Aaron Stevens, who had participated alongside John Brown in the unsuccessful raid on Harper's Ferry. Like many progressive Massachusetts reformers, Peabody followed the trial of radical abolitionist Brown. After Brown's celebrated capture and execution, Peabody traveled to Virginia to help appeal, unsuccessfully, the execution of Stevens as well. During the Civil War, Peabody met Abraham Lincoln twice and was present in the House of Representatives when the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery was passed.

Elizabeth Palmer Peabody died on January 3, 1894.

Tiffany K. Wayne

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; Education, Northern; Northern Women; Teachers, Northern; Thirteenth Amendment; Union Homefront.

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Pember, Phoebe Yates Levy (1823–1913)

Phoebe Levy Pember's *A Southern Woman's Story* (1879) chronicles her work as matron at Richmond's Chimborazo Military Hospital from December 1862 until after the end of the war. The book is a rich source of information about Civil War medical care, Richmond gossip, and the common soldiers of the Confederacy.

Phoebe Yates Levy was born into privilege on August 18, 1823, the daughter of Charleston businessman Jacob Clavius Levy and British native Fanny Yates. The Levy family had six daughters and one son; Phoebe was the middle child. There is no record of her education, but her book, surviving letters, and stories suggest it was excellent. Around 1850, Jacob Levy moved his family to Savannah. Phoebe married Thomas Pember of Boston, who died of tuberculosis shortly after the war began, and Phoebe returned to her parents' home in Savannah. In 1862 the family left the blockaded city and settled in as refugees in Marietta, Georgia. Sister Eugenia Levy Phillips was twice arrested and imprisoned by Federal officials for her vehement support of the Confederacy. Nearing forty, Phoebe wanted independence. Through the influence of the wife of Confederate Secretary of War George W. Randolph, she was offered a salaried appointment as the first matron at Chimborazo Military Hospital Number Two.

Pember worried about the social stigma of hospital work but reported for work at the hospital in December 1862 with energetic determination. No provision had been made to house women, so she converted an outbuilding into her quarters and slept on a straw mattress. She was responsible for the six hundred men in the hospital. Although actual nursing care was discouraged, from the start she washed wounds and assisted surgeons with amputations when there was an influx of battle casualties. The 1862 hospital bill passed by the Confederate Congress specified that a matron keep the hospital clean and in good order, procure and prepare special foods for patients, and dispense the hospital's luxuries such as medicinal whiskey as prescribed by physicians. All these responsibilities presented challenges. She did not understand that she had the authority to hire a staff—including assistant matrons, cooks, and laundresses—until she had been there for several days. Dr. James B. McCaw, Chimborazo's chief surgeon, found her peeling potatoes and asked where her cooks were.

Confederate hospitals faced chronic shortages of food, personnel, and medical supplies. Pember described the whiskey barrel as a symbol of authority in the power struggles between male and female staff members. The monthly barrel of whiskey resided with the apothecary, and there was never enough to meet patients' needs. She demanded that McCaw put it under her control as the law stipulated. She kept it under lock and key, and throughout the war hospital staff tried all manner of ploys to gain access for their own use.

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Chimborazo was built on a high bluff on the outskirts of Richmond. Pember had once been accused of taking up hospital work to find romance, so she was careful not to fraternize with the staff. In 1863 she moved to rooms in the city, and the evenings she spent with Richmond's elite raised her spirits. Pember remained devoted to her work and her patients. Making rounds twice a day, she wrote letters for patients and learned recipes to tempt homesick convalescents. Dressed in homespun because of the blockade, her maternal presence provided comfort to the sick and wounded. When Richmond fell, Union officers took charge of the hospital and began bringing in their own wounded. She stayed on to care for her patients until the last had died or was on the mend. By early June, Chimborazo became a school for freed slaves and Pember rejoined her family in Georgia.

A serialized version of her hospital journal was published in *The Cosmopolite* in 1866. Revised, it was issued as *A Southern Woman's Story* in 1879. *The Atlantic Monthly* printed one of her short stories that year, and two appeared in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* in 1880. She traveled widely and was living in Pittsburgh when she died in 1913.

Nancy Gray Schoonmaker

See also Confederate Homefront; Homespun; Hospitals; Letter Writing; Nurses; Phillips, Eugenia Levy (1819–1901); Refugees; Southern Women.

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Peninsular Campaign (April–July 1862)

The Peninsular Campaign of April to July 1862 represented an attempt to take the new Confederate capital at Richmond, Virginia, via the Chesapeake Bay. It the wake of its failure, the campaign fostered the growth of the Confederate hospital complex in Richmond.

In the late summer of 1861, Union Army of the Potomac commander Major General George B. McClellan began to formulate a plan to by-pass the Confederate fortifications in Northern Virginia to mount an offensive on Richmond, and thereby end the war.

After transferring his army and equipment from Northern Virginia to Virginia's Tidewater region, McClellan commenced his advance toward Richmond on April 4. The next day, the discovery of Confederate General James Magruder's Confederate fortifications in Yorktown convinced McClellan to deploy his army into a siege mode in the hopes of forcing the Confederates out of their entrenchments. The month-long siege gave Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston time to pull his troops from Northern Virginia, and transport them by rail to Magruder's positions. On April 16, McClellan's army attempted to break through the enemy's lines, but was forced to pull back.

On May 3, Johnston retreated from his works in front of Yorktown. McClellan pursued and later struck at the Confederate rear guard in the indecisive Battle of Williamsburg. McClellan dispatched an infantry division by naval transport up the York River to cut off the Confederate retreat. Unfortunately, the Federal division commander allowed Johnston's force to slip by at Eltham's Landing. During this period, a Union attempt failed to take Confederate occupied Norfolk, but the attack forced an evacuation of the city and the destruction of the *C.S.S. Virginia.* Hoping to capitalize on the destruction of the Confederate ironclad, the Union Navy tried to push up the James River to Richmond, but was blunted by Confederate batteries at Drewry's Bluff on May 15. By the end of the month, the Union army had moved within view of the Confederate capital.

With Johnston's retreat from Yorktown, a period of panic fell upon the Confederate capital. Many citizens feared that Richmond would soon be captured. Portions of the Confederate government

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prepared to evacuate, and the Confederate Congress went into recess. Confederate President Jefferson Davis sent his wife and their children by rail to Raleigh, North Carolina. This move would open Varina Davis to criticism for abandoning her husband and the nation's capital during its time of crisis. President Davis finally allowed his family to return to home by the end of August 1862.

Despite efforts directed toward evacuation, Richmond began to grow as a hospital complex for the Confederate war effort in Virginia. The wounded and sick from the campaigns on the Peninsula began to flood the Confederate capital. The initial wave of wounded into Richmond came to nearly 7,000 men during May 1862. Citizens, especially women, created additional spaces for patients after the military hospitals were filled to capacity. Wounded soldiers were housed in public and private buildings. Women, like Sallie Putnam, cooked meals and washed bandages, clothing, and linens for the suffering men. For the Union forces, the medical director of the Army of the Potomac, Dr. Charles S. Tripler, was completely overwhelmed by the influx of casualties from the fighting. Fortunately, the United States Sanitary Commission dispatched ships and female nurses to help in the treatment of the wounded. Tripler initially disapproved of the commission and its nurses, but they later proved to be invaluable in dealing with the influx of wounded from the Peninsula battlefields.

Johnston's retreat back to Richmond increased the pressure by the Confederate president for a counterstrike. The swollen Chickahominy River split the Union forces in half, and Johnston saw an opportunity to defeat McClellan's army. Johnston attacked elements of the army that were isolated south of the river at Seven Pines and Fair Oaks on June 1, 1862. His attacks were poorly coordinated, and were generally indecisive. Johnston, however, was seriously wounded during the engagement, and General Robert E. Lee, who was President Davis's military advisor, took command of the Confederate forces.

In accordance with his president's wishes, Lee prepared to strike McClellan's Union forces. He ordered Major General Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson to move his troops from the Shenandoah Valley to Richmond and he ordered his cavalry to probe McClellan's right flank. His cavalry commander, Brigadier General J.E.B Stuart, rode around the Union army, thereby alerting McClellan to his isolated position. McClellan then consolidated his army and changed his base of operations from the York River to the James River.

On June 25, Lee launched a series of attacks which have been called the Seven Days' Battles. These assaults initially attempted to isolate and destroy one of the Union corps on the Chickahominy River, but they were changed into an offensive push to drive the Union forces back to the James River. McClellan pulled his army back from the gates of Richmond, and he continued to retreat until his army arrived at Harrison's Landing on the James River. With his back against the river and supported by the U.S. Navy, McClellan drew up into a fortified position on Malvern Hill on July 1. General Lee attempted to strike and overrun this position in hopes of shoving McClellan's forces into the river. After a number of costly attacks, Lee withdrew from the field, and eventually allowed the Federals to evacuate their position.

William H. Brown

See also Davis, Varina Banks Howell (1826–1906); Hospitals; Military Invasion and Occupation; Nurses; Putnam, Sarah "Sallie" Ann Brock (1831–1911); Southern Women; Wounded, Visits to.

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Pensions, Confederate Widows

From the end of the Civil War until the 1880s, indigent Confederate widows had been limited to making it on their own—relying on friends, relatives, or charitable institutions for relief—or finding new husbands in their efforts to make ends meet as manless women. Beginning in the 1880s, a new option arose throughout the South. They could turn to their state governments for support in the form of Confederate widows' pensions.

Although Southern state governments had provided financial assistance to soldiers' wives and widows throughout the war, such state-sponsored aid was unavailable during the tumult of Reconstruction. The financial ramifications of the war and an economic depression in the 1870s, combined with Republican administrations who were uninterested in rewarding the sacrifices of their recent enemies, coincided to stymie such aid. It was not until the very late 1870s that state-sponsored economic aid to widows began to emerge in the South. The first state to offer Confederate pensions to widows was Georgia in 1879. During the 1880s, North Carolina (1885), Alabama (1886), South Carolina (1887), Virginia (1888), Mississippi (1888), Florida (1889), and Texas (1889) all followed suit. Louisiana instituted widows' pensions in 1898, and Tennessee (1905), Kentucky (1912), Oklahoma (1915), and Arkansas (1915) all did so after the turn of the century. Missouri was the only former Confederate state that never offered pensions to its Confederate widows.

Although the implementation dates of widows' pensions, the methods of distribution (some states used county court systems whereas others had pension examining boards or a pensions commissioner), and the amounts offered varied significantly, each Southern state established roughly the same requirements to guide its pension distribution to widows. First, a widow could collect a pension based only on her husband's service if she had been married to him during the war. As time passed, some state legislatures altered this requirement to include widows who had married veterans immediately after the war's end and eventually to include those who married veterans years after the war. Second, a widow's husband had to have been honorably discharged. Third, she must be indigent. Although the definition of indigence varied across the states, generally the standards were meant to include, not to exclude. Fourth, the widow must not have remarried. Many states changed this regulation so that, if a widow had remarried after her husband's death, she could apply if her second husband had abandoned her or left her widowed. Finally, a widow must have been a resident of the state to which she was applying for a pension for a specific period of time. For states that used the county system to distribute pension funds, applicants were also required to be a resident of their county for a specific length of time. With most application forms, widows were required to provide minimal evidence that what they claimed on the form was true. Such evidence could include affidavits from various sources including neighbors or ministers to verify the marriage and the residence of the applicant; comrades or physicians to verify the wound, disease, or death of the husband; and local officials to attest to the applicant's property and income. Over time the qualifications to receive a Confederate widow's pension changed. Generally, state legislatures relaxed requirements, making it easier for a widow to acquire a pension.

Another similarity among Confederate state pensions was their generosity or the limits of their generosity. Though pension amounts varied from state to state, widows generally, though not always, received less than veterans. Additionally, state-disbursed Confederate widows' pensions were not nearly as generous as those provided to Union widows by the United States government. Under the 1862 pension law passed by the United States Congress, Union widows received anywhere from $8 to $30 per month, depending on the rank of their deceased spouses. Per year, then, Union widows could receive anywhere from $96 to $360. Additionally, after 1873 Union widows were entitled to an additional $2 per month per child under the age of sixteen. In the Southern pension systems, a widow's pension amounted to an average of only $25 to $30 per year.

Although the individual amount of each Confederate pension paled by comparison to those of the

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Federal system, proportionately Southern states and citizens expended significantly more on pensions than did the Federal government. At the same time that Southern citizens contributed to the Union pension system through indirect taxes, they also contributed to Southern state pension systems through indirect and direct taxes including sales, property, and the infamous poll taxes designed to keep African Americans from voting in the South. Few complaints about funding Southern pension systems arose. In states like Georgia, where pensions had to be approved by a vote of the citizenry, pension legislation passed easily. Additionally, during the years of the Depression, many Southern states began to feel the financial pinch of the economy and responded by withholding pension checks from their veterans and widows. Soon thereafter, legislators faced public pressure to keep pension payments steady. Similarly, attempts to place Confederate veterans and widows on old age assistance programs rather than pension programs also instigated public outcry. Pension proponents roundly opposed these efforts because of the stigma attached to old age aid. Whereas Southern society considered Confederate pensions a right earned by an individual because of immense sacrifice for the cause, old age assistance was merely a privilege afforded elderly poor people. Eventually, opponents prevailed, and Confederate pensions remained independent of old age assistance programs. The last Confederate widows' pensions were distributed in the late twentieth century.

Jennifer Lynn Gross

See also Courtship and Marriage; Pensions, Union Widows; Southern Women; Widows, Confederate.

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Pensions, Union Widows

Women were significant beneficiaries of the Federal Civil War pension system, established in 1862. The original intention of Congress was to provide regular payments to disabled Union veterans and to the survivors of men who died in Union service. Under subsequent postwar legislation, eligibility for pensions broadened and the generosity of the system increased to the point that, by the 1890s, over 40 percent of the Federal budget was being spent just on Civil War pensions.

The bulk of survivors' pensions went to the widows of Union soldiers and sailors. Under the 1862 Act, or General Law, widows could collect $8 per month, paid quarterly, plus an additional $2 per month for each child under sixteen years of age. To be approved for a pension, a widow had to prove that her husband's death was service-related and that she had been legally married to the man in question at the time of his death. Legal marriage could be proven by government records or by the testimony of two people who either witnessed the marriage ceremony or could state the couple lived together as husband and wife. The latter provision was established to assist the widows of common law marriages, ex-slaves, and Native Americans, for whom no record of a ceremony existed. The U.S. Pension Bureau, which administered Federal military pensions, used relevant state law in deciding the legality of marriages, deferring to a long tradition of state primacy in domestic law. Hence, a marriage that was legal in one state could conceivably be judged by Federal bureaucrats not legal in another state, even if the circumstances of the marriage were identical.

The first significant change in the General Law, specifically pertaining to widows, came in 1882. In a law passed on August 7 of that year, Congress mandated that "the open and notorious adulterous cohabitation of a widow who is a pensioner shall

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operate to terminate her pension from the commencement of such cohabitation." Evidently, some widows were living out of wedlock to enter into new relationships and keep their pension, which by law would be terminated upon a remarriage. The U.S. Pension Bureau energetically investigated charges of Union widows living in "open and notorious adulterous cohabitation." Their vigor not only reflected Victorian morality, but also the fact that, through Civil War pensions, the Federal government effectively was standing in for a dead soldier or sailor in supporting his widow, and it expected the same fidelity.

Another change in the pension laws affecting Union widows and other pensioners was the so-called 1879 Arrears Act. This legislation allowed people who had not already made pension claims to collect a lump sum for payments back to the date they would have been initially eligible, not to the date they had first applied as had previously been the case. Hence, if a widow of a Union soldier had never applied for a pension, the woman could now collect all the pension payments she would have been entitled to from the date of her husband's death. Because over a decade had passed since the end of the war, the back payments, or arrears, could amount to well over $1,000, a significant sum of money at the time. While the law benefited many widows who for one reason or another had not applied for a pension at the time of their husband's death, it also prompted specious claims from women purporting to be Union widows and hoping for a financial windfall. There also were charges that the husbands of remarried widows lay behind some claims, hoping to benefit from the ability of their wives to collect arrears from the date their soldier husband died up to the date of their remarriage.

Women were also greatly affected by the single biggest change in Union pension legislation on June 27, 1890. Better known as the 1890 Law, this legislation opened pension eligibility to Union veterans disabled for any reason, not just from war-related causes. As administered by the Pension Bureau, the 1890 law enabled just about every surviving Union veteran who was not in perfect health to collect a Federal pension. It also opened pension eligibility to the widows of veterans of the Union army and navy who had died since the end of the war, provided their husband had served at least ninety days and had an honorable discharge. This change affected an enormous number of women because by 1890 about half the men who had served the Union during the Civil War had died. The only significant limitation to the 1890 Law as it pertained to widows was the requirement that they must have married their husband prior to the passage of the law. This condition seemed aimed at preventing women, especially young women, from marrying veterans subsequent to the passage of the law in the hopes of collecting a widow's pension after his death. Congress softened this provision of the 1890 law in 1916 by opening eligibility to widows who had married veterans in or before 1905.

As the 1916 law shows, Congress was willing to amend pension legislation to offer Union widows greater fairness. It made these gestures individually as well as collectively. Women were the beneficiaries of many special pension laws, congressional acts granting pensions to specific individuals. The intent of the congressmen who introduced such bills, as they pertained to widows, seems to have been to assist deserving women who, because of their inability to prove a legal marriage or some other justifiable reason, were not able to obtain a pension via normal bureaucratic channels. Regardless of how they got them, women represented an increasing percentage of Civil War pensioners as the years went by; partly because the female lifespan was longer and partly because men were marrying younger partners, women increasingly replaced men on the pension rolls. In fact, although the last Union veteran died in 1955, the last verified Union widow, Gertrude Janeway, died in January 2003, at the time of her death collecting a pension of $70 per month as a Union widow.

Donald R. Shaffer

See also Courtship and Marriage; Domesticity; Northern Women; Separate Spheres; Widows, Union.

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Petersburg Campaign (June 1864–April 1865)

The Petersburg campaign was the longest siege in American warfare, bringing the effects of the war to Confederate women and children near the end of the war. The residents of the town suffered from food and fuel shortages as well as from the other vagaries of war.

In May 1864, with the presidential election looming on the horizon, the Union Army of the Potomac, under the leadership of General Ulysses S. Grant, attempted to capture Richmond by direct assault. After a bloodbath at the battle of Cold Harbor, Grant turned his focus toward the town of Petersburg, an important supply line 25 miles south of Richmond.

On June 9, while Grant disengaged his troops from Cold Harbor, Union General Benjamin F. Butler sent a force of sixty-five hundred infantry and cavalry toward Petersburg. The few Confederate troops under General Pierre G. T. Beauregard protected the northeastern side of the line, while the town's militia, comprised primarily of elderly men and young boys, defended the southern end. The Union army probed the southern end of the line and pushed them back toward town. There, the Southern militiamen, with support from the regular Confederate soldiers, forced the Federals to retreat.

Within a week, Confederate and Union forces reached a stalemate and the Union put the town under siege. In the following months, Grant methodically strained Confederate manpower and military resources by attempting to break the line between Petersburg and Richmond. This tactic eventually cut Lee's supply lines to the south. In the meantime, during the prolonged trench warfare, soldiers on both sides of the line spent endless days of tedious enemy shelling, military drills, thick mud, exposure to the elements, and poor food. Confederate hopes that the North would tire of the war crumbled when President Abraham Lincoln was re-elected in November. Union General William Tecumseh Sherman's devastating push through the Southern homefront also hastened the deterioration of Confederate resolve to continue the fight. Letters from impoverished families, combined with the horrific conditions in the trenches, caused a number of desertions from the Confederate army throughout the winter of 1864–1865. By early February 1865, Lee had only sixty thousand troops remaining to face Grant's one hundred and ten thousand.

Meanwhile, the residents of Petersburg suffered alongside the Confederate troops. Filled with many refugees from elsewhere in the Confederacy, Petersburg was hardly prepared for a long siege. Matters worsened as the town was in range of the Yankee guns, causing more than five hundred residential and commercial buildings to be damaged by artillery barrages. Entire sections of the city were uninhabitable. Short supplies of fuel, high food prices, and rising crime rates created extreme misery among the citizens that winter. Some women resorted to burning wood from a nearby bridge to keep warm in the winter. These conditions forced some women and children to beg for food from the soldiers.

During the course of the nearly nine-and-a-half-month siege, the armies would clash in six major battles, eleven engagements, forty-four skirmishes, six assaults, nine actions, three expeditions, and one affair. These included the bloody Battle of the Crater and the last major Confederate offensive of the war at Fort Stedman. Casualty figures for the campaign were about forty-two thousand soldiers for the Union and approximately twenty-eight thousand for the Confederacy. Finally, on April 1, 1865, the stalemate at Petersburg concluded when

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the Union crushed the Confederates at Five Forks. The next day, the Union army renewed the assault and the Confederate right flank crumbled. Only a last stand at Fort Gregg saved the retreating Confederates from immediate defeat. The collapse of the Confederate line at Petersburg resulted in the evacuation of Richmond, and it forced Lee to eventually surrender his troops to Grant on April 12, 1865 at Appomattox Courthouse.

Kristina K. Dunn

See also Civilian Life; Confederate Homefront; Confederate Surrender (1865); Lee, Robert Edward (1807–1870); Letter Writing; Sherman's Campaign (1864–1865); Shortages; Southern Women.

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Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, nineteenth-century genre novelist (1844–1911). (Library of Congress)

Phelps, Elizabeth Stuart (Ward) [Mary Gray Phelps] (1844–1911)

Elizabeth Stuart Phelps's first novel, *The Gates Ajar* (1868), offered a comforting vision of heaven as the perfection of earthly domesticity to a grieving nation that found the consolation of traditional religion inadequate after the Civil War. Its success gave rise to a genre of novels about the afterlife, including Phelps's *Beyond the Gates* (1883) and *The Gates Between* (1887). *The Gates Ajar* was second only to *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) in sales of a novel by a nineteenth-century woman. Phelps's literary career reflected, in complex and revealing ways, her rejection of strict Calvinism and male domination of women.

Born Mary Gray Phelps in Boston on August 31, 1844, the author was the daughter and granddaughter of eminent Calvinist theologians and dutiful ministers' wives. Her parents, Elizabeth Wooster Stuart and Austin Phelps, moved to Andover when she was three. Her brother Moses Stuart was born in March 1849, and Mary's first memory was of her mother reading stories she had written and illustrated for her children. Using a pseudonym, her mother began writing novels about ministers' wives; these books gained immediate popularity and sold well. However, the strain of being a writer, wife, and mother was debilitating; Elizabeth Phelps died on November 29, 1852, a few months after the birth of her second son, Amos Lawrence.

Young Mary strongly identified with her mother. By the time she completed her studies at Abbott Academy and entered Mrs. Edwards's School for Young Ladies, she was using the name Elizabeth Stuart Phelps and she began to write.

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Phelps's beau, Samuel Hopkins Thompson, died of wounds received at the Battle of Antietam, and she drew on this experience in her writing. "A Sacrifice Consumed," her story of a seamstress whose fiancé was killed at Antietam, appeared in the January 1864 *Harper's New Monthly Magazine.* The responsibility of helping to raise her brothers fed Phelps's desire for independence. To increase her income, she wrote books for Sunday schools, as had her mother, as well as books for young girls. Meanwhile, she had begun *The Gates Ajar* (1868).

Phelps's bereavement and the inability of patriarchal religion to comfort her were experiences shared by thousands of women after the Civil War. *The Gates Ajar,* with its vivid descriptions of reunions in heaven, immediately became a best seller. It drew heavily on contemporary Utopian and Spiritualist themes, and it raised the ire of conservative clergymen. Its sequel, *Beyond the Gates,* conceived in 1868 but not written until 1883, depicted a heaven with supportive men and women seeking personal fulfillment.

The Gates Ajar gave Phelps financial independence. She continued to write, exploring themes of female independence and the burdens of marriage and motherhood as constraints on women's creativity. To the surprise of many, she married Herbert Dickinson Ward, a man seventeen years her junior, on October 20, 1888. Collaborative novels in the early years of the marriage were unsuccessful, and Herbert began spending less and less time at home. Phelps wrote about invalid women and wandering husbands in her last years, and she died January 28, 1911 in Newton, Massachusetts.

Nancy Gray Schoonmaker

See also Family Life, Union; Fiction Writers, Northern; Mourning; Northern Women; Religion; Union Homefront; Wartime Literature.

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Phillips, Eugenia Levy (1820–1902)

Eugenia Levy Phillips, wife of prominent Washington, D.C. attorney Philip Phillips, was an outspoken proponent of secession. Her indiscreet partisanship earned her the distinction of being arrested and confined twice by Federal authorities during the war. She was a sister of Phoebe Yates Pember, matron at Chimborazo Military Hospital and author of *A Southern Woman's Story: Life in Confederate Richmond.*

Eugenia Levy was born in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1820, to prosperous Jewish businessman Jacob C. Levy and British-born Fanny Yates Levy. Eugenia and her five sisters enjoyed a life of privilege, including a good education. She was married September 7, 1836, to Philip Phillips, the son of prominent Jewish Charlestonians. Born in 1807, Phillips had established a successful legal practice in Mobile, Alabama. The couple lived in Mobile for eighteen years, and seven of their nine children were born there. Phillips was chairman of the state Democratic Party and served two terms in the state legislature. When he was elected to the United States Congress in 1853, the family moved to Washington, D.C.

Eugenia, beautiful and witty, enjoyed Washington's social life. After one term in Congress, Philip decided to practice law there and prospered in the years before the war. When hostilities began, Unionist Phillips and his family remained in Washington.

On August 24, 1861, Eugenia, daughters Caroline and Fanny, and sister Martha were placed under house arrest by Federal detectives and later moved to the home of Rose O'Neal Greenhow, another suspected Confederate spy. Through appeals to influential friends, Mr. Phillips managed to secure his family's release on September 18. Banished, they traveled to Richmond. According to her daughter's memoir, Eugenia gave Confederate officials a coded

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message from Greenhow, smuggled out in a ball of yarn. The family settled in New Orleans, which was occupied by Union forces under General Benjamin F. Butler by the following summer.

Eugenia soon ran afoul of Federal authorities. General Butler, known as Beast Butler to Southerners for his infamous Woman Order, had Eugenia arrested for laughing as a Yankee soldier's funeral passed below her balcony. Butler ordered her imprisoned on Ship Island in the Gulf of Mexico but allowed her to take her maid. Months of inadequate rations, heat, insects, and close confinement led to illness for both women. Philip secured their release and the family left Union territory, eventually settling in Georgia. For the rest of her life, Eugenia fancied herself a Confederate heroine.

Philip resumed his successful law practice in Washington after the war, and he died in 1884. Eugenia Levy Phillips lived until 1902.

Nancy Gray Schoonmaker

See also Butler, Benjamin F. (1818–1893); Confederate Homefront; Female Spies; Imprisonment of Women; Jewish Women; Pember, Phoebe Yates Levy (1823–1913); Southern Women; Woman Order (General Order Number 28).

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Pickens, Lucy Petway Holcombe (1832–1899)

The "uncrowned Queen of the Confederacy," an advocate of women's rights, and the only woman to have her image engraved on Confederate Treasury notes, Lucy Petway Holcombe Pickens served as the vice-regent representing South Carolina for the restoration of Mount Vernon.

Born June 11, 1832, at La Grange, Tennessee, to Beverly Lafayette and Eugenia Dorothea Hunt Holcombe, Lucy was the second of five children. She received her early education and instruction in music from her mother and a governess. In 1846, Lucy and her older sister, Anna Eliza, were sent to the Moravian Female Seminary in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, to receive a classical education. Lucy excelled in literature and languages. In 1849 the sisters returned to La Grange, adept in the classics, arts, conversation, and flirting. Unhappy in the role of a Southern belle, Lucy sought recognition for her intelligence, maintaining that a woman of intellect with knowledge of the social graces should take a stand for the betterment of society.

In 1850, the Holcombe family suffered financial losses and moved to Marshall, Texas. There Lucy's father farmed and built Wyalusing, a plantation home. Although Lucy had many suitors, she rejected all matrimonial offers, believing marriage would relegate her to the kitchen and the nursery. She took an interest in politics, writing, and giving speeches for presidential candidates. In 1851 she championed General Narciso López in his filibuster attempt to liberate the Cubans from Spanish rule. The attempt failed and Lucy, age nineteen, wrote a novel castigating the American government for not coming to the aid of the filibusters. *The Free Flag of Cuba, or the Martyrdom of General Lopez* was published in 1856 under the pseudonym H. M. Hardimann. Not satisfied with the success of her novel and her many published poems, Lucy looked to someone of political standing who might further her ambition for recognition as an intellectual.

In 1857 she met Francis Wilkinson Pickens, a wealthy and influential congressman from Edgefield, South Carolina. Although Pickens was a widower twice her age with seven children, Lucy agreed to marry him if he obtained a high position in government. After President James Buchanan appointed Pickens minister to the royal court of Russia, Lucy and Francis were married at Wyalusing, in Marshall, Texas, on April 26, 1858. They left for Russia May 29, 1858.

With her natural beauty and intelligence, Lucy created a sensation throughout Europe. At the

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Russian imperial court, Czar Alexander II paid particular attention to this American beauty and showered her with gifts and jewels, causing considerable gossip. Although Lucy enjoyed the czar's attentions and those of the royal courtiers, she became increasingly homesick. In 1859 she gave birth to a daughter christened by royalty as Francis Eugenia Olga Neva Pickens. The Russians added the name Douschka, the Russian diminutive meaning Little Darling, a name by which Lucy's daughter was forever known.

The Pickens family returned to the States on the eve of Abraham Lincoln's election to the presidency, November 6, 1860. Francis was chosen governor of South Carolina, the first state to secede from the Union. Lucy backed her husband's decision and, after the firing on Fort Sumter, sold jewels and precious gifts given her by the czar to finance a Confederate legion named in her honor, the Holcombe Legion.

As the wife of the governor and an avid supporter of the Confederacy, Lucy gave speeches, reviewed troops, encouraged men to enroll, helped the wounded, and gave freely of her time, talent, and money. For her considerable help, the Confederacy honored her by engraving her image on Confederate $1 and $100 Treasury Notes issued in 1862–1863 and 1864.

Devastated by the untimely death of her daughter, Lucy, with her faithful former slave, Lucinda, raised three grandchildren, kept Edgewood as a haven for all in need, and promoted the memory of those who fought for the Confederacy. Lucy Petway Holcombe Pickens died of a stroke in 1899 and is buried in the Pickens' family plot in Edgefield, South Carolina.

Elizabeth Wittenmyer Lewis

See also Confederate Homefront; Fiction Writers, Southern; Southern Women.

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Pickett, LaSalle Corbell (ca. 1843–1931)

The wife of Confederate General George E. Pickett, LaSalle Corbell Pickett was a prolific writer, poet, and public speaker who appealed to Lost Cause mythologists for sectional reconciliation and nationalism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Sallie Ann Corbell was probably born on May 16, 1843, but may have been born as early as 1841. Her parents, John David and Elizabeth Phillips Corbell, were planters in Nansemond County, Virginia. Sallie grew up in modest circumstances and wrote that she met her future husband, George Pickett, in 1852, when she claimed to be only six years old. She married Pickett in September 1863, two months after the bloody charge at Gettysburg that made his name famous. Sallie later claimed to be age fifteen at the time of the marriage. George Pickett died in 1875. Sallie never remarried and outlived her husband by fifty-six years.

In those fifty-six years, she mixed devotion to her husband with plagiarism and fiction to create a heroic, mythological George Pickett much different from the historical figure. In doing so, she applied the basic tenets of the Lost Cause myth, including an idealized version of the Old South and the unfailing courage of its soldiers. She also appealed to the growing feelings of reconciliation and nationalism, most notably in her fabricated story of her husband's friendship with Abraham Lincoln.

She published her first book, *Pickett and His Men,* in 1899. Much of it was plagiarized from the history of Pickett's division written by Walter Harrison, one of Pickett's staff officers. In 1913 she published her most infamous work, *The Heart of a Soldier.* She claimed the contents were Pickett's wartime letters to her, some of them dated from the field at Gettysburg. Readers accepted these letters as genuine until the late 1950s. Since then, analysis of both the content and writing style has convinced

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most scholars that Sallie wrote them herself. Many have questioned LaSalle Pickett's motives. The simplest explanation is her devotion to her husband and to the Old South, combined with her necessity to generate an income as an independent woman.

In death, LaSalle Corbell Pickett became more controversial than she was in life. The debate over the authenticity of her writings was accompanied by a long struggle by her descendants to have her buried next to her husband in the venerated soldier's section of Hollywood Cemetery in Richmond. Finally, in 1998 she was reburied next to her husband, the man whose memory she had created.

Robert D. Bohanan

See also Letter Writing; Poets, Southern; Southern Women; Widows, Confederate; Widows, Union.

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Plantation Life

The plantation was a crucial theater of the Civil War where important battles were waged by enslaved women and their female owners. While they both experienced the physical and emotional hardships of war, female slaveholders and bondswomen struggled against each other in their efforts to preserve and destroy the peculiar institution. The growing resistance of plantation slaves during the war testifies to the deplorable conditions of the homefront, slaves' dogged commitment to obtaining their freedom, and the decreasing power of slaveholders. Combined, these factors undermined some slaveholding women's dedication to the war effort, strengthened female slaves' resolve to be free, and contributed significantly to the collapse of both slavery and the Confederacy.

Both slaveholding women and bondswomen approached the Civil War with mixed emotions. Among Southern women, female slaveholders had the most invested in the antebellum social and economic system of slavery; so their initial reaction to secession and war was to support the Confederacy. Despite fears of being left alone on their plantations and of losing loved ones in battle, most slaveholding women followed the directives of the Confederate government and press, and they encouraged their male kin to enlist in the army and defend their way of life. Not content to watch from the sidelines, many plantation mistresses desired an active role in the conflict. Those who remained on their plantations found an outlet for their patriotism in the donation of goods or money and, even more important, in the production of blankets and clothes for Southern soldiers.

While many female slaveholders knitted and sewed items for the Confederate army themselves, most of this work was put on the shoulders of slave women. An increased emphasis on domestic production disrupted the working routines of female slaves and gave them additional cause for resistance. Slave women were well aware of the potential consequences of the Civil War and had no desire to assist the Confederacy. When ordered to produce goods for the army rather than for their own families and slave communities, many bondswomen expressed their discontent by slowing down their work. Eager to hasten the end of slavery but often forced by the remoteness of their location to wait for the end of the war, female slaves began to challenge their bondage with increasing uncooperativeness.

Aside from changes in domestic production, life for black and white women on most Southern plantations remained relatively unchanged at the start of the war. Unlike yeoman women who had few resources at their disposal, plantation mistresses could rely on their wealth and slaves to maintain plantation production. Moreover, plantations located in states that did not have a Federal military presence faced few outside challenges to the slave system. Initially, slaveholders in unoccupied areas

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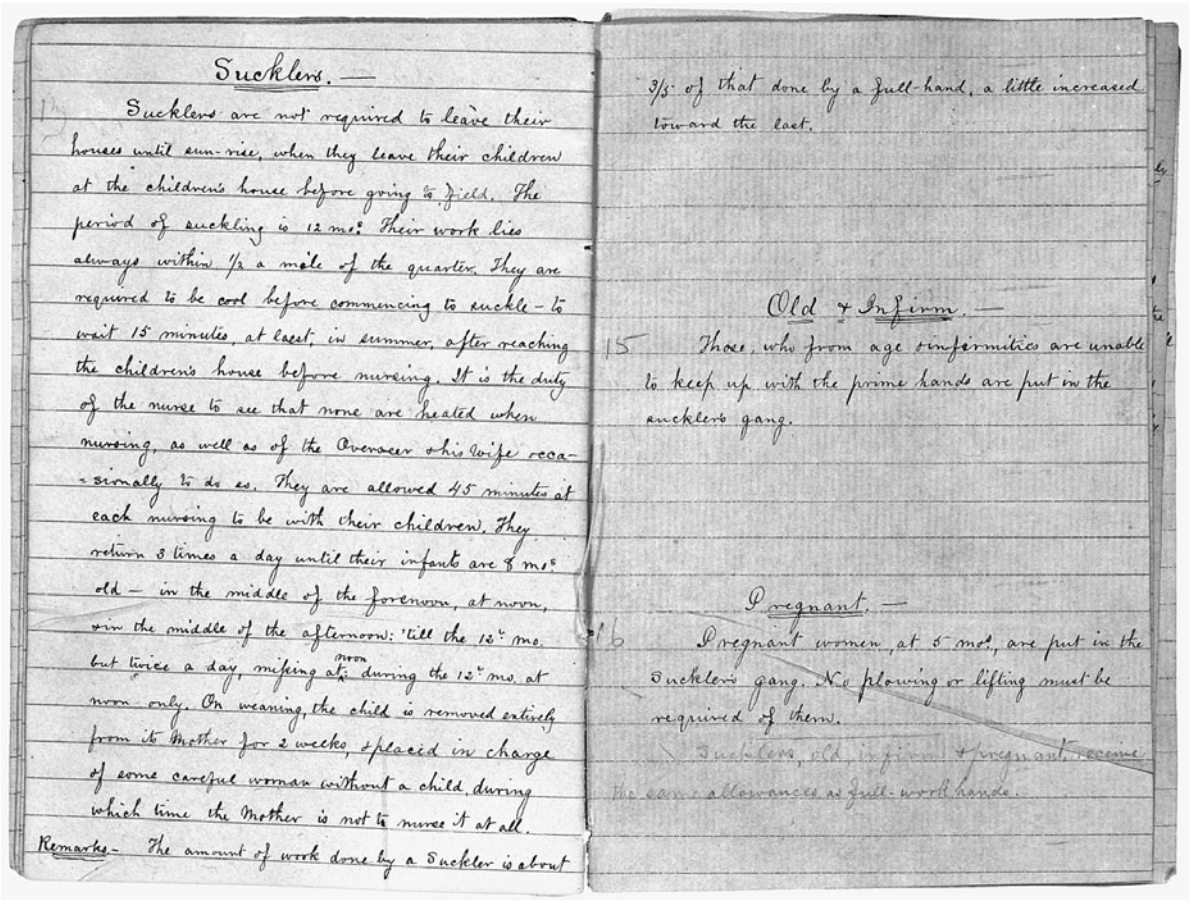

Sucklers. —

Sucklers are not required to leave their houses until sun-rise, when they leave their children at the children's house before going to field. The period of suckling is 12 mos. Their work lies always within 1/2 a mile of the quarter. They are required to be cool before commencing to suckle – to wait 15 minutes, at least, in summer, after reaching the children's house before nursing. It is the duty of the nurse to see that none are heated when nursing, as well as of the Overseer & his wife occasionally to do so. They are allowed 45 minutes at each nursing to be with their children. They return 3 times a day until their infants are 8 mos. old – in the middle of the forenoon, at noon, & in the middle of the afternoon: 'till the 12th mo. but twice a day, nursing at noon during the 12th mo. at noon only. On weaning, the child is removed entirely from its Mother for 2 weeks, & placed in charge of some careful woman without a child, during which time the Mother is not to nurse it at all.

Remarks – The amount of work done by a Suckler is about 3/5 of that done by a full-hand, a little increased toward the last.

Old & Infirm. —

15 Those, who from age & infirmities are unable to keep up with the prime hands are put in the sucklers gang.

Pregnant. —

16 Pregnant women, at 5 mos., are put in the Sucklers gang. No plowing or lifting must be required of them.

Sucklers, old, infirm & pregnant, receive the same allowances as full-work hands.

Plantation manual of James Henry Hammond that gives instructions for treatment of "Sucklers," "Old and Infirm," and "Pregnant" slaves. (Library of Congress)

were able to keep their operations running normally. Disruptions, however, were not far off.

Four major changes on Southern plantations interrupted the regular course and quality of life for bondswomen and plantation mistresses: the exodus of white men, the increased resistance of slaves, the material shortages of the homefront, and the eventual presence of Union troops.

One of the first and most consequential changes to take place on Southern plantations during the Civil War was the removal of white men for military service. As the husbands, overseers, and adult sons of slaveholding women enlisted in the war, the planter class began to demand special consideration from the government. Slave management, which was crucial to the maintenance of the Southern economy and society, was now largely the responsibility of white women. Yet contemporary gender conventions held that their delicate nature was antithetical to this kind of work, for mastery was understood to be a uniquely masculine characteristic. Slaveholding men and women alike feared the repercussions of leaving plantation mistresses solely responsible for crop production and slave supervision, both of which could make or break the Confederacy. Government officials, who shared these concerns, responded by passing a law that exempted from service one white male on plantations with twenty or more slaves. Although the law set planters' minds at ease for a moment, pressure from nonslaveholding whites and the need for military manpower undermined the legislation.

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Slaveholding women soon found that their greatest challenge as plantation managers was the supervision of slaves. Although some female slaveholders had experience managing plantations in their husbands' absences before the war, they did so with the assistance of male overseers who handled the direct supervision and discipline of slaves. Those who lost their overseers to the war effort had to find ways to assert their command over slaves on their own. Most employed a variety of tactics. Although violence was not a sanctioned part of white womanhood, some plantation mistresses threatened and exacted corporal punishment on their slaves. Those who were afraid of retaliation or desertion tried to cajole loyalty and good work from their bondspeople with acts of kindness and charity. Others relied on slaves' sympathy or pity and resorted to begging. No matter the method of management, female slaveholders were desperate to control their slaves because they feared the consequences of not doing so.

Although plantation mistresses continued to speak of their steadfast trust in their slaves during the war, the numerous stories of slave rebellion, violence, and disloyalty that circulated throughout the South touched a nerve. Southern whites worried about the repercussions of leaving slaveholding women alone in the company of restive bondspeople, even though few instances of violent resistance by slaves were substantiated. Female slaveholders were usually confronted with nonviolent but effective acts of defiance. Plantation slaves acknowledged the increased opportunities that they had to challenge the system of slavery during the war and they took advantage of them. Exercising traditional methods of resistance such as slowing down production, stealing, and feigning illness, as well as bolder practices like direct confrontation or running away, Southern bondspeople grew more independent and more committed than ever to breaking free from the chains of bondage.

One of the most powerful wartime incentives for slave resistance was the rapid deterioration of their quality of life, due primarily to the limited availability of food and supplies in the Southern states. The Union blockade prevented most goods from coming in and most crops from going out, so slaveholders had not only fewer opportunities to purchase supplies, but also restricted funds with which to procure them. Moreover, the material goods and foodstuffs that were available for purchase were overpriced because inflation hit the Southern market. Civilians' demands for clothing, among other necessities, created an unprecedented need for domestic production, and it was the South's female slaves who carried the burden of this necessity. Plantation mistresses and planters put tremendous pressure on their bondswomen to spin, weave, and sew, even if this meant taking them out of the fields or putting them to work after a full day of agricultural labor. The dearth of manufactured goods increased female slaves' workload because they had to make clothing and supplies for their own families as well as for their owners' families.

Although even the wealthiest Southerners experienced the hardships of material deprivation, their struggle was hardly comparable to that of their slaves. The quality of life in the slaves' quarters declined steadily as slaveholders cut back on their distribution of provisions. Making due with meager rations of food, clothing, and blankets, bondspeople were plagued by malnutrition and disease. Yet despite the terrible conditions in which they were living, most slaves stayed on their owners' plantations during the war. Concerns for the safety and well-being of their families most often discouraged them from escaping. However, the wartime living conditions for slaves on some plantations were so unbearable that numerous individuals decided it would better for their families if they risked running away. Unprecedented numbers of female slaves and their children made the difficult decision to escape. Although most fugitive slaves tried to leave with their families, many had to decide whether freedom was worth a potentially permanent separation from their loved ones—something that was always a possibility in slavery, too. Moreover, they faced sale, imprisonment, or even execution if they were recaptured. Notwithstanding these risks, thousands of African Americans took a faithful leap toward freedom during the Civil War.

Slaveholders often struggled to understand why their slaves left. It was particularly hard for planta-

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tion mistresses when the slave in question was a favorite domestic servant or childhood playmate. Believing their own paternalistic rhetoric, female slaveholders frequently felt abandoned upon the loss of such slaves and were incensed at what they perceived as disloyalty. Aside from their personal feelings, slaveholding women's anger was due to the loss of valuable workers. White women commonly relied on trusted male slaves to keep order on the plantation in the absence of their husbands and white overseers, and domestic slaves made it possible for them to avoid household chores. The absence of these individuals gave some white women a taste of what life was like without slaves.

In an effort to check escalating slave resistance, slaveholding women pleaded with Confederate officials to release their husbands or sons from service so that they could help control their bondspeople. The difficulties these women faced were less a result of their inability to manage effectively than a consequence of a changing system of slavery in which slaves increasingly challenged whites' ability to keep them in bondage. When the government and military neglected to heed their call for assistance, many slaveholding women began to withdraw their support of the Southern war effort and, when possible, employed harsher means of discipline on their plantations. Those who had overseers on hand ordered more stringent punishments for disobedience, including time in jail, public beatings, and even sale. Yet these efforts also proved to be futile as the war progressed, as slaves grew more resistant, and as Union troops drew near.

The presence of the Federal army compounded the economic and social problems on Southern plantations. Hearing stories of Northern soldiers who commandeered, pillaged, and destroyed the Southern homes that lay in their path, many slaveholding women attempted to hide their valuables underground, in their slaves' cabins, and even in their own hoopskirts. Moreover, when confronted by enemy forces, some white women demanded that the soldiers treat both them and their property with the respect due to "ladies." Their claims to ladyhood may have protected some female slaveholders from personal violation, but they usually did not prevent the theft and destruction of their property.

Believing that bondspeople owned no property, Northern soldiers also ravaged slaves' cabins and gardens, dispossessing them of their few items. Some individuals did not stop at robbery and vandalism; slave women were often the victims of rape and abuse at the hands of Federal troops. Yet not all Union soldiers behaved in such deplorable ways. Indeed, their presence on and in the vicinity of Southern plantations more often than not helped slaves realize their dreams of freedom. Moreover, they sent a message to slaveholders that slavery's days were numbered.

Slaves made their last push for emancipation near the end of the war by exercising more blatant and forceful acts of resistance that undermined power relations on the plantation. As a result, some female slaveholders pressured their husbands and sons to abscond from the military, unwilling to continue sacrificing their well-being or that of their families for a goal that no longer seemed attainable. As such, plantation mistresses and their bondswomen delivered a deadly blow to the Confederacy.

Nikki Berg Burin

See also African American Women; Aid Societies; Confederate Homefront; Destruction of Personal Property; Letter Writing; Military Invasion and Occupation; Rape; Rural Women; Sheridan's Shenandoah Valley Campaign (1864); Sherman's Campaign (1864–1865); Shortages; Slaveholding Women; Southern Women.

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Pleasant, Mary Ellen (1814–1904)

Called the mother of civil rights in California, Mary Ellen Williams Smith Pleasant's legacy has been obscured by rumor and public scandal. A study in contradictions, Mammy Pleasant, as she was popularly known, is revered by many for her work as an abolitionist, activist, and feminist, but she was reviled by critics as a con artist, madam, and voodoo practitioner. She is reported to have donated $30,000 to aid John Brown's raid at Harper's Ferry in 1859, and, in 1866, she won a lawsuit that effectively desegregated San Francisco streetcars. Pleasant's life has been recreated and mythologized in plays, novels, magazine articles, and a silent film, most of whose content relies on rumor and legend.

Pleasant's biographical details are a subject of open debate. Her abolitionist activities demanded secrecy, and she neither confirmed nor denied the speculations surrounding her business and personal activities. She claimed she was born free to a black mother and Hawaiian father in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on August 19, 1814. However, her African American contemporaries believed she was born a slave in Augusta, Georgia, before being sent to Philadelphia and then to Nantucket, Massachusetts, where a Quaker family named Hussey raised her. In the 1830s, Pleasant moved to Boston, where she married abolitionist James Smith and befriended notable figures such as Frederick Douglass and William Lloyd Garrison. Historians believe Pleasant inherited a large estate from Smith upon his death in the mid-1840s. Pleasant remarried in the late 1840s to John James Pleasants (the "s" was later dropped), another abolitionist. In 1852, they moved to San Francisco. A brilliant entrepreneur, Pleasant invested her wealth in banks, real estate, and mining, but she also worked as a cook for prominent wealthy families, owned a string of laundries, and ran several boardinghouses.

Pleasant offered refuge to fugitive slaves on the Underground Railroad and mobilized resources to aid in escaped slaves' court trials. She lived for a short time in Chatham, Ontario, a hotbed of abolitionist activity and the site of her meetings with John Brown, but she returned to San Francisco just before the Civil War. During the war years, Pleasant used litigation to fight for black voting rights and desegregation of schools and transportation.

In 1877, she built a thirty-room mansion on San Francisco's Octavia Street, which she cohabited with her business partner, Thomas Bell, the Scottish vice president of the Bank of California. Locals were scandalized and dubbed the mansion the House of Mystery. Bell later married, but his family remained in the house with Pleasant. Seven years after Bell's 1892 death, his son Fred unsuccessfully accused Pleasant of murdering Bell by pushing him down the stairs. Bell's heirs engaged in a protracted legal battle to divest Pleasant of her wealth, claiming rightful ownership. Pleasant was also involved in the sensationalized divorce trial of United States Senator William Sharon in the 1880s; Sharon claimed the plaintiff, his alleged wife Sarah Althea Hill, was really a prostitute and Pleasant, her madam.

Pleasant died January 11, 1904, and she is buried in the Sherwood family cemetery in Napa, California. In 1965, the San Francisco Negro Historical and Cultural Society fulfilled a request Pleasant had made during her lifetime by marking her grave with a plaque reading, "She was a friend of John Brown." In 2005, the city of San Francisco declared February 10 Mary Ellen Pleasant Day in honor of her civil rights work.

Jennifer Jane Nichols

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; African American Women; Douglass, Frederick (ca. 1818–1895); Garrison, William Lloyd (1805–1879); Western Women.

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Poets, Northern

Northern poets, like their Southern counterparts, played an active role in shaping public responses to the Civil War. Poetry was seen as a largely public and social discourse in the nineteenth century, and nineteenth-century poets often saw the personae of their poems as voices speaking for the nation, culture, or community in shared grief, glories, and values.

In recent years, scholarly attention has been given to women writers and popular literature, offering insight into social moods and discourses in time of war. Scholars have evaluated the place of public poetry in nineteenth-century America as valuable political and cultural discourse. Scholars have noted that the Civil War produced a social crisis for American women, who searched for a way to meaningfully contribute to the war effort. Some used poetry and songwriting as an outlet for ideas and commentary on events.

The more canonical Northern male poets of the Civil War era, including William Cullen Bryant, John Greenleaf Whittier, Oliver Wendell Holmes, James Russell Lowell, and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, all wrote war pieces. In addition, Walt Whitman and Herman Melville each wrote an entire volume of poems on the topic. Whitman's *Drum-Taps* (1865) contains nearly all of his poems on the war. Whitman focused on the impact of individuals' heroism and the poignant horrors of the battlefield. Melville's *Battle Pieces* (1866), written during and after the war, explores the irony of war as an instrument of righteous justice. A variety of viewpoints present the more disturbing questions of the war: whether the massive destruction was necessary for victory, whether the Rebels should be punished, and whether reconciliation was possible.

Widely read were the works of popular male poets, including Francis Miles Finch ("The Blue and the Gray"), Bret Harte, Augustine J. H. Duganne, Henry Howard Brownell ("The Bay Fight"), and Thomas Buchanan Read ("Sheridan's Ride"). In addition, many of the song lyrics, written by George F. Root, Henry Clay Work, Charles Carroll Sawyer, and others, had great impact on the public perception of the war's meaning.

Writing in seclusion in Amherst, Massachusetts, in the mid-nineteenth century, poet Emily Dickinson (1830–1866) wrote more than half of her works during the Civil War (1830–1886). (Cirker, Hayward and Blanche Cirker, eds., *Dictionary of American Portraits*, 1967)

Women were also heavily involved in the nineteenth-century surge of publishing. Their works often dealt with hearth-and-home matters, but they made a strong impact on political and intellectual discourse. In addition to fiction and poetry, women wrote essays and editorial pieces, reflecting their high engagement in social issues.

Much of Northern women's wartime poetry followed a few basic themes: rallying support to the cause, calling for emancipation, and giving voice to the anguish of war's waste and the missing loved one. Women's poetry often had a sentimental and didactic style and tone. However, these pieces reached a large audience, and they had powerful political and social impact. Women's poems reinforced patriotic values, championed moral steadfastness, and condemned injustices.

The most influential and well-known work of Northern wartime verse was Julia Ward Howe's "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," which was

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published first as a poem in *The Atlantic Monthly* in February 1862 and later by Oliver Ditson as a song. The song became widely popular. Howe wrote other war poems, including one of forgiveness for the Confederates ("Pardon") and a tribute to Robert E. Lee. However, "Battle Hymn" is the best remembered.

Wartime poets did not always focus on the war in their work. Massachusetts poet Emily Dickinson remained oddly untouched by the war, despite her relatives' and friends' participation as soldiers. The early part of the 1860s was her most productive period, however, and she frequently focused on death. "Success Is Counted Sweetest" (67), may have been composed in 1859, yet alludes to one who dies in battle. "My Portion Is Defeat" (639), written perhaps in 1862, continues on that theme, referring to the dead on the field, the blank looks in their eyes, and how bitter the trumpets of victory are to the defeated. "It Feels a Shame to Be Alive" (444) and "They Dropped Like Flakes" (409) may also have been inspired by the war.

Others dealt directly with contemporary issues. Popular poet Lucy Larcom's "Call to Kansas" was a plea for resistance to proslavery depredations. In addition, she published other war-related poems, including "Re-enlisted," "Waiting for News," "The Sinking of the Merrimack," and "The Flag." In "The Nineteenth of April," she compared the Civil War to the American Revolution.

Wartime poetry also included a prolific subgenre on the missing picket: a soldier shot on picket duty who died alone. For example, Northerner Ethel Lynn Beers (Ethelinda Eliot) wrote "The Picket Guard," which ironically was set to music by Southern composer John Hill Hewitt. As the song "All Quiet along the Potomac Tonight," her poem became one of the most popular of the war. She also penned "Across the Lines," about a mother's search to find her slain son in enemy territory.

Publishing as Howard Glyndon, Laura Redden Searing of Missouri became an accomplished war correspondent, observer of Washington politics, and poet. Her widely published poems and essays covered a broad range of topics. Her volume of war poems, *Idyls of Battle and Poems of the Republic,* included "Belle Missouri," a poem set to music as an anthem for Missouri Unionists. Her "After Vicksburg" mourned the sacrifice of war and questioned its efficacy.

Other women also contributed to the growing catalog of wartime poetry. Nantucket Quaker Phebe Ann Coffin Hanaford wrote poems and essays about the Union cause. She and Mary J. Webber published a collection of various poets' war-related works in *Chimes of Freedom and Union* (1861). Novelist Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Consolation: Written after the Second Battle of Rull Run" (1862), published in *The Liberator,* encouraged public morale. In addition, poet, satirist, journalist, and critic Gail Hamilton (Mary Abigail Dodge) wrote several war pieces, including "Battle Song for Freedom" (1865), urging Northern men on to victory. Popular poets Alice and Phoebe Cary of Ohio, later leaders of a New York literary salon, wrote a few wartime pieces in *Poems of Faith, Hope, and Love* (1868). Alice also published "Song for Our Soldiers" (1864). Many other female poets of the time, including Rose Terry Cooke, Caroline Atherton Mason, Martha Remick, Phila Henrietta Case, Ella Ellwood, Edith M. Clarke, Sylvia A. Speery, Lottie Linwood, Sarah Warner Brooks, Augusta Cooper Kimball, and Mary A. Lee, were published and widely read.

The majority of mid-nineteenth-century poets, most of them women, published in popular weeklies and monthlies and were neither credited nor paid. The poets' relative anonymity makes it difficult to measure fully the impact of Northern women's Civil War poetry.

Randal Allred

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; Dickinson, Emily (1830–1886); Dodge, Mary Abigail [Gail Hamilton] (1833–1896); Domesticity; Howe, Julia Ward (1819–1910); Larcom, Lucy (1824–1893); Northern Women; Politics; Separate Spheres; Union Homefront; Wartime Literature.

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Poets, Southern

The role of wartime Southern poets, like that of Northern poets, was to help rally patriotic support and voice sectional solidarity. Overtly sensitive to their status as a new nation, Southern poets tended to be defensive of the new Confederate enterprise. There was a prolific response to the war from women poets in the South, who produced much of the popular poetry. Poetry had a highly civic and therefore political role in public discourse about the war.

When the Civil War began, the South did not have a highly developed publishing industry. Most Southern poetry was published in periodicals, and most newspapers and magazines in the South simply went out of business for lack of Northern markets, paying customers, advertising revenue, and materials. Despite the shortages, popular poems and songs were common, and an upsurge in women's writing activity resulted. Several Southern periodicals, including the *Southern Literary Messenger, DeBow's Review, Southern Literary Companion,* and *Southern Illustrated News,* managed to remain in business throughout most of the war.

Much wartime poetry, by men and women, called upon Southerners to fight. William Gilmore Simms, a strong champion of Southern culture and tradition and the most renowned literary figure in the antebellum South, produced little during the war years. However, one of his few war pieces, "Ode——Do Ye Quail?" called on Carolinians to resist the Northern "heathen." Similarly, poet and editor Paul Hamilton Hayne's "Charleston—at the Close of 1863," promised that Carolinians would spurn the would-be invaders, and "Vicksburg—A Ballad" characterized the Mississippi fortress as a Christian citadel assailed by the fiends of hell. Georgian Sidney Lanier, who fought in the Seven Days' Battles, allowed little of the war in his poetry other than "The Dying Words of Stonewall Jackson."

Poetry also encouraged patriotism and dedication to the Confederacy. Baltimorean James Ryder Randall wrote the most famous of the call-to-arms poems, "Maryland, My Maryland." Henry Timrod supported neither secession nor slavery, but his "Carolina" echoes "Maryland, My Maryland," calling on Carolina's sons to spurn the invasion of the Northern barbarians. John R. Thompson, the influential editor of the *Southern Literary Messenger* and the *Southern Illustrated News,* contributed a number of patriotic poems, including "On to Richmond," "Lee to the Rear," "The Burial of Latane," and a lyrical elegy to Virginia cavalryman Turner Ashby. Physician Francis Orray Ticknor wrote the popular "Little Giffen" in tribute to the brave young soldier he had healed who was later killed in battle. Abram Joseph Ryan, a Catholic priest and chaplain in the army, wrote a number of poems; his popular "The Conquered Banner" lamented the bitterness of defeat.

Women's popular poetry flourished in the South, for many of the same reasons it did in the North. Primarily, writing allowed women an acceptable outlet for supporting their country. Women's need to participate in the war effort produced many pieces on homefront issues, such as bereavement, material sacrifice, patriotic duties, motherhood, and the support of the men on the battlefields. In addition, Southern women's wartime writing was often openly patriotic, martial, and defiant of Federal coercion.

Women wrote many of the popular lyrics in the South. Many of these verses lamented the tragedy of the dying soldier, including Mollie E. Moore's "Chickamauga," Fanny Falks's "The Little Drummer Boy," and Mary Ashley Townsend's "A Georgia Volunteer." In addition, Marie Ravenal de la Coste's "Somebody's Darling," another poem in the dying soldier genre, was set to music by John Hill Hewitt.

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Elite women contributed to the wealth of female wartime poetry. Well-known wartime poet and sister-in-law of Stonewall Jackson, Margaret Junkin Preston, wrote about the soldier's life rather than of political matters. Her "The Bivouac in the Snow" honored the hardiness of the soldiers, and "The Shade of the Trees" paid homage to her famous brother-in-law. Preston's "A Grave in Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond," "Slain in Battle," and "Only a Private" all paid tribute to the dying soldier. Many of her short poems were excerpted from her book-length poetic work, *Beechenbrook: A Rhyme of the War* (1865). Other women also contributed to the wartime literary scene. Mary Bayard Clarke of North Carolina published a number of war poems, including "The Battle of Manassas," "The Battle of Hampton Roads," and "The Rebel Sock." The wife of a planter, her poems showed strong support for the Confederate cause, as in "The South Expects Every Woman to Do Her Duty."

Many women wrote poems of spirited support for the Confederacy and celebrated the sacrifice necessary to support it. For example, Carrie Belle Sinclair's "The Homespun Dress," boasted of Southern ladies' refusal to wear Yankee silk. Catherine M. Warfield's "Manassas" also glorified the Southern cause. Poems like "The Southern Mother's Charge" expressed political values; the narrator counseled her son to go and fight to the death.

Not all Southern poets celebrated the Confederacy. Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, born to free black parents in Baltimore, was one of the most popular poets of her time. Also a journalist, novelist, speaker, essayist, and activist, Harper published her first volume of poems in 1845 and another in 1854. Poems such as "The Slave Mother," "The Slave Auction," and "Bury Me in a Free Land" openly contested the slave system. In "Songs for the People," the narrator calls for poems that did not celebrate war but raised the hopes of the people. "An Appeal to My Countrywomen" warned Southern women to mourn not for atrocities and suffering, but for their own sons who soon would go off to war to pay for the sins of their slaveholding fathers.

As in the North, Southern women wrote a large percentage of the anonymously published wartime poems.

Randal Allred

See also Confederate Homefront; Domesticity; Harper, Frances Ellen Watkins (1825–1911); Homespun; Poets, Northern; Politics; Separate Spheres; Southern Women; Wartime Literature.

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Pond, Cornelia "Nela" Jones (1834–1902)

A member of the Confederacy's social elite, Cornelia Jones Pond lived the life of a Southern belle until General William T. Sherman's March to the Sea destroyed her idyllic lifestyle.

Cornelia Jones was born into a prominent rice-planting family near the Georgia coast. Known as Nela, she grew up on Tekoah, a plantation located in Liberty County, Georgia. Her parents—William and Mary Jane Robarts Jones—owned nearly one hundred slaves and were among the wealthiest people in the county. Two of her relatives served in the United States Senate, and she was related by marriage to many of the region's social elite.

Born and socialized to embrace the life of the plantation, Nela grew up with the luxuries afforded to the South's social elite. Her family lived an opulent lifestyle, enjoying lush gardens, wearing expensive and stylish clothing, and throwing extravagant parties. They also enjoyed the conveniences provided by house slaves. As a privileged daughter,

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Nela was well educated, receiving formal schooling at Montpelier Institute in Macon, Georgia, and at the Methodist Female College in Madison, Georgia. Both schools were Christian institutions, reflecting the religiosity of her parents.

In 1853, Nela married Thomas Goulding Pond, a close friend and groomsman of her brother. For the next few years, Thomas worked as a professor of mathematics at schools in Georgia. During these years, the couple had five children. In 1861, their infant daughter died of scarlet fever.

For most of the Civil War, Nela lived comfortably on her parents' plantation, where she had moved for safety. There she participated in many domestic activities that were common on the homefront. She spun cotton, knitted socks, and made palmetto hats, dyes, and candles. Although she dealt with some shortages and the effects of blockades, in 1863 the Jones family still had the resources to throw an elegant albeit somewhat subdued wartime wedding for Nela's sister.

General Sherman's arrival brought an immediate end to Pond's luxurious lifestyle. Union soldiers on the March to the Sea foraged their way through Pond's home in December 1864. She and her family tried to hide valuables from the soldiers, but their efforts were betrayed by one of their slaves. In addition to freeing slaves, many of whom remained in the region until the war's conclusion, Union troops took or destroyed most of Nela's personal possessions. Despite these losses, the war left Pond untouched in one significant way: all of her brothers and her father survived the war.

After the war, her family turned to freedpeople to perform the field labor and housework. Neither Nela's father nor her husband remained in cotton agriculture for long. In 1867, her father moved to Athens to teach at the University of Georgia and to publish the *Southern Cultivator.* Her husband turned to the ministry and took work as an Episcopalian minister. They lived in Alabama for four years and returned to Georgia in 1875.

Cornelia Jones Pond died on May 13, 1902.

Andrew K. Frank

See also Confederate Homefront; Destruction of Personal Property; Education, Southern; Homespun; Military Invasion and Occupation; Sherman's Campaign (1864–1865); Shortages; Slaveholding Women; Southern Women.

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Port Royal

Bordered by Hilton Head Island to the south across Port Royal Sound and by St. Helena Island to the North, Port Royal is part of the Sea Islands along the southeast coast of South Carolina. It was founded first by Spanish explorers during the sixteenth century; then English colonizers, who mostly came from the aristocracy of the British West Indies where large plantation systems built on slave gang labor defined economic and social life, permanently settled the area by the early eighteenth century. By the start of the Civil War, a small number of powerful landholding families controlled both the economy and slavery in this district, owning eleven thousand slaves, or 83 percent of the area's total population. Long staple cotton and rice production dominated the region's agriculture.

On November 7, 1861, the Union naval fleet captured two forts at the mouth of Port Royal Bay in a surprise battle that lasted only four hours. Confederate forces and most white civilians fled the area, leaving behind plantations, storehouses, and thousands of slaves. Capturing the Sea Islands, including Port Royal, Hilton Head, Ladies, and St. Helena's islands, Union forces claimed a vital position from which to launch offensive raids throughout the region. From here, Federal forces were able to control much of the coastline south to St. Augustine, Florida, a military zone called the Department of the South.

Many of the thousands of slaves left behind, as well as those who ran away when their owners abandoned their plantations in the Port Royal district, sought shelter behind Union lines. Early in

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the war, wherever Union troops were encamped, slaves from surrounding communities often attempted to flee to the protection of Federal forces. Although fleeing slaves were not officially considered contraband of war until March 1862, they were protected by the Union under war resolutions permitting the confiscation of rebel property. Major General David Hunter, a staunch abolitionist who had been assigned early command of the Department of the South in Port Royal, went one step further and in mid-April declared all slaves in his jurisdiction free. President Abraham Lincoln revoked Hunter's order, and, though Hunter effectively ignored it, Lincoln's policy remained in effect until the Emancipation Proclamation freed all slaves in rebel states on January 1, 1863.

In Port Royal, the needs of the thousands of newly freed slaves overwhelmed government forces. Appeals from the military went out to Northern churches, as well as to antislavery and relief societies, for clothing, books, money, supplies, and volunteers. Boston, New York, and Philadelphia set up educational and relief associations within weeks of each other in the early months of 1862. Port Royal attracted the participation and support of some of the nation's most powerful abo-

African Americans prepare cotton for the gin on Port Royal Island, South Carolina, in 1862. (Library of Congress)

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litionists, teachers, businesspeople, and missionaries from New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and beyond.

Much of the early military and private efforts in Port Royal targeted the dismantling of the plantation slave labor system by replacing it with a wage-based system, a difficult task given the hundreds of years of forced labor that had denied education and economic opportunity to thousands of Sea Island slaves. This early effort, called the Port Royal Experiment, hoped to help former slaves learn to function in a free, capitalist economy. This wartime environment also offered a new opportunity in expanded civil rights, rights that remained contested even in some Northern states. In Port Royal, newly freed people were experiencing legal, social, and civil rights, such as testifying against whites in court, attending integrated schools, entering into contracts, and buying land, rights not fully enjoyed by African Americans elsewhere. These expanded rights, along with programs to promote for-profit farming and free labor practices, became the model for later Freedmen's Bureau programs and Reconstruction efforts after the Civil War.

The Port Royal Experiment also provided opportunities for black and white women of the North who were eager to put their skills into service for the Union. They came as teachers, nurses, doctors, domestics, and relief organizers. The Boston Education Commission, one of the first relief organizations formed, sent its first group of civilian workers to Port Royal in March 1862. Twelve women were among the first group of fifty-three to embark for South Carolina. Some male organizers believed the women would not fare well and in fact be more trouble than help.

Charlotte Forten Grimké, Lydia Maria Child, Elizabeth Botume, Frances D. Gage, Susie King Taylor, Elizabeth Hunn, Lucy McKim, Laura Towne, and Harriet Ware were among the scores of women who devoted their time and energy to teaching, nursing, and organizing the distribution of thousands of dollars of food, clothing, books, and medicine. In addition, Harriet Tubman arrived in Port Royal to serve the Union as a scout, spy, nurse, cook, and teacher of domestic arts. These women proved the doubters wrong, and their contributions to the Port Royal Experiment became a successful proving ground for postwar women's expanded participation in the public sphere.

During the spring of 1862, Hunter began building a regiment of black soldiers, the First South Carolina Volunteers, made up of newly liberated slaves in the Port Royal District. Lincoln, however, was not ready to outfit a regiment of black troops and ordered Hunter to dismantle his fledgling regiment. Hunter ignored the order. Later, General Rufus Saxton, military governor of the Department of the South, under the direction of Secretary of War Edwin Stanton, formally authorized the creation of five regiments of black troops in late August 1862. Hunter's First South Carolina Volunteers, officially organized under the command of Massachusetts abolitionist Thomas Wentworth Higginson, was ready to go in November of that year. Additional regiments filled quickly, marking the beginning of the participation of two hundred thousand African American soldiers in the Civil War.

Hospitals were also set up in the town of Beaufort, Port Royal, and on other islands to accommodate the mounting numbers of sick and dying civilians and soldiers, who were ill not only from battle wounds, but also from contaminated water and food, poor sanitation, and the particular natural environment found in the Port Royal area. Home to innumerable swamps, marshes, creeks, and irrigation and drainage ditches, Port Royal and the surrounding islands were an ideal breeding ground for disease. Many Northerners, whether soldiers or volunteers, fell victim to the outbreaks of smallpox, dysentery, measles, malaria, scarlet fever, typhoid, pneumonia, yellow fever, and other infections that eventually weakened and killed thousands.

Port Royal continued to play an important role in military efforts to capture Charleston, South Carolina, to the north, which would eventually fall in February 1865.

Kate Clifford Larson

See also African American Women; Aid Societies; Antislavery Societies; Camp Followers; Child, Lydia Maria Francis (1802–1880); Contrabands; Disease; Education, Southern; Forten (Grimké), Charlotte L.

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(1837–1914); Freedmen's Bureau; Hospitals; Reconstruction (1865–1877); Taylor, Susie Baker King (1848–1912); Teachers, Northern; Towne, Laura Matilda (1825–1901); Tubman, Harriet [Araminta Ross] (1822–1913).

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Presbyterian Women

Like the Baptist and Methodist denominations, the slavery issue divided the Presbyterian Church in the antebellum years. These divisions became permanent with the start of the Civil War.

The first division came in 1837 between Old and New School Presbyterians. The division was not entirely a result of the slavery issue but is considered the first great ecclesiastical South–North separation. The Old School's most solid support lay in the Deep South, while the New School claimed most of the Presbyterians who were evangelicals. Initially the New School was only slightly less conservative on slavery than the Old School. Yet the New School's great numerical strength in areas where abolitionism was strongest, together with its very small Southern constitution, guaranteed that the group would take steps toward an antislavery position. In 1857, the New School General Assembly officially repudiated slavery, and the few remaining Southern New School members withdrew to form a separate church.

The most dramatic split, however, took place in 1861. As the nation separated into two nations, so did the Presbyterian Church. The Civil War produced the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (UPCUSA), popularly known as the Northern Presbyterian Church, and the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America (PCCSA), commonly called the Southern Presbyterian Church and renamed the Presbyterian Church of the United States (PCUS) after the Civil War.

The Presbyterian Church in both the North and the South served as the focal point, catalyst, and meeting place for many wartime group activities of women: military aid societies, other benevolent activities, and prayer meetings. Records of wartime activity, however, are relatively scant. One of the few mentions of the war in the Southern Presbyterian synod records asked Alabama women to organize weekly prayer meetings for the church, soldiers, and country. Presbyterian women supplemented the rations of soldiers by sending food packages to camps and hospitals. Mary Russell McIlwain led the women of the Presbyterian Church in Valley Creek, Alabama, in feeding and clothing Alabama soldiers. The women who participated in the Ladies' Aid Society of Philadelphia were mostly members of Tenth Presbyterian Church. The group organized a system of relief that included eighty-six auxiliaries in Pennsylvania and supported E. H. Harris, the secretary of the aid society, who visited hospitals with donations from the society and then served as a nurse at various Potomac hospitals as well as in the western theater.

Often, the war intruded abruptly into church life. Ministers joined Union and Confederate armies as chaplains, leaving women to carry on the church activities. Church life was further disrupted as Presbyterian church buildings were damaged, destroyed, or put to use as hospitals. In the South, the unavailability of church buildings, the absence of ministers who were away at war or arrested by Union forces, and the difficulty of transportation resulted in a shift from church services led by ministers to home services conducted by women. Female-led prayer services in homes reflected a larger trend that encouraged Southern women to embrace leadership roles as a wartime measure.

A few Presbyterian women took volunteer action to remarkable levels. Some entered the traditionally male occupation of nursing. Compelled by missionary zeal, Louise Wotring Lyle went off with a clergyman brother-in-law to nurse soldiers, roll

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bandages, and make hospital supplies. After the war, Lyle became one of a handful of female physicians and later, with the help of Pittsburgh's most prominent Presbyterian women, founded The Presbyterian Hospital of Pittsburgh.

A few became important administrators. Eliza Barber, member of First Presbyterian Church in Akron, Ohio, was a director of the Middlebury Soldiers Aid Society. Jane Blaikie Hoge was a leader in the United States Sanitary Commission. In late 1861, Hoge was appointed an agent of Dorothea Dix, Superintendent of the United States Army Nurses, to recruit nurses for service in hospitals in the Western theater. In March 1862, she and her friend Mary A. Livermore made a tour of army hospitals in Cairo and Mound City, Illinois, in St. Louis, Missouri, in Paducah, Kentucky, and elsewhere. In December 1862, Hoge was appointed an associate director of the Chicago branch. In this position she oversaw the work of upward of a thousand local aid societies throughout the Northwest in collecting and forwarding clothing, medical and hospital supplies, food, and other materials. During 1863, Hoge made three trips to the front in the Vicksburg, Mississippi campaign, combining her inspection of the logistics system with the nursing of soldiers. Hoge's account of her wartime experiences was published as *The Boys in Blue* (1867). After the war, Hoge headed the Woman's Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions in the Northwest.

The Civil War propelled Presbyterian women toward a new independence and into an enlarged participation in religious affairs, and it opened up new opportunities for women in the secular world regardless of religious denomination.

Karen Fisher Younger

See also Aid Societies; Baptist Women; Confederate Homefront; Dix, Dorothea Lynde (1802–1887); Hoge, Jane Currie Blaikie (1811–1890); Hospitals; Livermore, Mary Ashton Rice (1820–1905); Methodist Women; Northern Women; Nurses; Religion; Southern Women; Union Homefront; United States Sanitary Commission.

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Prescott (Spofford), Harriet E. (1835–1921)

With a literary career spanning over sixty years, Harriet Prescott Spofford is best known for her short stories published in popular monthlies and weeklies of the time, such as *The Atlantic Monthly* and *Harper's Weekly.* In addition to short stories, she wrote novels, poetry, and domestic fiction.

Born April 3, 1835, in Calais, Maine, Harriet Prescott was the daughter of Sarah Jane Bridges and Joseph Newmarch Prescott. Shortly after Harriet's father moved to Oregon to seek his fortune when she was fourteen, she and her mother moved to Newburyport, Massachusetts, where she attended school, first at Putnam Free School for three years and later completing her formal education at Pinkerton Academy. Thomas Wentworth Higginson noted Prescott's abilities while she studied at Putnam, and he encouraged her to pursue a writing career. When her father returned from the West ill and penniless, Harriet began writing for newspapers and periodicals to help with household expenses. She remained largely unnoticed until the February 1859 *Atlantic Monthly* publication of "The Cellar" launched her literary career. The following year, she published her first novel, *Sir Rohan's Ghost.*

On December 19, 1865, she married Richard Smith Spofford Jr., a lawyer from Newburyport. Together they had one son, who died in infancy. In 1874, they moved to Deer Island in the Merriman River, where she continued to enjoy a long writing career made easier financially by her husband's success.

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Harriet E. Prescott Spofford, prolific writer (1835–1921). (Library of Congress)

Spofford grew into a prolific writer, publishing numerous short stories and novels. Her writing, characterized by romantic details before the war, took a turn to simpler prose and realism after the war. Sympathetic to but not active in reformist movements, Spofford published many works in *The Atlantic Monthly,* considered at the time to be a liberal reformist publication.

A number of her postwar stories center on racial issues, especially in connection with the North and the Civil War. For example, her October 1865 *Atlantic Monthly* story, "Down the River" is the story of a foolish slave girl, devoted to her owner and not wishing for freedom, who is by the end of the story convinced to gain her freedom. The conclusion of the story could imply that the Northerners rescued the slaves from slavery and in fact from a nature that prevented them from rescuing themselves.

After her husband died in 1888, Spofford associated with a circle of women writers, including Sarah Orne Jewett and Louise Chandler Moulton, living in Boston at the time. Much of the associated literature of the time centers on Civil War themes. Postwar Washington, D.C., is a setting for Spofford's 1906 collection of stories, *Old Washington,* where many of the characters made their homes after being displaced by the Civil War.

In her later life, she spent some winters in Boston, mostly remaining in New England but venturing to Europe twice. Harriet Prescott Spofford died at Deer Island on August 14, 1921.

Sigrid Kelsey

See also Fiction Writers, Northern; Moulton, Louise Chandler (1835–1908); Northern Women.

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Primus, Rebecca (1836–1929)

The daughter of a prominent African American family in Hartford, Connecticut, Rebecca Primus served as a teacher to free Southern blacks during Reconstruction. Letters between her and domestic servant Addie Brown provide a wealth of insight into black female relationships during the Civil War.

Primus was born in 1836 as the eldest of four children to Holdridge Primus, a clerk in a well-known Hartford grocery company, and Mehitable Jacobs Primus, who worked occasionally as a seamstress. The family owned their own home on Wadsworth Street, where Rebecca eventually became a teacher. In 1866, after the Civil War, Rebecca traveled to Royal Oak, Maryland, where, with the help of the Hartford Freedmen's Aid Society, she helped found a school to teach newly freed slaves. The school was later named the Primus Institute in her honor. Primus returned to Hartford in 1869.

Letters between Primus in Maryland and her close friend and domestic servant in Hartford, Addie Brown, reveal an intimate female friendship during the Civil War era. Exactly how and when the two met is unknown, but in 1859, when Brown's letters to Primus begin, Brown was eighteen and Primus was twenty-three. Brown wrote one hundred and fifty letters from Hartford, Farmington, and Waterbury, Connecticut, and from New York

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City between 1859 and 1868. The letters paint a vivid portrait of a flirtatious and sexual friendship. Several letters from Brown to Primus indicate that, when together, they shared a bed along with hugs, embraces, and kisses. In April 1868, while in her late twenties, Addie Brown married. She died on January 11, 1870.

Primus also sent accounts of her time in Maryland to her family in Hartford. She discussed her confrontations with Southern prejudice, her struggle to educate the freedmen, the practical effects of the politics of Reconstruction, and the everyday events of life in Royal Oak.

Sometime between 1872 and 1874, while in her middle to late thirties, Primus married a man she met in Maryland, Charles Thomas. Throughout her life, she was a member of the Talcott Street Congregational Church and was much beloved in the small black community in Hartford. She died in 1932 after an extended illness.

Eloise E. Scroggins

See also Aid Societies; Brown, Addie (1841–1870); Letter Writing; Teachers, Northern.

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Prostitution

Prostitution, or the sale of sexual services for money or goods, has a history dating long before the American Civil War began. During the war, however, this occupation—previously a clandestine one practiced behind closed doors and in dark alleys—took on a public presence in many Northern and Southern communities.

In the North, the deployment of thousands of American men into Southern territory meant the depletion of an available client base for many Northern prostitutes, necessitating their migration southward. Southern officials often greeted this influx of unwelcome sex workers into their communities with contempt.

However, not all prostitutes were from Northern communities. Although little has been written about Southern women and prostitution, the occupation flourished there long before the Civil War began. In many antebellum Southern cities, including Richmond, Virginia, Charleston, South Carolina, and Nashville and Memphis, Tennessee, many types of prostitutes, including brothel workers, mistresses, and streetwalkers—or "strolling strumpets"—practiced their profession. In New Orleans, Louisiana, brothel owners developed a "fancy girl" business that provided light-skinned African American prostitutes for elite white men.

During the Civil War, Northern and Southern prostitutes experienced not only an unprecedented regional shift in their client base, but also an increased demand for their services. In seeking to satisfy these increased demands, Southern sex workers, in particular, frequently invaded the public spaces, including theaters, hotels, municipal parks, and public conveyances such as carriages and hacks, thus making these public locations less acceptable for respectable Southern women. Union General Benjamin Butler's infamous General Order 28, issued May 13, 1862, exacerbated these concerns about well-bred Southern women being mistaken for prostitutes. It stated that any Southern woman seen disrespecting a Union soldier on the streets of occupied New Orleans, Louisiana would be treated like a prostitute practicing her trade.

As prostitutes' numbers and visibility increased, theater owners and municipal leaders attempted to contain their spread by relegating prostitutes and their clients to theater balconies, by enforcing vagrancy laws, and by enacting increasingly stringent regulations against tippling houses where sex workers often plied their trade in a private room set aside for sexual liaisons.

As a result of these efforts, local courts were sometimes clogged with cases involving women and men engaged in sexual commerce, but there was a class element to the sex trade. White prostitutes and brothel owners who catered to an elite white

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clientele often fared better before the bar of justice than their dark-skinned counterparts. Their cases were often not prosecuted, or they resulted simply in the payment of a fine, whereas black prostitutes and madams faced the possibility of a prison sentence or a public whipping.

Women who engaged in prostitution often did so because the income they were able to generate was much higher than what they could earn for any other traditional form of women's work. In the South, some women who fled their homes in advance of an invading enemy force found themselves working in refugee brothels in their new communities. Evidence on the exact numbers of women engaged in prostitution during the American Civil War is difficult, if not impossible, to obtain. Prostitutes become visible only when they have violated public space and have come to the attention of civil authorities. Thus the numbers often indicate only those who ran afoul of the law. A study of several hundred antebellum and Civil War prostitutes in Richmond, Virginia, indicates that their ages ranged between thirteen and fifty-five, although most women were in their late teens or their twenties. Evidence also suggests that there was occasionally a generational pattern to prostitution, with mothers socializing their daughters into the profession. Sometimes whole families of women were involved, and married women occasionally operated brothels with their husbands. Although many Richmond brothels were segregated by race, at least a few contained both white and black sex workers and clients, suggesting that Southern brothels might have been places where sexual activity between white women and black men could occur without public recrimination or overt violence.

Civil War brothels were very dangerous places for prostitutes and their clients. Soldiers who were denied admittance after the brothels had closed sometimes broke down doors, destroyed furnishings, and assaulted the residents. Brawls occasionally broke out between soldiers who were competing for the services of a particular prostitute. These outbursts usually ended in injury and occasionally in the death of one or more of the participants. In a few cases, drunken men attempted to force their way into houses of prostitution on horseback.

As Union armies made their way throughout the South, prostitutes also traveled with the military, sometimes posing as wives of the men who were their clients. When the armies were encamped, cross-dressing prostitutes donned male garb in an attempt to slip into the camps undetected by the military guard. The records of the Judge Advocate General's Office for the U.S. Army contain information about soldiers and officers, for example, who were court-martialed for keeping prostitutes in their quarters. Some scattered evidence suggests that a few commanders, however, may have viewed prostitution as a necessary evil that protected respectable women from predations by an occupying military force. In Alexandria, Virginia, for example, military commanders routinely sent a team of soldiers to inspect the city's seventy-five brothels.

The majority of military officials, however, were concerned about the effects of prostitution on their fighting forces. Southern military leaders dispatched hundreds of Confederate chaplains to visit the camps, preaching about the evils of unregulated sex. These concerns were not unfounded since, during the Civil War, at least 11 percent of the Confederate soldiers confined to hospitals as unfit for duty were suffering from venereal disease. In Memphis and Nashville, Tennessee, Union military officials imposed a licensing system for prostitutes similar to the system for identifying and licensing British prostitutes who provided sexual services—and many believed, gonorrhea—to British sailors. This plan appears not to have spread to other Southern regions. Despite the danger they posed, prostitutes at times provided invaluable information about enemy troop movements or various forms of criminal activity. In Richmond, Virginia, for example, testimony from prostitutes helped uncover a counterfeiting ring at work in the Confederate capital.

Civil War prostitutes often were economic opportunists who submerged their political beliefs in favor of earning an income. At the war's end,

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many Northern prostitutes who had migrated southward in search of work returned to their original communities. Other Northern and Southern prostitutes followed the U.S. Army westward, providing services to military units engaged in Indian wars on the western frontier. As they did, the demographics of prostitution became more complex because white and black prostitutes competed with Mexican and Chinese sex workers for the trade. Other Southern prostitutes simply awaited the arrival of Union occupation forces, whose presence shifted their client base from loyal Southern soldiers clad in butternut gray to Northern invaders wearing Union blue.

E. Susan Barber

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; Butler, Benjamin F. (1818–1893); Camp Followers; Civilian Life; Confederate Homefront; Disease; Morale; Northern Women; Refugees; Southern Women; Union Homefront; Urban Women, Northern; Urban Women, Southern; Wartime Employment; Woman Order (General Order Number 28).

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Pryor, Sara Agnes Rice (1830–1912)

A prominent Southern woman and the wife of a Virginia congressman, Sara Rice Pryor published a memoir of her experiences during the Civil War.

In the 1850s, the Pryors lived in Washington, D.C., where Roger Pryor was the editor of a newspaper. In 1859, he was elected a congressman from Virginia. Sara Pryor fit well into the Washington social scene. Although she loved the United States and considered herself a patriot, Pryor staunchly supported the South's premises for war, and the family headed South when the Civil War began. Roger Pryor became an officer in the Confederate army. During his wartime absence, Sara lived in various places in Virginia.

In 1904, Sara published a memoir of her wartime experiences, *Reminiscences of Peace and War.* This book, although somewhat sentimentalized, provides insight into the experiences of a Southern woman at this cataclysmic time. In her book, Pryor described how Southern women responded to the war. Although the South's relief effort was less centralized than the North's, women participated enthusiastically in aid efforts for the soldiers. Women gathered locally to make or embroider sewing kits, razor cases, and other items for the soldiers. Like many Southern women, Pryor tried to settle wherever her husband was stationed. At times, her desire to be near her husband placed her very near the battlefield.

During the Seven Days' Battle in 1862, Sara volunteered as a nurse at a field hospital. She fainted upon seeing a soldier with an amputated arm but returned the next day, ultimately acclimating herself to the horrors of hospital life. She felt she truly redeemed herself when she brought a

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basket of bandages made from her family's linens to the hospital.

As the war progressed, conditions in the South deteriorated. Pryor described the starvation and emotional depression in the South. In her memoir, Pryor included a letter from a friend in Richmond that described the bread riot of 1863. Pryor also described her return to the destroyed family home. Her husband became a prisoner of war in the last year of the war, and, when he finally returned home, they were immobilized for months, having no idea what to do.

The Pryors moved to New York City after the war to re-establish themselves, Sara selling her remaining jewels to finance the trip. Roger became a successful lawyer and judge, and Sara supported various charitable causes. She also founded the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

Ellen H. Todras

See also Bread Riots; Confederate Homefront; Nurses; Southern Women.

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Putnam, Sarah "Sallie" Ann Brock (1831–1911)

Born in Madison County, Virginia, on March 18, 1831, Sallie Brock Putnam became an author and a resident of Richmond, Virginia, during the Civil War.

Putnam was the daughter of Ansalem Brock and Elizabeth Beverley Buckner. Her father was a tutor and later a hotel owner, moving the family to Charlottesville around 1850 and then to Richmond in 1858. Putnam was raised in a genteel manner and gained an education that allowed her to become a tutor herself, an occupation she was pursuing in King and Queen County in 1860. When the Civil War broke out in 1861, Sallie returned to her family in Richmond and helped run the household. A Southern partisan, she remained in Richmond throughout the war.

In 1904 Sara Pryor published a memoir of her experience as a Southern woman during the Civil War. (Library of Congress)

In 1865, Putnam moved to New York, where she began to write a memoir of her wartime experiences in the Confederate capital, which she published in 1867 as *Richmond during the War: Four Years of Personal Observation.* Putnam's narrative revealed the social and economic upheavals that the residents of the Confederate capital experienced. She described changed social roles and attitudes as poverty, food shortages, overcrowding, and escalating inflation gripped the city, forcing formerly genteel women into paying jobs simply to make ends meet and leaving people scrambling for whatever food and housing they could get. Putnam and the city residents she described remained fiercely loyal to the Confederacy throughout the war, and she detailed the sacrifices of men, comforts, luxuries, and even basic necessities

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that women made in the name of patriotism and the war effort. Against the narrative of social turmoil, Putnam included accounts of battles and military operations, illustrating how closely connected Southern civilians were to the ebb and flow of events on the battlefields.

After the publication of *Richmond during the War,* Putnam continued to pursue her writing career. In 1869, she collected poems written about the Confederacy and the Civil War into a volume entitled *The Southern Amaranth: A Carefully Selected Collection of Poems Growing Out of and in Reference to the Late War,* including among the poems several of her own. In the following years, Putnam wrote a number of pieces for literary magazines and drafted several novels. She wrote under pseudonyms, including one, Virginia Madison, that referred to her birthplace. In 1882, while in her fifties, she married Richard Fletcher Putnam, an Episcopal minister, in Richmond and went to live with him in Brooklyn, New York. She died March 22, 1911, and was buried beside her husband in Richmond's Hollywood Cemetery.

Amy Minton

See also Confederate Homefront; Southern Women.

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Q

Quaker Women

Quaker women, the most activist group of nineteenth-century American women, did much to propel the antislavery and women's movements forward.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Quakers, or Society of Friends, constituted a highly controversial sect of the Protestant Reformation. The group's marginal position resulted from many of its positions, not the least of which was its view of women. The Society of Friends allowed women, as well as men, to be ministers. The Quaker belief system liberated women in other ways, too: women conducted affairs at their own meetings, took part in economic activity, gained education, and became politically active.

As Separatists, the Quakers kept themselves apart from other colonists in the nation's early years. Although few Quakers fought in the Revolutionary War—they believed in nonviolence—the war brought many of them into American everyday life. After witnessing the devastation of war on individuals, Quakers began to provide relief to needy civilians and soldiers. Historians see this activity as the beginning of the Quaker tradition of relief work, which often was women's work. The Revolutionary War also marked the beginning of Quakers' public opposition to slavery. As early as 1688, Friends in Germantown, Pennsylvania, urged other Quakers to free their slaves. By the 1770s and 1780s, various Meetings began to disown Quakers who owned slaves.

As the Quaker faith grew in the early 1800s, a schism divided the Society. The split centered on Elias Hicks, a minister who opposed slavery and downplayed literal interpretations of the Bible in favor of the inner light, or the primacy of Christ inside the believer. Determined that theirs was the correct way, the Hicksites broke off from the Orthodox Quakers, who saw Hicks's preachings as heresy. The Hicksites' views on women differed from those of other Quakers as well. Hicksite women were more assertive than other women and did not ask the brethren for approval once they had decided on a course of action.

Quaker women's assertiveness allowed them to pursue reform, some focusing on the cause of antislavery and pursuing it diligently. In 1806, Alice Lewis, of the Philadelphia Women's Yearly Meeting, was the first to urge her Quaker sisters to boycott slave-produced goods such as sugar and cotton.

Other Quaker women focused on education. In 1833, Connecticut Quaker Prudence Crandall allowed a black girl to attend her Canterbury Female Boarding School. When the parents of other girls threatened to withdraw their daughters, Crandall closed the school but reopened it two months later with twenty black girls in attendance. Crandall was arrested and convicted but later freed. She closed the school after a mob attacked it.

In 1833, Philadelphia men formed the American Anti-Slavery Society. Four days later, Quaker Lucretia Mott and other women founded the Female American Anti-Slavery Society. They opened their society to Quakers and non-Quakers, as well as to blacks and whites. Female antislavery

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societies sprung up throughout the North, and women honed their organizational skills as they opposed the South's peculiar institution.

Two years later, South Carolina sisters Sarah and Angelina Grimké joined the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society and helped promote its goals. Despite their membership in the Orthodox Quaker sect, whose elders roundly criticized them for their public activities, the Grimké sisters took on prominent roles in the abolition movement. The American Anti-Slavery Society published a pamphlet by Angelina, in which she appealed to her Southern sisters to end slavery. The Grimké sisters' firsthand experiences with slavery gave them credence and made them authorities in the eyes of Northern antislavery activists. They began giving lectures to other women and then, as their fame spread, to men as well. Their public speaking engagements ended in 1838, but by then they had inspired another young Quaker woman, Abby Kelley, to continue their work.

Women's antislavery activities provoked controversy about women's roles. The debate over the realm of women in turn led to the formation of a women's rights movement. Quaker Lucretia Mott, along with Elizabeth Cady Stanton, organized the first women's rights convention in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. In addition to Mott, many other Quaker women—Susan B. Anthony among them—carried forward the battle for women's suffrage throughout the nineteenth century.

During the Civil War, many Quaker women held to their nonviolent principles. For example, Mott supported young Quaker men who, as conscientious objectors, refused to enlist or fight when drafted. Other Quaker women, such as Cornelia Hancock and Amanda Way, nursed soldiers in the field and in city hospitals throughout the war. In addition, female Friends continued in their antislavery efforts, aiding the freedmen. As the war progressed, Laura Haviland, founder of the first antislavery society in Michigan and an effective conductor on the Underground Railroad, refocused her efforts. Haviland traveled in Mississippi and Louisiana, working for the Freedman's Aid Commission distributing relief supplies to former slaves. Abby Hopper Gibbons served as a nurse and aide to freed slaves in Washington, D.C., for more than three years.

Some Quaker women took their activism into the political spheres. Anna Dickinson began speaking on the cause of women's rights and abolitionism in 1860, at the age of eighteen. Her charisma and popularity as a speaker led the Republican Party to seek out Dickinson's services in 1863. Dickinson began stumping for Republican candidates across the North. She praised the Emancipation Proclamation and the use of African American soldiers in the fight against the Confederacy. Although Dickinson saw President Abraham Lincoln's antislavery stance as weak, she supported him in the 1864 presidential election.

Quaker women joined the Freedmen's Bureau's efforts to educate and aid the former slaves. Quaker Lucy McKim accompanied her father to the South Carolina Sea Islands during the war to prepare former slaves for freedom. McKim recorded the slave songs that she heard there and eventually published them in 1867 as *Slave Songs of the United States.*

Countless Quaker women worked for the passage of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments during the war and immediately afterward. Many continued this work even when it became clear that women would not get suffrage along with black men. They continued to come to the South to educate freed slaves too, many staying long after the war ended.

Ellen H. Todras

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; Anthony, Susan B. (1820–1906); Antislavery Societies; Dickinson, Anna Elizabeth (1842–1932); Education, Northern; Education, Southern; Election of 1864; Emancipation Proclamation (January 1, 1863); Fifteenth Amendment; Fourteenth Amendment; Freedmen's Bureau; Gibbons, Abigail (Abby) Hopper (1801–1893); Grimké (Weld), Angelina (1805–1879); Grimké, Sarah Moore (1792–1873); Hancock, Cornelia (1839–1926); Haviland, Laura Smith (1808–1898); Kelley, Abby (1811–1887); Mott, Lucretia Coffin (1793–1880); Northern Women; Nurses; Port Royal; Stanton, Elizabeth Cady (1815–1902); Teachers, Northern; Thirteenth Amendment; Union Homefront.

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Quantrill, William Clarke (1837–1865)

William Clarke Quantrill was one of the most notorious Southern guerrillas of the Civil War.

Born in Canal Dover, Ohio, on July 31, 1837, Quantrill headed west in 1857 to the Kansas Territory, where he began a life of crime, including kidnapping freed African Americans and cattle thieving. At the opening of the Civil War, Quantrill joined the Confederate cavalry in Texas where he served with distinction in battle. Soon after leaving the army and returning to Missouri, he became entangled in the border wars. By January 1862, Quantrill had a well-established band of guerrilla raiders that actively terrorized pro-unionist citizens, jayhawkers (antislavery guerrillas), and the regular Union army.

Union General Thomas Ewing responded to the guerrilla attacks by deciding to arrest the wives and sisters of the bushwhackers and place them under guard in Kansas City. In August 1863, a building where some of the women were being held collapsed and killed five of them, including Bloody Bill Anderson's sister, Josephine Anderson. Another one of his sisters, sixteen-year-old Mary, was severely wounded. Jesse and Frank James's two cousins, Sue Vandiver and Armenia Gilvey, were also in the building. In retaliation, Quantrill rallied these Southern bushwhackers and others to join him in destroying the abolitionist town of Lawrence, Kansas. Riding into town, the guerrillas slaughtered 182 unarmed men and boys and burned 185 buildings.

Taking advantage of Unionist outrage at Quantrill's actions, Ewing made a sweeping move to destroy the guerrilla home base. Four days after the events at Lawrence, Kansas, General Ewing issued General Order Number 11, which forcibly removed approximately twenty thousand citizens from four counties along the Kansas–Missouri border. Citizens had fifteen days to evacuate the area and the edict was ruthlessly enforced.

After the raid on Lawrence and the subsequent disavowal of the action by the Confederate government, many of the guerrillas realized that Quantrill lacked the support of the official Confederate military. Feeling disillusioned with events in Missouri and desiring to rediscover their former glory, Quantrill and a handful of followers left for Kentucky. Disguised in Federal uniforms, Quantrill and his men crossed the Kentucky border during January 1865. Almost immediately, events went sour for the guerrilla leader. In early skirmishing, Quantrill lost several friends and his trusty warhorse, Old Charley. Quantrill established his base at the Wakefield farm in Spencer County. Although local Southern sympathizers joined his ranks, Quantrill never regained his cohesive fighting force.

On May 10, the Union army finally caught Quantrill and shot him in the back while he was trying to escape. The bullet lodged in his spine, paralyzing him from the waist down. He remained conscious and was transported to Louisville, where he received well-wishers until his death on June 4, 1865.

Kristina K. Dunn

See also Guerrilla Warfare.

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R

Rape

Rape was an ever present possibility during the American Civil War, especially in areas with high concentrations of soldiers. Occasional references to sexual assaults can be found in women's diaries, but more prevalent in their writings were concerns about the possibility of rape. In areas where an invasion was imminent, some women banded together for protection, arming themselves and putting on multiple layers of clothing. Despite these precautions, rape occurred, although the number of actual rapes is extremely difficult—if not impossible—to ascertain. Although occasional cases of rape and attempted rape were tried in civilian courts, there is no discrete body of evidence in civilian records documenting the crime during the Civil War period. Some historians therefore have concluded that the Civil War was a low-rape war.

There are records of rapes and attempted rapes, however, in the Union courts-martial. Civilian crimes such as rape were not part of either the Union or Confederate Articles of War at the start of the conflict. In March 1863, the United States Congress militarized, or brought into the army's legal jurisdiction, rape and attempted rape, along with other civilian crimes such as murder, arson, theft, and assault and battery, and the Union army appears to have taken these accusations seriously. As a result, the United States Army prosecuted more than two hundred Union soldiers and civilians in courts-martial or military commissions for the crime of rape or attempted rape during the course of the war. By doing so, the Union military courts effectively provided a venue for white and black women to bring accusations of sex crimes before the bar and to achieve a measure of justice for them, something that was often impossible to achieve in civilian courts during this period.

The Confederate Congress did not militarize civilian crimes in the Confederate Articles of War. It did, however, extend jurisdiction over civilian crimes to permanent military courts that it established in 1862 and that were attached to the various Confederate armies. The jurisdiction over civilian crimes was obtained only when the armies were outside the Confederacy. There is no evidence, however, that these permanent military courts ever invoked jurisdiction over civilian crimes, and there is little evidence that Confederate courts-martial prosecuted sexual crimes.

During much of the nineteenth century, rape was a civilian crime that was defined by the laws of the states as unwelcome heterosexual genital contact. There was no Federal definition of the crime. Women who brought accusations of rape or attempted rape, in either civilian or military courts, had to demonstrate that they had not consented to the act, that they had physically resisted with all their might, and that they were of virtuous character. Typically, Union courts-martial brought accusations of sexual crimes quickly to trial, often in a matter of days. Woman reported these offenses either to the local provost marshal or to the commanding officer of the military unit stationed in the region.

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In some instances, a physician was summoned to examine the victim. Occasionally, women were asked to identify soldiers from a lineup. Trials usually lasted one or two days with testimony presented before a panel of five to thirteen officers in courts-martial; in the case of military commissions that were empanelled to try civilians, the panel consisted of three officers. Of the more than two hundred cases tried by the Union army, 179 of the defendants were soldiers and forty-three were civilians attached to the military. Of those executed, nine were white and fifteen were black. Once a sentence was rendered, a defendant had no opportunity of a direct appeal, but all cases were reviewed by superior officers. Sentences mandating execution or lengthy prison terms were reviewed by Judge Advocate General Joseph Holt and by the president of the United States.

White and black women who brought accusations of rape and attempted rape before Union courts-martial ranged in age from five to eighty-two. They included both slave and free women from all social classes, although most were of the poor or working class. Those most vulnerable to assault were women and children who lived in the vicinity of an encampment, were contrabands, or worked in the camps as cooks, laundresses, and hospital matrons. At least seventy women were assaulted during home invasions that often included robbery or the destruction of private property. Another twenty-six assaults were perpetrated on female relatives of other soldiers; one, the mother of a wounded soldier, was assaulted by the soldier assigned to protect her. Since the age of consent in most states at the time of the Civil War was ten, girls over that age were often required to provide testimony refuting the charge that the sex was consensual.

The purpose of military justice was primarily to discipline soldiers for crimes that threatened military order, such as desertion, insubordination, sleeping on post, being drunk and disorderly, and other similar behavior. Punishments, especially executions, were frequently public spectacles designed to impress the troops with the importance of conforming to military order. By militarizing civilian crimes such as murder and rape, the U.S. Congress made it possible for the military justice system to prosecute soldiers who committed crimes against the civilian population. Congress instructed the Union military courts to follow the laws of the state in which the crime was committed. In regard to prosecutions of sexual crimes, however, the military courts frequently disregarded the state law. In particular, the military courts admitted the testimony of black witnesses in Southern states, where blacks were prohibited from testifying against whites in court. Thus, black women were able to bring sex crime accusations against white assailants with the expectation that their complaints would be heard and that the trial would result in a guilty verdict. The military courts also routinely ignored the sentencing guidelines, sometimes meting out harsher punishments than those stipulated by state law. In this way, the Union military managed to achieve some degree of sexual justice amid the chaos of war.

E. Susan Barber and Charles F. Ritter

See also African American Women; Confederate Homefront; Courts Martial; Destruction of Homes; Destruction of Personal Property; Military Invasion and Occupation; Northern Women; Sheridan's Shenandoah Valley Campaign (1864); Sherman's Campaign (1864 –1865); Southern Women; Union Homefront.

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Ratcliffe, Laura (1836–1923)

Confederate nurse and spy Laura Ratcliffe aided Colonel John Singleton Mosby and his men.

Laura Ratcliffe was born on May 28, 1836, and attended school in Fairfax, Virginia. After her father died, the family moved to her mother's hometown, a crossroads in Fairfax County only ten miles west of Washington known as Frying Pan. Due to its location, Frying Pan was an area fraught with civil strife and military encounters during the war. Laura began nursing Confederate soldiers and serving as a spy for Mosby; one of her efforts saved the colonel and his men from a dangerous Federal ambush near Frying Pan.

Laura's devotion to the Confederate soldiers she nursed drew the attention of General J.E.B. Stuart, and they began a friendship. When he departed, he left several precious items in her possession, and two poems that he had written and dedicated to her. Stuart trusted Ratcliffe completely, and he introduced her to Mosby as someone who would be a valuable ally in the conduct of the war in that highly contested area of Virginia.

Mosby frequently used the Ratcliffe farm for his headquarters and for storing confiscated Yankee materials until they could be transferred to Confederate authorities. At Laura's suggestion, the Confederates used a large rock on the property, nicknamed Mosby's rock, to hide money and important documents or to move messages among troops in the area. In addition, Laura often delivered information in a false-bottomed egg basket. The Federals repeatedly searched the farm and questioned Laura, but to no avail.

Ratcliffe saved Mosby's life in February 1863. Federal and Confederate cavalry troops were jockeying for supremacy around Frying Pan. Mosby, who set off to engage a Federal picket posted near Frying Pan, walked into a Union trap. Hiding in the pines behind the picket was the First Virginia waiting to kill or capture him and his men. Fortunately for him, a talkative young soldier, who had stopped at Laura's home for milk, had bragged about the trap, dismissing her as a woman who could do no harm. Laura ran to alert her neighbors to watch for Mosby and warn him, but she found him herself and told him about the trap.

Impoverished after the war, Laura and her sister were befriended by an older Yankee gentleman, Milton Hanna, who lived nearby. He built them a new home so that he could watch over them and, after her sister died, he married Laura. Milton died seven years later, leaving Laura alone and wealthy. She used her inheritance to help the poor and to support local churches. She also took an active interest in managing her estates until an accident left her bedridden for the last nine years of her life.

Laura Ratcliffe Hanna died at the age of eighty-seven in 1923.

Donna Cooper Graves

See also Confederate Homefront; Female Spies; Nurses; Southern Women; Wartime Employment.

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Ream, Vinnie (1847–1914)

In addition to her position as the first women to serve the Federal government as a clerk in the Dead Letter Office of the United States Postal Service during the Civil War, Vinnie Ream overcame gender discrimination to became the first woman and the youngest artist to receive a commission from the United States government for a statue.

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Vinnie Ream at work upon her Lincoln bust which rests upon the stand she used in the White House while President Lincoln posed for her (1847–1914). (Library of Congress)

Born in Madison, Wisconsin, in 1847 to Robert Lee and Lavinia (McDonald) Ream, she and her younger sister Mary attended the St. Joseph Female Academy and later the Christian College in Columbia, Missouri, where the family moved when she was ten. At the outbreak of the Civil War, the family lived in Kansas, where her father was involved in land surveying and mapping as the clerk to the surveyor general of Kansas. Dismissed from his post because he supported the fight for Kansas to be admitted to the Union as a free state, Robert Ream brought his family east, by way of Fort Smith, Arkansas, where Robert Ream Jr. stayed, eventually joining the Confederacy.

In 1862, the family traveled through Confederate lines to Washington, D.C., where the War Department hired Robert as a cartographer. He called on his connections and found a $600-a-year post office clerkship for Vinnie. Civil service positions were open to women due to wartime shortages of workers, and all three Ream women took advantage of this opportunity.

In addition to her postal work, Ream clerked for James Rollins, the Missouri congressman who helped her family procure wartime appointments. Vinnie's wartime efforts included writing letters to men in Union and Confederate prisons, sewing shoulder straps and epaulets onto uniforms, collecting writing materials for the troops through her work with the Ladies Great National Sanitary Fair in 1864, and singing for the wounded at the Lincoln General Hospital. Ream's public singing netted her an extra $150 a year.

In 1863 Rollins introduced Ream to the self-taught and preeminent American sculptor Clark Mills, and she became his part-time student. In 1864, she asked President Abraham Lincoln if she could sculpt him. After first refusing, Lincoln allowed her to set up a studio in the corner of his White House office where he sat for Ream for half an hour a day for five months. Critics were impressed by Ream's skill and praised the bust.

The Lincoln bust attracted attention from other politicians who, once taken by her charm, youth, intelligence, and beauty, commissioned busts and medallions. Heartened by her reception as a sculptor, Ream successfully sought the $10,000 commission offered by Congress in 1866 for a full-length marble statue of Lincoln.

After the war, Ream studied in Rome and Paris. She earned $20,000 for a bronze statue of Admiral David G. Farragut in 1875. After marrying Richard L. Hoxie of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers in 1878, her artistic labor ceased upon his request that she end her career. She died in 1914 of uremic poisoning.

Rebecca Tolley-Stokes

See also Fairs and Bazaars; Government Girls; Letter Writing; Lincoln, Abraham (1809–1865); Lewis, Edmonia (ca. 1843–ca. after 1909); Monuments; Wartime Employment.

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Reconstruction (1865–1877)

Women of all regions, classes, and races played significant roles in the Reconstruction era. The Federal government's quest to reform and reunite the nation after the destructive Civil War led to new policies and altered the course of the United States. Reconstruction was not only a political process, but also a cultural refashioning of the nation that had to take into account the 4 million newly freed slaves. Many women took an active role in the redefinition of citizenship, affecting the freedmen's transition from slavery.

The first postwar dilemma resulted from the struggle over whether the executive or legislative branch would control Reconstruction. The debate began even before the end of combat. During the war, President Abraham Lincoln and the United States Congress bantered back and forth about the control of Reconstruction. The end of the war and Lincoln's assassination spawned one of the greatest American political conflicts of the era. The discord between newly inaugurated President Andrew Johnson and the Republican Congress created tensions that not only led to his impeachment, but that also detrimentally affected Reconstruction as a whole, the freedmen, and the United States.

Johnson and Congress split over how best to bring the Union back together. Johnson's plan of Reconstruction highlighted a policy of reconciliation. The Southern-born president wanted to bring the seceded states back into the Union peacefully; he disagreed with plans that involved Federal interference, African American rights, or punishing Confederates for treason. On the other side, Congress wanted to assure secession would never occur again. Legislators believed that, to do so, the Federal government had to punish Confederates for taking up arms against the nation as well as give political and civil rights to the freedmen. The inability of the president and congress to agree on a plan of Reconstruction led to a plethora of conflicts and the near conviction of a president.

Conflict arose over the role of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands. More commonly known as the Freedmen's Bureau, this military-run organization handled a wide variety of tasks associated with the newly freed African Americans. The Freedmen's Bureau dealt with land redistribution, setting up a court system, passing out Union pensions to former black soldiers, establishing hospitals and staffing them with nurses, many of whom were women, and negotiating labor contracts between the former slaves and their former owners. The Freedmen's Bureau also established schools and hired teachers to educate the freedpeople. Northern women became involved in and aided this effort by becoming teachers and helping raise funds for the new schools.

Education created the biggest impetus for future change during the Reconstruction era. As both as teachers and students, women made large advances for themselves and the freedpeople. Without white and black Northern women's efforts as teachers, missionaries, and social reformers, progress toward assimilating freedmen into society would have been greatly retarded. The Bureau provided the buildings for the schools, and Northern religious groups, such as the American Missionary Association, provided the teachers. The other large missionary organization, the American Freedmen's Union Commission (AFUC), also used many female teachers but excluded women from its leadership positions. Though denied positions in the AFUC leadership, women formed most of the Commission's aid societies. Women also created a few of their own missionary societies to aid the freedpeople. Founded by women, the National Freedmen's Relief Association began during the Civil War and remained active during Reconstruction.

The job of educating freedpeople began quickly. By the end of 1865, the Bureau employed 1,134 teachers, many of whom were women, to teach 90,589 students in 740 schools across the South and in the Border States. Women filled most of the teaching positions in freedmen's schools, making up

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75 percent of all Northern teachers in the schools. All missionary societies had more applications than positions, but teacher tenure lasted an average of just under two years. Nevertheless, the freedmen's schools helped establish the path to public schools in the South as well as women's roles as teachers.

The primary goals of Reconstruction-era teachers went well beyond teaching reading, writing, and arithmetic. Their goals were also political and religious. The initial wave of missionary teachers consisted mostly of white middle-class women in their twenties who were unmarried, educated, and evangelical Christians. These teachers of faith, whose applications for service far outpaced funding or positions, sacrificed mostly for the greater rewards they believed they would receive in Heaven.

In addition, heading south as teachers liberated these women, however briefly, from their domestic roles. This experience exposed them to a different culture and made them actors in the fight for social justice—including their own. These women broke from the cult of domesticity that was so long practiced by white women in the nineteenth century.

Also during Reconstruction, many women served as teachers on Indian reservations as part of President Ulysses S. Grant's policy of placing missionaries in the West to Christianize and pacify America's Native peoples. Northern women took their faith not only south, but west as well.

Initially, only about 5 percent of Freedmen's Bureau teachers in the South were black and less than half were women. The lack of black teachers changed, however, largely due to the establishment of Freedmen's Bureau colleges that educated future teachers who would go south. The Freedmen's Bureau helped establish colleges such as Hampton, Howard, and Fisk, among others. All were coeducational, an uncommon occurrence in the nineteenth-century South. The curricula at these schools led to the growing number of black instructors in the South. By 1869 black teachers in the South outnumbered whites.

Female teachers, whether white or black, faced several obstacles. For example, Isabella Gibbons, a freedwoman in Virginia, had never taught before and had little idea of how to do so. She had students read the Bible and emphasized behaviors that she believed would gain the respect of others for her students. As an African American woman, she faced both race and gender prejudices.

Reconstruction allowed educational advances for black women who took advantage of the new opportunities. In 1872, African American Charlotte E. Ray became Howard University's first female law school graduate, as well as the first woman in the United States, white or black, to graduate from an accredited, nonprofit law school. That same year, the first female faculty member joined the Howard Medical School in defiance of the American Medical Association's code of ethics.

Like the colleges established by the Freedmen's Bureau, the Bureau's Southern schools included both men and women. When confronted in 1866 by a white North Carolinian who did not believe in educating freedwomen, General Oliver Otis Howard, commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau and namesake of Howard University, responded that white Northern women had succeeded through education and so could African American women. Howard then took the man on a tour of a school full of black women. The man was "converted" according to Howard.

Freedmen's teachers of all races and sexes faced many obstacles in the course of performing their duties. White Southerners often subjected them to violence and ostracized them, and the teachers had a difficult time finding places to board during their tenures in the former Confederacy. Freedmen's teachers, white and black, were regularly intimidated, flogged, driven away, and murdered by white Southerners. After one teacher's murder, Howard urged others to stand strong, keep their faith, and continue to aid the freedmen. He advised them to be bold and take on a role he believed the government could not fulfill.

Freedmen's Bureau teachers faced violence throughout the South. As late as 1868, General J. J. Reynolds told Howard not to send women to Texas because he could not protect them against abuse

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there, where women made up 75 percent of Northern teachers. A Northern white female teacher readied herself for admission and baptism into a Baptist church in Louisville. However, when the white congregation discovered that she had taught in a freedmen's school and had lived at the home of a black pastor, she was denied admission to the church. Despite such treatment, African American students and teachers, as well as white teachers, persevered. A female missionary teacher in Raleigh could not comprehend the sacrifices freedmen took to send their children to school.

Reconstruction transformed freedwomen more than it did white Southern women. Freedom allowed African American women the opportunity to reunite their families, often divided by slavery, and to become full-time parents. As the war ended, black women sought to legitimize marriages and otherwise to take control of their lives. Like their male counterparts, freedwomen who worked outside the home faced discrimination and violence from white Southerners. The postwar changes in the black family, as well as the creation of Freedmen's schools, greatly disrupted the Southern labor force. African American children, who as slaves had been forced to work in the fields from sunup to sundown, now depended on their parents and went to school.

Freedwomen's rights did not advance as rapidly as did their educational opportunities. The Freedmen's Bureau and the Freedmen's Homestead Act designated the man as the head of the family, making it difficult, if not impossible, for female heads of household to claim land. In addition, the Fifteenth Amendment did not include women in the granting of suffrage to citizens, regardless of race. As a result, African American women, like their white counterparts, did not gain many of the new civil rights, such as serving on juries, which black men had recently attained. Despite these roadblocks, black women, like their white counterparts, refused to exclude themselves from political activity. For example, when they went to their jobs in white homes, many black maids wore presidential campaign buttons supporting Ulysses S. Grant. Taking political activity further, former slave Sojourner Truth worked tirelessly for women's suffrage and had waged a campaign for it even before emancipation. In 1870, Truth gained an introduction to President Grant to discuss suffrage. She, like prominent suffragist Susan B. Anthony, would not live to vote.

African American women, including Truth, traveled the country raising money to aid freedmen. Some of this money was used to help the former slaves move from the former Confederacy. Many black women served in the Freedmen's Bureau or worked to promote it. Black women also worked as employment agents to help freedmen find work outside of overcrowded areas, particularly the nation's capital. One woman's report noted that General Howard thought the women who encouraged freedmen to leave the capital filled one of the Bureau's most important roles. Truth gave speeches to raise money, petitioned Congress for support, and traveled to Kansas in December 1870 to encourage westward settlement. Two other women, Emily Howland of Virginia and Cornelia Hancock of South Carolina, bought land to sell and rent to former slaves.

Southern white women often took roles as resistors to Reconstruction. They, no less than their male counterparts, often resented the freedom of African Americans and longed for a return to antebellum race and labor relations. They refused to treat the freedpeople as equals, socially or politically. In the face of postwar poverty, many former slaveholding women also blamed the freedpeople for their plight.

The Civil War and Reconstruction led to changes that would ultimately alter the lives of all Southerners, including white women. During this period, more women went to school than had in the antebellum years. In addition, poverty forced many women to venture into the public sphere to do tasks that servants had previously performed as well as to find employment for themselves. White women also had to perform their own domestic service, or they had to compete with freedwomen for scarce job opportunities. Elite white Southern women continued to hold antebellum ideals in high esteem while becoming more publicly visible, better educated, and more politically active.

Reconstruction activity intersected with the women's reform movement. Women's inability to

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hold key positions in the freedmen's aid movement demonstrated society's fear of the expansion of women's power outside the home. Nevertheless, Northern women's activity in aiding freedpeople through charity and utilizing Federal power was revolutionary. As a result, white Northern women, freedwomen, white Southern women, and America were impacted by women's roles in Reconstruction.

Scott L. Stabler

See also African American Women; Anthony, Susan B. (1820–1906); Domesticity; Education, Southern; Freedmen's Bureau; Hancock, Cornelia (1839–1926); Northern Women; Politics; Rape; Separate Spheres; Sherman Land (Special Field Orders, Number 15); Southern Women; Teachers, Northern; Truth, Sojourner [Isabella Baumfree] (1797–1883).

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Refugees

The Civil War created a massive movement of refugees around the South and in other parts of America. Refugees, primarily women and their children, left their homes to avoid an approaching army or battle, to leave Union-occupied territory, or to create a new, permanent life beyond the reach of the war. The refugee experience had a tremendous impact on Southern civilians during the Civil War.

As the war began, so too did the flight of civilians from their homes, especially in the South. Because nearly all adult Southern men served in the Confederate military, their wives and daughters who remained at home made up most of the South's refugees.

The flight of women and their dependents was a response to the incredible devastation visited on the South. Historians estimate that roughly two hundred thousand Confederates became refugees at some point during the war. Among the earliest were the residents of northern Virginia, who quickly found that battles like Bull Run and the movement of armies across a relatively small piece of territory could be incredibly destructive and dangerous. They began therefore to remove themselves from the affected areas. Some streamed into Virginia cities like Richmond and Petersburg, while others went to rural areas west or south of the main fighting.

By the later years of the war, northern Virginia's population had endured extensive troop movement and numerous battles, and thousands had taken to the roads in attempts to avoid the carnage, settling with relatives and friends or anywhere they thought they could find safety. They sometimes found, however, that their new destinations placed them in as much danger as their previous homes. Petersburg, for example, became the stopping point of many refugees early in the war. However, the city itself came under a lengthy siege in 1864 and 1865.

Civilians became no less migratory in the Western portions of the Confederacy, though battles and the movement of troops in this region were spread over a larger area than in the East. Many women in the Deep South and Western states of the Confederacy never saw an army, whether Union or Confederate, but those who lay in the path of the armed forces often found removal to be the wisest course. Along the Tennessee River, near New Orleans, Baton Rouge, and Vicksburg, around Chattanooga, Atlanta, and Sherman's wide path to the sea and northward, women fled the destruction that threat-

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ened to destroy their farms and bring danger to their families.

As more and more of the Confederacy came under the control of Union forces, many women decided to forsake their homes in favor of protecting their lives. They chafed under the prospect of enemy occupation and feared the depredations of a hostile army. Numerous women fled to areas still under Confederate control, where they could express their political allegiances openly and live in what they viewed as their own nation.

Some Confederate civilians were forcibly expelled from occupied territories by Union authorities. Wives of important Confederates and women who refused to take an oath of loyalty to the United States could find themselves thrust into the Confederacy. Although many did not mind the change of government that such a move entailed, they bemoaned the loss of their homes and the need to start rebuilding their lives in a new area.

Civilians in the Border States and territories also encountered the need to flee, and the experience for them often proved especially brutal. In addition to the difficulties created by the movement of Union and Confederate armies in the area, the border regions were also torn apart by fierce guerrilla warfare, of which civilians often became the targets. Kentucky, Missouri, and Kansas all saw considerable violence that pushed many civilians out of their homes.

The Indian Territory was also torn apart by incredibly brutal conflicts that exacerbated existing schisms stemming from the removal treaties of the 1830s. Tribes split over the question of supporting the Union or the Confederacy, and, as in the Border States, civilians were both the participants in and the targets of vicious fighting. Thousands of Union and Confederate supporters fled the carnage. Confederate refugees from these areas often went to Texas, whereas Union sympathizers traveled to Kansas.

For civilians in Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, Missouri, and the Indian Territory, Texas beckoned as an especially attractive destination. The trek to Texas was not too arduous, and the state was generally beyond the reach of Union forces. Thousands of women and their families made the journey, settling thickly in eastern Texas. There they, like refugees in other areas, tried to create the semblance of stability by finding new homes and developing ties to new people and places.

For some women in the Western portion of the Confederacy, becoming a refugee meant more than leaving home to avoid the violence of a battle or the depredations of an army. Instead, these women intended to recreate their plantation society in Texas, where they hoped the Union army would never arrive. Some planters, for example, moved all or part of their agricultural operations to Texas, marching slaves and livestock overland. They rented or bought land and began to plant, determined to make a living. Some prospered, but, as they struggled through the final years of the war, most found the obstacles overwhelming: a harsh climate, the Union blockade that prevented the export of cotton and other agricultural products, a lack of startup capital and the opposition of slaves who resented being uprooted and sensed that the war could potentially destroy slavery.

The life of a refugee was difficult, and women had to fight to support themselves and their families. Many families left their homes quickly upon hearing that battle or the arrival of an army was imminent, and they often packed hurriedly. Hasty, often panicked, packing, combined with the economic devastation of the war years and the privations caused by the Union blockade, ensured that women left home without the resources necessary to ensure a comfortable stay in a new location. Women who had family to stay with fared best, though an extended refugee period could wear on the patience and resources of even the most supportive relatives. Other women, arriving in a new area with no connections and little hard currency, found innumerable hardships. Housing was often in short supply, inflation was staggering, and, especially in urban areas, acquiring food could be difficult. Finding themselves in dire straits, many refugee women sold their clothing, jewelry, and anything else of value in a desperate attempt to feed and house their families.

In the process, they often faced a hostile reception in their destination. Civilians already struggling to survive amid the hardships of war and blockade

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rarely welcomed the influx of more homeless, jobless, hungry families to their area. They resented and sometimes took advantage of the desperate newcomers, charging exorbitant prices for food and housing.

While many refugees left home for only a short period of time, returning home after the immediate danger had passed, others stayed away for months or years. Either by design or the course of events, some women found that they could not return home. Whether they lived as refugees for a few days or years, however, women feared, with good reason, what they might find upon returning home. They were likely to discover destroyed fields, looted homes, and slaughtered livestock. The passage of an army, even friendly Confederates, through an area brought considerable destruction; fences were pulled down for fires, and fields and barns were stripped for food. The coming of a vengeful Union army or a battle in the area compounded the damage, and many women found that they had nothing left to which they and their families could return.

While the vast majority of Civil War refugees were Confederates, some Union women and their families also had to flee. Some Unionists left the South, especially the states of the upper South, at the outbreak of hostilities. The choice to leave the Confederacy was a painful one for many Union supporters, who grieved for the disintegration of their nation as well as for the loss of their homes. Furthermore, they dreaded the prospect of starting over in a new area. While they may have hoped for a brief exile, many Unionist women feared that they might never see their Southern homes again. Some Northern women also fled their homes in advance of Confederate invasions into Maryland and Pennsylvania.

By the end of the war, many women began to bring their families home. Others, however, settled permanently in their new location, either because they had grown to like the area or because they discovered that they had nothing left at home. Whether after an absence of a few days or at the end of the war, the return home could be wrenching. Women often arrived to find their homes looted, burned, or occupied by squatters and their farms in disarray. They were faced with the task of rebuilding when they had little money. They also faced a severe shortage of labor caused by the erosion of the slave system and the absence, maiming, or death of white male Southerners in the war.

African American women and their families also became refugees, often to escape bondage or harassment. Thousands of African American refugees made their way to Union camps during the war. Although many of the refugees were male, women and children also left their homes for the relative safety and freedom that Union camps offered. Upon arrival, they found crowded, unsanitary conditions, frequent outbreaks of disease, and military leadership that was both unprepared for their presence and unwelcoming. Many women took up work in the Union camps, washing and cooking to support themselves and their families. Northern churches and charities provided education, medical care, and other services, and they helped ameliorate the deplorable conditions, but camp life continued to offer considerable hardships to refugee women and their families.

Other African American women found refuge in the South's urban areas or in the Northern states. Some Northern churches and charitable organizations sponsored refugees, helping them create new lives in the North. Even with assistance, however, refugee life was often difficult for freedwomen and their families. They struggled to find work and support themselves in the face of poverty and racism.

The most famous African American refugees were those who followed Union General William T. Sherman through southern Georgia. The group grew into the thousands, including men, women, and family groups. Frustrated by their presence and eager to be rid of them, Sherman issued Field Orders Number 15 in January 1865, which allocated to the African American refugees a huge swath of abandoned land in coastal South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. Many former slaves settled on the land and began working it, but by the end of the year President Andrew Johnson had reversed the order and returned the land to its former Confederate owners.

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See also African American Women; Aid Societies; Atlanta, Evacuation of (Special Field Orders, Number 67); Border States; Camp Followers; Civilian Life; Confederate Homefront; Contrabands; Destruction of Homes; Destruction of Personal Property; Disease; Family Life, Confederate; Family Life, Union; Food; Foraging, Effects on Women; Loyalty Oaths; Northern Women; Sherman Land (Special Field Orders, Number 15); Sherman, William Tecumseh (1820–1891); Sherman's Campaign (1864–1865); Shortages; Southern Unionists; Southern Women; Union Homefront; Urban Women, Northern; Urban Women, Southern.

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Reid, Mary Martha (1812–1894)

The widow of former Florida territorial governor Robert Raymond Reid and the daughter of Florida developer and Civil War blockade runner Samuel Swan, Mary Martha Reid established a Richmond, Virginia hospital for Florida's Confederate soldiers and spent the war caring for these men.

Mary Martha Swan was born in St. Mary's, Georgia, on September 29, 1812. As a young child, she moved with her parents to Florida, and in 1836, while visiting St. Augustine, Mary met and married Robert Raymond Reid, then a judge of the United States Superior Court. Together they had two children. One died in infancy and the other, Raymond Jenckes Reid, lived long enough to serve in the Civil War.

Three years after their marriage, Robert Reid was appointed governor of the Florida territory. He died in 1841, shortly after leaving office. The widowed Mary taught school to provide for herself and her son. Upon the outbreak of the war, Reid became a nurse at a military hospital in Lake City, Florida. Her son enlisted in the Second Florida Infantry, which left for Virginia in July 1861. Her son's wartime absence undoubtedly contributed to Reid's decision to assist in the establishment of a hospital for Florida troops in Virginia.

In the summer of 1862, Reid and several other prominent Floridians began urging the state government to create a Florida hospital in Richmond. Officials selected an old tobacco warehouse as the location of the new Florida Hospital, also known as General Hospital Number 11. Floridians donated supplies for the hospital, and the state provided additional funding. Florida Governor John Milton appointed Dr. Thomas Palmer as superintendent and director, and Reid became head matron. She left Lake City in July 1862 for the journey to Richmond.

Reid's patients treated her with an affection bordering on adoration. Numerous accounts describe Reid's devotion to the hospital and its patients. Statistics for the hospital's first year of operations show that the facility treated 1,076 patients with a mortality rate of less than 5 percent. A Richmond paper credited the hospital's surgeons and also the devotion of its matron, Reid, whom her patients called the *buena madre.*

In late 1863, the Confederate government moved to reorganize the administration of its military hospitals in Richmond and to close many of the small facilities, including the Florida Hospital. Reid then worked at Howard's Grove Hospital, where one of the wards was reserved primarily for Floridians. In the spring of 1864, Reid suffered a tragic personal loss when her son was mortally wounded at the Wilderness; his grieving mother supervised his burial in Hollywood Cemetery. An obituary lauded Jenckes Reid's wartime service, as well as that of his mother.

Reid continued her work at Howard's Grove until the end of the war. She fled Richmond on the same train that carried President Jefferson Davis from the city. Returning to Florida, she stayed briefly at the home of her "honored friend," Dr. Palmer. In 1866 the state legislature passed an act granting Reid an annual pension of $600. She taught for a time after the war before eventually moving in with a relative and living with his family until her death on June 24, 1894. The first Florida United Daughters of the Confederacy chapter was named for

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Mary Reid, as was a dormitory at the University of Florida.

David Coles

See also Confederate Homefront; Hospitals; Mourning; Nurses; Pensions, Confederate Widows; Politics; Southern Women; Teachers, Southern; United Daughters of the Confederacy.

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Remond, Sarah Parker (1826–1894)

African American antislavery activist Sarah Parker Remond promoted abolitionism in the Civil War era and better conditions for the freedpeople after the war. Remond raised money and lectured in both the United States and Great Britain, publishing many of her speeches, as well as some of her other writings. Remond's life clearly reflected her commitment to social activism and, more important, to self-determination, which she exhibited throughout her life.

Born in Massachusetts to successful and affluent free black parents who valued education, Sarah attended public schools in Salem while young, but she was primarily self-educated. Her parents were members of the social and financial black elite of New England, and they participated extensively in the Massachusetts antislavery society, the Underground Railroad, and other national abolitionist organizations. Sarah's mother also taught her to pursue liberty legally and that being African American was not a crime. Sarah's brother, Charles, was one of the first African American speakers on the antislavery circuit.

Charles first encouraged Sarah's entry into antislavery activities and then helped shape her performance on the speakers' platform. For about a decade starting in 1859, Remond intermittently gave lecture tours in England, Ireland, and Scotland, sponsored by British antislavery societies. Remond's speeches focused on raising money for American Anti-Slavery Society activities and on raising English consciousness about attitudes toward blacks in their Caribbean colonies. All who heard Remond's lectures praised her style of rhetoric and presentation. From a typically overemotional and sentimentalized nineteenth-century tone, she transitioned to straightforward, rational, and calmly presented lectures. Sarah believed that African Americans should speak out on their own behalf against slavery, especially since the American press had done such a poor job of it. She relied on facts and statistics to provide an arena in which her listeners were rationally convinced to see the injustices of slavery, rather than emotionally moved. The manner and substance of her work won her continued respect in Europe, where she lectured after the war against the discrimination and ill treatment of the freedpeople and raised money in England for their relief.

Her family background made Sarah well aware of the horrors of slavery and the efforts to end the institution. It also affected Sarah's reaction when she personally experienced racial discrimination. After purchasing a ticket to the opera in New York City and being seated with friends, Sarah was injured while being forcibly removed from her seat. She sued the theater managers and won her case in the mid-1850s. While touring for the American Anti-Slavery Society, Sarah and Charles encountered insults and discrimination in accommodations. When in England in the mid-1860s, Remond applied for a visa to visit France and was turned down by an American embassy agent asserting that African Americans were not citizens of the United States. The British Foreign Secretary later approved her request.

On her extended stays in England, Sarah attended college classes in London and visited not only the countries of the British Isles, but France and Italy. Her move to Florence, Italy, became permanent in 1866 when she entered medical school at the Santa Maria Nuova Hospital; she received a diploma in 1871 and practiced medicine in Florence for twenty years. She married a Sardinian man and resided in Italy until her death in 1894. She is buried in Rome.

Donna Cooper Graves

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See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; African American Women; Antislavery Societies; Education, Northern; Free Blacks; Freedmen's Bureau; Northern Women; Union Homefront.

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Ricketts, Fanny (n.d.–1900)

During the Civil War, Frances "Fanny" Ricketts achieved a respectable notoriety for her dedicated nursing of her critically wounded husband after the Battle of Manassas. When her husband, Union Captain James Ricketts, was sent to a prisoner of war facility in Richmond, Virginia, Fanny became a voluntary captive and shared her husband's confinement. She prevented the amputation of his leg and successfully interceded when he was threatened with execution. Later, she opened her home to wounded soldiers, continuing her tradition of dedicated nursing.

Fanny Lawrence and James Ricketts were married in 1856. She accompanied him to the Texas frontier, where he was stationed with the First Artillery. Fanny developed a reputation as a compassionate nurse and a productive member of the garrison. In 1861, the couple traveled to Virginia when the First Artillery was transferred there in preparation for the impending war.

On July 21, 1861, James was severely wounded while commanding his battery at the Battle of Manassas. Fanny was determined to find him and nurse him back to health. To pass through Confederate lines, she drew upon her relationships with Confederate officers whom she had favorably impressed before the war. Colonel J.E.B. Stuart issued her a pass to travel through the Confederate lines, and General Joseph Johnston granted her permission to reach the battlefield.

On July 26, Fanny located her gravely wounded husband at a makeshift hospital. In her diary she recorded the horrible conditions she encountered. Amputated limbs littered the floor and gangrene ran rampant. Surgeons planned to amputate James's leg, but Fanny refused to allow it. For one week, she nursed him and other wounded captives.

In August, James was transferred to a Richmond hospital. When prison officials attempted to prevent Fanny from accompanying her husband, she appealed to General Johnston. In Richmond, the couple encountered grim conditions at the hospital. Fanny continued to nurse her husband, once even opening an infected abscess. She employed her diplomatic skills to obtain extra food from the wives of high-ranking Confederate officers.

In November, the Ricketts were transferred to Libby Prison where Fanny learned her husband had been selected as a hostage for captured Confederate privateersmen. Because the Federal government viewed the Confederate captives as traitors subject to execution, Confederate authorities threatened selected captives with the same fate. Fanny appealed to the wife of the Confederate adjutant and inspector general; her intervention played a role in the commutation of her husband's sentence.

Fanny's imprisonment ended in December when her husband was released. After his death in 1877, Fanny received a pension; when financial hardship forced her to seek an increase, former Union soldiers who had benefited from her nursing testified on her behalf. Fanny Ricketts died in 1900 and was buried with her husband at Arlington National Cemetery.

Karen Kinzey

See also Bull Run/Manassas, First Battle of (July 21, 1861); Imprisonment of Women; Northern Women; Nurses; Pensions, Union Widows.

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Ropes, Hannah (1809–1863)

Nurse, supervisor, author, feminist, abolitionist, free soiler, and reformer, Hannah Ropes lost her life in the service of her country and a cause about which she was unusually passionate.

Hannah Anderson Chandler was born June 13, 1809, in New Gloucester, Maine, to Peleg and Esther Parsons Chandler. She had nine siblings. Her father and two brothers were lawyers involved in Massachusetts politics. Through family and acquaintances, she became friends with politically powerful people like Charles Sumner and Nathaniel P. Banks. In 1834, she married William Henry Ropes, a teacher and farmer. The couple had four children, only two of whom survived childhood. William abandoned Hannah and the children some time between 1847 and 1855. They never divorced but apparently never saw each other again.

As a single mother, Hannah reveled in her newfound freedom and joined the abolitionist movement. In 1855 she challenged proslavery sentiments with her son, Edward Elson Ropes, in the tumultuous Kansas territory. In Lawrence, Kansas, she nursed the sick until 1856 when she returned to Massachusetts as the violence in Kansas escalated. That same year, she wrote a book detailing her experiences in Kansas called *Six Months in Kansas: By a Lady.* She remained involved in political issues and benevolent works, publishing a second book in 1859 entitled *Cranston House: A Novel,* a fictional work loosely based on events in her own life.

In June 1862, following her son's enlistment in the Second Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry Regiment, Hannah signed on as a nurse under the supervision of Dorothea Dix, superintendent of the United States army nurses. Hannah wanted a part in the war effort and turned to one of the few arenas open to women and for which she had talent: nursing. She had been strongly influenced by Florence Nightingale's *Notes on Nursing: What It Is, and What It Is Not,* and Nightingale's philosophy motivated her to fight for better conditions for wounded soldiers. She embraced the belief that it was her duty and honor to mother "her boys." She arrived in Georgetown, Washington, D.C., in June 1862 and began her work as matron of nurses at the Union Hotel Hospital.

Louisa May Alcott, one of the nurses working under Ropes, nicknamed the hospital the Hurly Burly House, given the chaotic and poor conditions. It was an old building, poorly ventilated, damp, and cold. Ropes oversaw ten nurses and four hundred patients. She immediately worked to improve the conditions, sanitation, and patient treatment. As a part of that work, she reported two officers—a chief surgeon and a steward—for malfeasance. She accused them of depriving patients of food, stealing from patients, selling supplies meant for patients, and treating patients cruelly. When the surgeon general ignored her complaints, she appealed to Secretary of War Edwin Stanton. The two men were arrested and imprisoned, and Stanton reassigned the administrators.

Tragically, in January 1863, both Ropes and Alcott fell ill with typhoid pneumonia at the hospital. Alcott survived, but Ropes died. She is buried in New Gloucester, Maine.

Paula Katherine Hinton

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; Alcott, Louisa May (1832–1888); Disease; Dix, Dorothea Lynde (1802–1887); Hospitals; Northern Women; Nurses; Politics; Wartime Employment.

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Roswell Women

In July 1864, Union General William T. Sherman forced the female factory workers employed at the textile mills in Roswell, Georgia, to leave. They and their families were deported north of the Ohio River.

In 1839, Roswell King founded the Roswell Manufacturing Company north of Atlanta along the banks of Vickery's Creek, which fed into the Chatta-

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hoochee River. The small industrial complex with its two textile mills, twenty dwellings, two churches, a slave chapel, and a schoolhouse soon became known as Roswell. During the Civil War, the King mills produced fifteen thousand yards of cloth every month for the Confederate government. Most of the workers were young, white Southern women who needed the money to support their families and most of whom had male relatives in the Confederate army. In 1864, as Union troops neared Roswell, James Roswell King transferred ownership to French weaver Theophile Roche in the hopes of protecting his grandfather's mills.

The Union army pushed Confederate troops across the Chattahoochee River on July 1, 1864, and continued on toward Roswell. When Sherman's soldiers arrived in Roswell, they found French flags flying over the Kings' residence and mills. Roche and several citizens demanded protection due to French neutrality. However, the presence of French flags and citizens did little to protect the mills or the town, and they may have even angered Union officials. Sherman had given orders for his men to destroy the factories for their role in producing Confederate uniforms. A quick inspection soon revealed Confederate cloth in the factories, and the discovery sealed their fate. Union troops burned all the factories on July 6, 1864.

The Union did not stop at the destruction of the factories and surrounding homes. On July 8, Sherman gave orders to treat everyone associated with the factories, male or female, as enemies and traitors. He further ordered his subordinates to round up Roswell's civilians and send them to Marietta, Georgia. Four to five hundred civilians were forced to Marietta, most in army transports, to await trains that would take them to Nashville, Tennessee.

By July 10, the refugees had gathered at Marietta, where other Georgia mill workers joined them. Soon thereafter, the nearly three thousand people traveled north by railroad to Nashville, Tennessee, Louisville, Kentucky, and Evansville, Indiana. The women remained destitute, while state and local officials argued over who was responsible for their care.

Little is known about the fate of the Roswell refugees. As poor women, they left few records. As a result, the exact number of women who remained north or returned to Georgia after the Civil War is unknown.

William H. Brown

See also Atlanta, Evacuation of (Special Field Orders, Number 67); Confederate Homefront; Destruction of Homes; Factory Workers, Southern; Sherman, William Tecumseh (1820–1891); Sherman's Campaign (1864–1865); Southern Women; Wartime Employment.

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Rural Women

Much of Civil War America was rural. Southern plantation owners' wives and slaves, as well as middle-class and poor subsistence farmers' wives in the antebellum North and South, all lived in rural settings.

The profile of rural communities changed when white men joined the wartime military. In the South, black females predominated the population, while in the North and West, white women made up the bulk of the rural population. By the end of the war, small farms dominated the Southern landscape, as they did in the North before and after the war, and women headed more households than they had prior to the war. During the war, masses of rural Southern women, black and white, congregated in cities for employment and safety, many remaining afterward. During the war, women's attitudes, expectations, and activities changed. Women's wartime occupations as teachers, nurses, office and shop clerks, factory workers, spies, smugglers, soldiers, and farm managers often led to postwar activities that continued their wartime independence. Women

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directed public pursuits for the public good rather than solely for their families. As a result of war, working women constituted a new demographic group composed primarily of former rural residents.

Rural women's wartime experiences varied depending on their proximity to troops and battles, as well as their socioeconomic status, race, political persuasion, and household composition. More is known about Southern women's lives because many elite women kept diaries and wrote memoirs, recording their own, their slaves', and other women's conduct. Many wealthy rebel women enthusiastically supported the war and encouraged loved ones to enlist. On the other hand, some poor women resented Confederate laws that allowed wealthy men to avoid service by hiring a substitute.

All women whose loved ones became soldiers lost antebellum protection and companionship. Southern women coped with more widespread and devastating deprivations than did Northern women for several reasons. First, most battles were fought on Southern soil. Second, because most Southerners lived on farms, a higher percentage of Southern white men were in the armed forces and nearly one-third of them died during the war. Third, military and refugee populations overwhelmed the South's food production capacity. Like their Southern counterparts, Northern farm women shouldered some of the manual labor that men had performed. However, few endured shortages of food, clothing, and heat; few lacked medical care and transportation; few saw their homes and possessions destroyed or appropriated; and few lived as refugees or faced a lawless society. Southern rural women rarely escaped hardship, especially after the Union initiated hard war policies in early 1863. Their diminishing ability to survive and aid the Confederacy influenced the war's outcome and society's recovery.

War intruded primarily on the residences, gardens, and fields of rural women who lived near main roads and towns, troop encampments, battlefields, or lines of march. In Virginia and Tennessee, where the majority of battles occurred, more women and land withstood depredation than in other states. Throughout the South, military and refugee populations increased concurrently as laborers, implements, and work animals vanished. Plantation mistresses grappled with the heightened insubordination of the few remaining slaves. Union soldiers saw subsistence farmers' wives pulling plows, but some fortunate middling farmers' wives employed an able-bodied slave, exempt white man, or a discharged veteran to help raise crops and food. Homefront efforts benefited the military, sometimes the enemy, more than they did individual families. Where armies occupied areas for extended periods, soldiers exhausted the supplies of surrounding farms and continually expanded their foraging to more remote and smaller homesteads. As they invaded the countryside, soldiers took or destroyed food, crops, fences, tools, and livestock. In the South, salt became so scarce that women dug dirt from smokehouse floors and boiled it to render the precious preservative. They also substituted sweet potatoes and other vegetables for coffee, another rare commodity. Occasionally their hidden sugar, ground corn, and other preserved food escaped soldiers' searches. When warfare moved into the Deep South and slaves fled to Union lines, plantation mistresses, accustomed to slaves producing cotton and food, found it difficult to grow even a vegetable garden.

When rural Northern women left their homes, the move was often voluntary, and they stayed with relatives only until their husbands returned. Unlike those of their Southern sisters, Northern women's homes and possessions primarily remained intact. Northern and Southern women who remained on their land frequently consolidated households for security, additional workers, and emotional solace. Whether freely or forced, women on both sides accepted soldiers as guests or boarders. Northern and Southern rural women sheltered poor families who offered essential skills such as weaving or carpentry. Because Southern women accommodated greater numbers of temporary residents, they often lived in cramped conditions or in former barns and outbuildings.

Before soldiers appeared, rural Southern families began altering their living arrangements and refugees abounded. Many of the wealthiest families

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sent their children to distant boarding schools. Avid Confederate supporters vacated their homes for places deemed safer, such as Atlanta, Mobile, and Texas, while Unionist families moved north. Planters with large slave populations protected their investments by either selling or sending them to live in Texas or other places where they would be unlikely to find Union forces. When Federals captured territory, they arrested vocal male secessionists and ordered their families to move behind Confederate lines. If time permitted, women sewed money, bonds, gold, jewelry, and documents into their clothing. Elite plantation women lived in relative comfort, even if they had to move several times, until the war's final months when basic necessities were so scarce that money mattered little. Although technically refugees, they experienced few of the afflictions that their poor sisters endured. As hostilities intensified, less well-to-do Southern Unionists living among Confederate sympathizers (and vice versa) fled out of fear of violence or from violence itself, becoming itinerant refugees. Other Southern females joined refugee ranks after their homes were destroyed or commandeered, if they were unable to combine households with relatives or neighbors, or when they or family members were elderly or sick. Escaping slaves formed another refugee group, and they considered themselves fortunate if they found a vacant building or boxcar for shelter. Most eventually arrived in Union-controlled areas, where they found freedom, food, and work.

Rural women devised countless ways to earn money for survival while aiding their nation's war effort. Many made clothing for the troops, but only a few were paid for their efforts. Until their own provisions dwindled, many Southern farm wives made money selling produce and baked goods to soldiers. Numerous white and some black women, Northern and Southern, left their farms to work in hospitals, taking on vocations previously reserved for men. Other Southern white women toiled in government offices, factories, or stores. Although the army employed cooks and domestics, many Southern whites considered these tasks to be beneath them. Destitute women gleaned battlefields for food, clothing, minié balls, and anything else that could be used or bartered. The most desperate women turned to prostitution.

As difficult as wartime life became for rural white women, it was considerably worse for African American women. Escaping slaves risked being caught, returned, and beaten; free blacks were in danger of losing their freedom if captured. Nevertheless, when Union forces neared, slaves left en masse. In rural areas, untold numbers of Northern and Southern black women helped escaped slaves and captured black Union soldiers find their way to freedom via the Underground Railroad. Slave women signaled coded messages to fugitives by hanging quilts that offered hidden information. Notable Northern black women, including Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth, risked capture and death every time they guided escapees through waterways and secret paths.

During the Civil War, many slaveholders, unwilling or unable to clothe and feed their slaves, leased them. In addition, household servants, usually those owned by small farmers, often remained with their white families, assuming the most strenuous tasks. Neither Confederate nor Union soldiers considered raping black women a crime; thus sexual assaults against blacks were more commonplace than those against whites. Undeterred, slave women continued to flee to contraband camps, to Northern cities, and to the Federal Army, where some were hired as cooks, seamstresses, and laundresses. When the Union army began enlisting black men in 1863, they were isolated from their families, who were prohibited from visiting them, for months. Until the U.S. colored troops' boycott forced the government to rectify its unequal pay scale, their families, North and South, confronted starvation.

Regardless of race or region, rural women supported their soldiers. Northern and Southern church and community groups sold quilts and other handmade goods to raise money for their cause. As casualties mounted, women on both sides unraveled fabric to collect lint for bandages. Southern women sacrificed prized possessions, including wedding dresses to make regimental flags, and later they converted linens into clothing and carpets into shoes. In the South, the cotton shortage, the diversion of most

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textiles to military use, and the lack of firewood for winter heat increased the army and civilian demand for cloth production. Women who had previously depended on slaves to make clothing and bedding learned to spin, card, weave, quilt, and produce blankets and uniforms. In addition, adventurous Union and Confederate women spied, smuggled, hid soldiers, and led soldiers through unfamiliar territory. Some Union commanders recruited black women as spies in the knowledge that Southern whites often talked freely around them.

While Northern women traveled freely, rural Southerners in occupied areas had to obtain travel passes from Union officers. Despite restrictions, elite young belles visited relatives and friends and attended dances hosted by occupying commanders.

The war interrupted most of the social life in the South. Without a horse or buggy, most rural Southern women lost the antebellum emotional support they once gained through their social life and church. Churches, schools, and government did not operate in the rural South during most of the war. Churches split according to political views; Unionists were shunned at some churches and Confederates outcast from others.

In addition, many Northern and Southern rural communities divided during the Civil War. Neighbors reported others to Union authorities for suspected support of Confederates, or vice versa, depending on which side controlled the territory. Guerrillas of both persuasions retaliated against their political opponents. Until midwar, in Union-held Southern territory, soldiers protected Unionists' farms. Union sympathizers' property was exempt from confiscation unless necessary; then they received compensation. Neutral women received protection, but their houses and personal property could be appropriated without compensation. Known Confederate supporters were subject to arrest, forced removal to behind Confederate lines, harassment, and property confiscation or destruction if they stayed in Federal territory. As the war progressed, Union troops raided wealthy secessionist farms more extensively. In most Southern states, law enforcement and courts were discontinued, leaving women at the mercy of guerrillas, opportunistic thieves, foraging and violent soldiers, and potential slave revolts. Rural women on both sides protected their homes and families as best they could, wielding axes and guns when necessary.

Border states weathered a war within the larger Civil War. In Missouri and Kansas, the antebellum dispute over admitting Kansas as a free state precipitated bloody guerrilla attacks. Rural women there saw their husbands killed or brutally assaulted and their homes destroyed. The violence continued with secession and the outbreak of war. Proslavery bushwhackers, eventually legitimized as Confederate units, and free state jayhawkers conducted a reign of terror against each other's supporters. The irregulars arrested or physically harmed women who aided the opposing side or who were suspected of doing so. Women in states that did not secede, particularly Ohio and Kentucky, suffered similar treatment from outlaw bands supporting the Confederacy. Those were isolated incidents, in contrast to the prevalent attacks that Southern Unionist and black women experienced. All rural women lived with one constant wartime companion: fear.

Nancy L. Adgent

See also African American Women; Aid Societies; Camp Followers; Confederate Homefront; Confederate Sympathizers, Northern; Destruction of Homes; Destruction of Personal Property; Diaries and Journals; Fairs and Bazaars; Family Life, Confederate; Family Life, Union; Female Spies; Flags, Regimental; Food; Foraging, Effects on Women; Fundraising; Guerrilla Warfare; Homespun; Impressment; Military Invasion and Occupation; Nonslaveholding Southerners; Northern Women; Nurses; Plantation Life; Prostitution; Rape; Refugees; Religion; Southern Unionists; Southern Women; Truth, Sojourner [Isabella Baumfree] (1797–1883); Tubman, Harriet [Araminta Ross] (1822–1913); Union Homefront; Wartime Employment.

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S

Safford [Stafford], Mary Jane (ca. 1831 or 1834–1891)

Civil War nurse Mary Jane Safford was known for her tireless and dedicated service. She later turned her natural love of medicine and care for others into a lifelong career of distinction and honor as one of the best female doctors of her era.

Safford was born in Hyde Park, Vermont, on December 31 of either 1831 or 1834 (the records vary). She grew up in Illinois near Joliet, subsequently working as a governess for a German family in Canada for a short while before returning to Illinois. Here, in the summer of 1861, she met Mary Anne "Mother" Bickerdyke, a famous nurse who had come to Cairo, Illinois, to take care of the Union soldiers. When an epidemic of several infectious diseases broke out among the troops, Safford saw the need and volunteered as a nurse. She had long admired Bickerdyke and relished the opportunity to work with her. Safford could have remained at the hospital to care for the wounded, but her heart was with the soldiers languishing in the many camps. Soon she earned the name of Angel of Cairo for her tender care of the soldiers and her refusal to give up.

Traveling from camp to camp, overworked and exhausted, Safford fashioned a truce flag from a broomstick and white petticoat so that she would not be accidentally shot as she moved among the tents. She was a familiar figure on the fields near Fort Donelson in Tennessee and Belmont, Missouri, among others. After leaving Fort Donelson,

Civil War nurse Mary J. Safford [Stafford] became a doctor in 1869. (Brockett, Linus Pierpont & Mary C. Vaughan, *Woman's Work in the Civil War: A Record of Heroism, Patriotism and Patience*, 1867)

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she went to work aboard two different transport boats, the *City of Memphis* followed by the *Hazel Dell.* In Tennessee, she also served with General Ulysses S. Grant at Shiloh and again with Bickerdyke in the camps at Savannah. Safford hurt her back severely and had to be confined to bed for several months. She returned to her brother's home in Illinois and then traveled to Europe to complete her recovery.

After the war, Safford realized she wanted to become a doctor. She threw herself into her studies with the same fervor and attention that she had given the soldiers, and she graduated from the Medical College for Women in New York in 1869. She traveled to Austria and studied at the General Hospital in Vienna before attending the University of Breslau in Germany. In Breslau, she became the first woman to perform an ovariotomy. In 1872, she opened a private practice in Chicago where she met and married James Blake, but the marriage ended in divorce in 1880. Safford spent the latter years of her career as a professor of women's diseases at the Boston University School of Medicine and as a staff doctor at the Massachusetts Homeopathic Hospital.

Mary Jane Safford retired to Florida where she died in Tarpon Springs December 8, 1891.

Jay Warner

See also Bickerdyke, Mary Ann Ball "Mother" (1817–1901); Disease; Hospitals; Hospital Ships; Northern Women; Nurses; Wartime Employment.

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Schuyler, Louisa Lee (1837–1926)

Social reformer Louisa Lee Schuyler helped lead the United States Sanitary Commission during the Civil War.

She was born in New York City to a socially prominent and affluent family. Her great-grandfathers were Revolutionary War Generals Phillip Schuyler and Alexander Hamilton. Despite her privileged background, she dedicated her life to public service, which had long been a tradition in her family. As a young woman, Schuyler was active in the Children's Aid Society of New York.

Shortly after the Civil War erupted, Harry Raymond, founder of the *New York Times,* placed an advertisement in his newspaper asking for women to join his wife in compiling and preparing supplies for wounded soldiers. Women throughout the North responded by gathering in private homes and churches to produce the necessary items for Union soldiers. On April 26, 1861, Schuyler organized a meeting of four thousand women in New York City and founded the Women's Central Association of Relief for the Sick and Wounded of the Army. She wanted her organization, which was modeled after the British Sanitary Commission created during the Crimean War to combat the unsanitary conditions that caused disease, to be national in scope.

Schuyler attempted to get the Federal government to recognize her organization, but initially there was little interest. President Abraham Lincoln believed that the organization would be difficult to administer. However, on June 13, 1861, he reluctantly signed an order officially establishing the United States Sanitary Commission. By 1863, there were over seven thousand local commissions throughout the North. Schuyler served as chairman of the Committee on Correspondence and Publicity for the Commission. She wrote reports and letters, spoke to the local commissions, and gave public lectures on the Commission's work. Schuyler, along with other members of the Commission, inspected Union army camps and prison camps operated by the Confederate army, and she wrote detailed reports for the government on the unsanitary conditions she found there.

Thousands of women volunteered with the Sanitary Commission. Under Schuyler's leadership, the women collected food, clothing items, and medical supplies for Union soldiers. Over twenty-five thousand packages were sent to Union troops, and amazingly only one package was lost. The women served as nurses in army hospitals and camps. They used their homes to provide sleeping quarters and meals for soldiers traveling to and from the warfront. The Commission supplied and operated steamships, provided by the government, that were

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used as floating hospitals, and it pioneered the use of trains as mobile hospitals and a field ambulance corps. Schuyler helped to organize sanitary fairs in many large cities. The fairs were operated by the women volunteers and attracted the public by selling baked goods and handmade crafts, among other items. Over the course of the Civil War, the Sanitary Commission collected and distributed nearly $6 million.

After the war, Schuyler devoted the rest of her life to promoting social welfare. She founded the New York State Charities Aid Association in 1872. This organization inspected homeless shelters and made recommendations to improve the standards of care.

Louisa Lee Schuyler died in 1926.

Gene C. Gerard

See also Aid Societies; Fairs and Bazaars; Fundraising; Hospitals; Hospital Ships; Northern Women; Nurses; Union Homefront; United States Sanitary Commission; Women's Central Association of Relief.

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Secession

The idea of secession was based on the Constitutional theory of states' rights, a belief that citizens acting through their states were superior to the Federal government. This belief held that citizens could nullify, or choose not to enforce, Federal laws that violated the Constitution and, in the most extreme case, could choose to voluntarily leave the Union. These theories stretched back at least to 1798 and to the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions, and they were discussed and debated in the press and by politicians across the country. The mechanism for nullification or secession was a special convention of the people—the ultimate source of sovereignty—modeled on those used to ratify the Constitution. Only in South Carolina had voters actually tested the theory of states' rights, nullifying a Federal tariff law in 1832; an ambiguous compromise that resolved the crisis allowed both supporters and critics of states' rights to claim victory.

After the South Carolina nullification crisis, many white Southerners considered states' rights and secession to be their ultimate weapons in the battle to protect slavery. From the 1830s to 1860, the secession movement was rooted in the sectional disagreement about the future of slavery in the United States. White Southerners considered slavery the foundation of their social order and culture, and they believed that only its survival would preserve their civilization and ensure their safety and prosperity. Thus, when Southerners spoke of defending slavery, they understood it broadly to encompass their slave-based way of life. The majority of white Southerners, male and female, ultimately supported secession in 1860 and 1861 in order to protect slavery and all that it represented in their lives.

Before the 1850s, Southerners often discussed secession as a means to protect slavery, but, as long as the direct threat to the institution remained slight, secession was too radical for the great majority of voters. However, support for disunion grew in the aftermath of the Mexican War. Unexpectedly vigorous Northern opposition to the expansion of slavery surfaced before and during the war—evidenced by the overwhelming support for David Wilmot's free soil proviso—and shocked Southerners. Most Southerners believed free soil was a threat to the long-term viability and health of slavery; as support for free soil grew among Northern voters, white Southerners became increasingly anxious.

The most important development in the movement for secession was the formation and success of the free soil Republican Party. Most Republicans were not abolitionists, and probably just a minority had real moral misgivings about slavery itself; many, in fact, were racists who wanted to exclude all nonwhites from the territories. For a great variety of reasons, though, Republicans were united in their commitment to stop the spread of slavery. This defining program presented Southerners with a double threat. First was the tangible danger that

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free soil presented to slavery. Unable to expand, most white Southerners believed, slavery would become increasingly unstable, ending finally with widespread rebellion, as whites were outnumbered by the growing slave population, or with what Southerners called racial amalgamation. Southerners would also lose power in the national government as they became an ever shrinking minority in the country, perhaps ending with a constitutional amendment to abolish slavery. Finally, without fresh land to develop, the market value of slaves would decline since they were only as valuable as what they produced. Thus, most white Southerners believed free soil to be just as unacceptable as abolition. In addition, more and more Republicans were actual abolitionists, and these so-called radicals gained strength in New England throughout the 1850s. For all these reasons, the overwhelming majority of Southern whites believed that the Republican Party presented a clear and immediate threat to Southerners' peculiar institution and to their entire way of life.

Beyond the real threat to slavery's future in the nation, Southern whites resented the Republicans' claim of Northern superiority. This insult to their honor was a challenge to Southerners' personal and collective reputations, and it questioned their equality as good Christians and Americans. Emphasizing these threats to slavery, the insult to Southern honor, and the challenge to manhood, the secessionist movement gained strength rapidly after 1856, when Republicans carried a majority of Northern states in the presidential contest. Southern voters denounced the sectional party and presented a more and more unified front in state and national elections in the late 1850s.

The presidential campaign of 1860 gave new urgency to the movement for disunion, and it energized secessionists, male and female, across the South. The possibility of a Republican victory appalled most white Southerners, and those who had worked actively for secession considered the election an opportunity to push their agenda: many rooted openly for Lincoln to win. Although not the only issue, secession and a possible civil war dominated the campaign, and Southerners debated whether a Republican victory, by itself, would justify secession. The Southern Democratic Party—formed when the national organization split over the selection of a candidate—endorsed secession if Lincoln won, although their candidate, John C. Breckinridge, did not. The newly created Constitutional Union Party made no definitive statement about secession, and Northern Democrat Stephen Douglas opposed any sort of disunion. Republicans carried several key Northern states, including Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana, in early October, virtually assuring their victory and suggesting that many voters who backed the Southern Democrats indicated their endorsement of secession. A strong majority of voters in the Deep South eventually supported Breckinridge, who carried eleven slave states.

Lincoln's victory, with essentially no Southern votes, prompted secessionists in every slave state to move quickly and attempt to capitalize on the widespread public outrage. While the majority of white men in the Deep South expressed support for secession, leaders of the movement took few chances. Vigilance committees, Minute Men clubs, and other local organizations held rallies, calling on men to do their duty and defend the South's honor. Many Unionists were intimidated, some drifted to the secessionist cause, and others just gave up when it became obvious that secession had widespread support.

Secessionists had dreamed of the moment when they could lead their states out of the Union. Although it had never been tried, most Southerners believed secession was legal. The mechanism, however, was less clear. Some favored a cooperative approach in which several states would secede together, but the majority held that logic dictated separate state secession: if each state was truly sovereign, then it should act alone. Nearly everyone who favored secession assumed that the individual states would unite to form a new slave-based nation.

Moved by their own feelings and popular pressure, governors and legislators in nearly all of the slave states called for special elections to choose delegates for conventions that would decide secession. These campaigns were characterized by low voter turnout and a mixture of candidates whose

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exact position on secession remained murky. Many ran as cooperationists but left open whether that meant cooperation within the Union to defend slavery or cooperative secession; in many counties, candidates ran unopposed. In each of the seven Deep South states, a large majority of prosecession delegates was elected. In the conventions, Unionists tried to stall the momentum by pushing for a cooperative movement that would take more time, during which postelection passions might calm. Others urged convention delegates to submit secession to the voters for a straight yes-or-no referendum. These delaying tactics, however, were defeated in most of the Deep South conventions; only in Texas did delegates submit their Ordinance of Secession to the voters, who approved it overwhelmingly. Beginning with South Carolina, on December 20, 1860, seven states declared themselves independent nations: Mississippi (January 9, 1861), Florida (January 10), Alabama (January 11), Georgia (January 19), Louisiana (January 26), and Texas (February 1). As the vast majority of delegates and voters expected, these states came together and formed the Confederate States of America in February 1861. At the news of each state's secession, elite white women cheered the decision and vowed to support the cause of Southern independence.

Secession was defeated, temporarily, in the Upper South, where a majority of residents did not believe that the simple fact of Lincoln's election warranted such a drastic step. Instead, so-called conditional Unionists urged patience and waited for Lincoln's inauguration, hoping for a compromise that would bring the other slave states back into the Union. The attack at Fort Sumter, however, made compromise impossible. When the Civil War started on April 12 and Lincoln subsequently called for volunteers to invade the South, four more states opted for secession: Virginia (April 17), Arkansas (May 6), North Carolina (May 20), and Tennessee (June 8). Each then joined the Confederacy. Secessionists in the Border States of Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, and Delaware failed to lead their states out of the Union. Compared to the Deep and Upper South, fewer slaves and slaveholders and greater economic and family ties with the North were the most important factors that influenced Border State voters to stay in the Union.

The secession movement across the Southern states was affected most evidently by the place of slavery in the economy and the extent of slave ownership. Slaves constituted a majority of the population in Mississippi and South Carolina and more than 45 percent in every other Deep South state except Texas; in the Upper South, slaves totaled between 25 and 40 percent. In the Border States, however, only Kentucky had a slave population that was central to its economy. The widespread ownership of slaves also translated into greater enthusiasm for secession. In Mississippi, for instance, most estimates suggest that over one-half of white households owned or rented slaves. The ownership and use of slaves was similarly common across the Deep South. Furthermore, the wild profits made from cotton in the 1850s undoubtedly caused many Deep South voters to feel particularly threatened by the Republicans' free soil platform. The prospect of military action by a Republican government against fellow Southerners convinced wavering Unionists that secession was necessary to protect slavery and to redeem regional honor.

White Southerners explained disunion by recounting a long list of what they referred to as Northern aggressions. Central to all Southern complaints, of course, was the Republican Party and its free soil ideology. Thereafter, prominent justifications for secession were the Republicans' entirely sectional appeal and support (including votes from black men in several New England states); Northern state laws that effectively nullified the Fugitive Slave Act; and Northerners' refusal to admit Kansas as a slave state in 1858 and their supposed support for John Brown and slave insurrection. Most of all, white Southerners labeled Republicans and Lincoln as abolitionists. According to Southerners, by electing a president with no Southern votes, Northerners had denounced slavery and elected a man that Southerners viewed as committed to the abolition of slavery. Finally, most Southern voters declared Lincoln's election—and all it symbolized—as an insult to the South and to their claim to equality within the Union. Over and over, Southerners used the same

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words to describe the Republican triumph: humiliating, insulting, and degrading. They consequently saw secession as the only action that would rescue and defend Southern honor. Secession and the formation of a new slave-based nation, even at the risk of civil war, was the solution that most white Southerners eventually supported.

Christopher J. Olsen

See also Election of 1860; Honor; Lincoln, Abraham (1809–1865); Nonslaveholding Southerners; Politics; Slaveholding Women.

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Separate Spheres

Historians know from military records, diaries, and a host of other sources that women on both sides of the Civil War both challenged and conformed to their allotted sphere by serving as nurses, physicians, vivandières, sutlers, soldiers, and spies. Women provided soldiers with food, provisions, and liquor. They tended wounds, rolled bandages, and administered to the sick and injured in countless ways. Women organized fundraising events on the homefront, peddled goods and sex to soldiers on the frontlines, and even occasionally disguised themselves as men to fight as soldiers.

The concept of separate spheres was first identified in the early republic. Society began to associate the home and child rearing with women, as politics and other public activities became men's domain. As the young nation began to industrialize, production that was once in the home shifted to the workshop and then to the factory. Native-born American women competed with immigrants for factory jobs that they were expected to leave after marriage. Women in the rural South were more connected to the land and its work, and slave women were connected to their master's holdings. Even so, Americans felt the increased pace of life, and women found their new sphere defined as the home. White women of the South had their sphere defined by men as a part of the proslavery defense. Southern women generally avoided any claims that resisted patriarchal power. Most Southern women maintained traditional roles on Southern farms and plantations until economic circumstances mandated a change in their sphere.

African American women, both enslaved and free, found their sphere to have different meanings than that of white women. Free black women stayed in the workforce longer and were often forced by economic necessity and frequent separation from spouses to return to the workforce throughout their adult lives. Enslaved women found that their sphere held a double burden that included working for the master and then working for their families.

Working-class women of the North and slaves of the South could hardly expect to leave the workforce, but ruling the domestic space was strictly a woman's sphere. In the home, the doctrine of separate spheres celebrated the new status of middle-class women and highlighted their distinctive character where their role was dependent on their spouses' potential in the workforce. Women were urged by prescriptive literature, novels, and even sermons to reach for the Christian virtues of humility, submission, piety, and charity. These became quintessentially female traits that gave them a sphere of moral superiority.

The ideals of the domestic sphere and of what was called true womanhood enabled pious middle-class women to assist and uplift the war efforts.

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Women had been at the forefront of peace, temperance, abolition, and moral reform movements during the antebellum years, and continuing this mission into the war years was a natural extension. Woman's sphere was a new social space that was limited and private but also an improvement over the colonial model of having no space at all. However, during the Civil War women were forced to take on new roles outside their "proper" sphere, and some women saw it as an opportunity for liberating growth.

Maneuvering within nineteenth-century society's idea of women's sphere, Sarah Josepha Hale, editor of the *Ladies Magazine* and later *Godey's Lady's Book,* called for women to take charge of the domestic sphere. Women were expected to remain in the home while their income-earning husbands worked in offices, stores, or professions. The woman's sphere, wrote Hale in the *Ladies Magazine,* was a "nobler" one, attuned to female values and character. It was the power base from which influence could emanate while moral superiority was preserved, uncorrupted.

Religion was one of the few activities beyond the home in which women could participate without seeming to violate their sphere. As a result, women provided many of the social services associated with the Civil War. In the name of Christianity, women organized sanitary fairs, rolled bandages, led prayer meetings, and organized a host of social events to raise money for their respective causes, using their sphere to advocate for increased benevolence and reform. Both Northern and Southern women founded orphanages, asylums, and other charitable organizations. Women extended the ideas of domesticity and feminine moral superiority by organizing sanitary fairs in order to ship medical aid, food, and suitable reading material to the front lines.

Many Civil War women found themselves challenging their sphere out of the necessity of taking over their husband's or father's work. Women were compelled to run farms and small businesses as the men left for the front. Northern industries, which had in many cases refused to hire women, suddenly found that women could provide a ready workforce for their factories. Working in a factory kept working-class women from idleness and taught them industriousness; so it was seen as acceptable. Furthermore, in most cases, society expected that women would return to full-time domesticity at the conclusion of hostilities.

In the South, women also took on a public role during wartime. Like their Northern counterparts, they rolled bandages and made clothes for their soldiers. Even young academy girls reported suspending studies to make Confederate uniforms. This type of work was taken up on plantations and in towns throughout the South by white and slave women. White Southern women also found themselves negotiating ideals of appropriate behavior in the face of pressing national needs and the needs of their own families. Southern women also took over farms, plantations, and small businesses, and they went to work in armories.

In both the North and South, tending to the sick had been well within a woman's sphere of domesticity. However, the vast numbers of wartime casualties took women out of home nursing and placed them in military hospitals, where nearly two thousand women on both sides of the conflict served as volunteers. Female nurses faced the horrors of the battlefield as they provided invaluable aid to sick and wounded soldiers. Although Louisa May Alcott recorded her nursing experience in a best-selling book, most women nurses toiled anonymously except for their names on muster roles. Among the first to respond to wartime needs with professionally trained nurses were the Sisters of Charity led by Elizabeth Ann Seton. Maintaining a strict code of neutrality, the sisters served on both sides of the war. But the two hundred and eighty nuns were quickly overwhelmed by the numbers of casualties, and the militaries were forced to rely on other women volunteers. In professionalizing the nursing corps, Dorothea Dix agreed with the army that nurses would conform to their sphere by emphasizing purity through plain dress. Other women took prominent medical roles on the battlefield. In addition to her own work on the front lines, Clara Barton raised funds to take women to the front lines in supporting roles, and, after the war, she established the American Red Cross.

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One of the greatest challenges to a woman's sphere was from women in the medical profession. By midcentury, physicians' allopathic medical schools were beginning to replace preceptor training, so it is unclear how many women may have been trained as physicians by fathers or husbands. Women physicians were initially rejected by the military because of their sex. As a result, Dr. Mary Edwards Walker began her military service in the Union nursing corps because that was the only place for women. She was finally hired as a contract physician to an Ohio regiment, where she challenged her sphere by wearing men's clothing and working alongside male surgeons. Edwards also took advantage of her position, easily passing back and forth between the Union and Confederacy and reporting her findings to the Union army. Her dangerous exploits led Congress to award her the Congressional Medal of Honor after the war.

Civil War women challenged the ideals of the domestic spheres in other ways as well. Usually the wives and daughters of officers, vivandières performed hospitality functions. Although providing wounded soldiers with brandy in some ways conformed to the ideals of the domestic sphere, vivandières challenged their sphere by traveling in dangerous territory and occasionally fighting alongside men. These women traveled with soldiers for little or no pay, providing troops on both sides with supplies. They wore men's pants under a colorful knee-length skirt and military jackets often trimmed in lace. While most vivandières returned home during the winter months, many stayed at or near the front lines providing brandy, water, and food for soldiers. They became, in many cases, front-line nurses.

Women also became wartime entrepreneurs. Female sutlers followed the troops of both sides selling goods and sometimes sexual favors for cash and barter. These women both conformed to and challenged their sphere. Providing for the domestic needs of men had always been part of a woman's sphere, and accepting compensation for these services did not seem to violate anyone's sense of morality. Soldiers could pay sutlers for additional rations, mending of uniforms, cleaning of tents, and even sexual favors.

Women aided the war effort on both sides as spies, quickly earning a reputation for gaining and passing reliable information to military officials. Female spies used preconceived ideas about women and their domesticity to their advantage. For example, while conforming to her feminine sphere as a notable Washington hostess, Rose O'Neal Greenhow collected information for the Confederacy. In addition, women successfully smuggled information through the lines by hiding it in their skirts, bodices, hairdos, shoes, and other places that male soldiers were not likely to search. Southerner Elizabeth Howland, while stressing her role as a mother, placed information inside a ham bone and had her children carry it across the border. In Richmond, Unionist Elizabeth Van Lew entertained enemy officials and visited wounded soldiers and prisoners, gathering valuable information in the process, which she later delivered to Union officials.

African American women similarly used society's assumptions about their place and race to collect information. When performing their traditional duties as house servants, these women seemed harmless to those they served. However, some slave women listened in on strategic conversations between Confederate officers and then passed the details on to Union officials. Runaway slave Harriet Tubman, better-known for her activities on the Underground Railroad, worked as a Union cook and nurse during the Civil War. She organized African Americans in the areas in which she was stationed to report on Confederate troop movements.

The Civil War gave Northern and Southern women of all classes an opportunity to expand their horizons and broaden their domestic sphere. While maintaining the appearance of performing as "true women," women successfully took on new roles during wartime. They expanded their sphere and managed to run businesses and farms, care for casualties, and spy. After the war, many women used their newly acquired sense of independence to expand their concept of the domestic sphere to include the work of progressive reform, temperance, and women's suffrage.

Jill M. Nussel

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See also African American Women; Aid Societies; Barton, Clara (1821–1912); Civilian Life; Confederate Homefront; Dix, Dorothea Lynde (1802–1887); Domesticity; Factory Workers, Northern; Factory Workers, Southern; Fairs and Bazaars; Family Life, Confederate; Family Life, Union; Farm Work; Female Combatants; Female Spies; Fundraising; Greenhow, Rose O'Neal (ca. 1814–1864); Hale, Sarah Josepha (1788–1879); Hospitals; Hospital Ships; Northern Women; Nurses; Politics; Prostitution; Slave Families; Teachers, Northern; Teachers, Southern; Religion; Southern Women; Treasury Girls; Tubman, Harriet [Araminta Ross] (1822–1913); Union Homefront; United States Sanitary Commission; Van Lew, Elizabeth (1818–1900); Vivandières; Walker, Mary Edwards (1832–1919); Wartime Employment; Wounded, Visits to.

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Sewing Bees

Sewing bees, which during the antebellum era had served primarily as social gatherings for women, offered unique opportunities for women to participate in the Civil War. Both Northern and Southern women organized sewing bees in an effort to sew and knit uniforms, blankets, flags, and tents and to provide farewell feasts for their soldiers. As they gathered together to sew for their soldiers, women developed organizations that contributed to the support of their men in the Union and Confederate armies.

At antebellum sewing bees, women not only sewed and quilted but also discussed family affairs, cooking, and other life experiences. On certain occasions sewing bees functioned as community entertainment, where all gathered in a festive atmosphere and celebrated with singing and dancing. Women alternated between sewing and preparing the evening repast. Sewing bees also presented courtship opportunities and provided an opportunity for women to bond and neighbors to commune.

The Civil War changed the nature of sewing bees, which presented women an opportunity to participate in the war. Women wanted to contribute to the war effort and to support their embattled brethren, and, for many, needles became their weapons of choice. Most who participated in sewing circles came from upper- and middle-class households. Often officers' wives rallied community women to gather together to sew needed materials. In the South, members of sewing circles were women of the slaveholding elite. Frequently plantation mistresses delegated sewing duties to their slave women, to whom they assigned the most arduous task of sewing tents. Other than compulsory slave contributions, prominent sewing circles excluded black women from participation, even in the North.

Sewing circles began as intimate gatherings but quickly expanded during the war, spurring the development of women's organizations. Women's clubs and organizations had been prevalent in the antebellum North, and many women had experience in missionary organizations and moral groups. Accustomed to participating in official ladies' organizations and advocacy groups, Northern women quickly extended their organizational skills to their sewing circles. In the South, formal women's organizations were virtually nonexistent during the antebellum period. However, the Civil War significantly impacted the ability of Southern women to organize and work in unison for a united cause.

Sewing circles were transformed from minor establishments—in both the North and the South—to large-scale organizations with officers,

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Sewing Circle during the Civil War making havelocks for the Volunteers. Engraving by Winslow Homer, 1861. (Bettmann/Corbis)

constitutions, and dues. While sewing circles welcomed women of all ages, a hierarchy existed, with matrons holding the leadership positions. Various ladies' aid associations, soldiers' friends' associations, and soldiers' aid societies were established across the North and the South, through which women provided support for their troops. They produced many necessary supplies. For example, women in Quincy, Florida, provided 420 blankets to a local company of soldiers. Additionally, between 1862 and 1863, Florida's sewing societies fashioned 3,735 pairs of cotton drawers, 2,765 cotton shirts, 169 woolen jackets and coats, 809 woolen pantaloons, and 1,000 pairs of cotton socks.

As the war progressed, soldiers' needs increased. The war's duration and devastation left raw materials such as wool and cotton in short supply, especially in the Confederacy. Members of sewing circles resorted to recycling household fabrics including tablecloths, napkins, towels, and carpeting from their own homes.

Ladies' aid societies expanded their services to meet the soldiers' needs. They hosted community fairs to raise funds for the purchase of supplies that could not be fashioned from raw materials or recycled. Women's organizations, both in the North and South, coordinated entertainment events featuring poetry readings and plays. They sold homemade crafts and foodstuffs. For example, the October 1863 Chicago Sanitary Fair raised $100,000, the June 1864 Pittsburgh fair raised $320,000, and the April 1864 New York Metropolitan Fair raised a record-breaking $2 million for Union hospitals and troops. Furthermore, local and state governments entrusted these women's organizations with supplies and money, knowing that they would distribute them to needy soldiers.

The experience women gained through their work in wartime organizations helped broaden their activism and participation in polity. For the first time, many women spoke in public, voiced their opinions, and rallied support for a common cause.

Dawn M. Sherman

See also Aid Societies; Confederate Homefront; Domesticity; Fairs and Bazaars; Fundraising; Northern Women; Separate Spheres; Southern Women; Union Homefront; United States Sanitary Commission.

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Shaw, Sarah Blake Sturgis (1835–1902)

Abolitionist Sarah Blake Sturgis Shaw interacted with the intellectual and social elite of her time. Her son, Robert Gould Shaw, gained fame for his leadership of the United States' first colored unit, the Massachusetts Fifty-fourth Infantry Regiment.

Sarah Blake Sturgis was born in Massachusetts on August 13, 1815. The Sturgis family was one of

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Massachusetts' most elite and wealthy families. Thus, Sarah received an excellent education and was exposed to many progressively minded individuals. On June 9, 1835, Sarah married Francis Shaw, another member of the Boston elite. Together, Francis and Sarah became active in promoting social changes through their involvement in the evangelical wing of the Unitarian Church. In 1838, they joined William Lloyd Garrison's radical abolitionist group, the American Anti-Slavery Society. They also provided aid to assist runaway slaves in establishing a free life in the North.

During the course of their marriage, Sarah and Francis had five children. In the 1840s, they moved their family to West Roxbury, Massachusetts. Their new property bordered the experimental and radical communal living establishment of Brook Farm. Their proximity to Brook Farm allowed the family to socialize with some of the most progressive intellectuals of their time. Sarah frequently attended lectures on abolitionism and women's rights, and she formed close friendships with Lydia Maria Child and Margaret Fuller.

In 1847, Sarah went to New York to receive medical treatment for her failing eyesight and overall poor health. She responded well to treatments and regained her vision. Due to her progress, the family decided to permanently relocate to Staten Island. After the family's European tour from 1851 to 1855, sectional turmoil in the United States increased Sarah's and Francis's involvement in the abolitionist movement.

When the Civil War began, Sarah and Francis's son, Robert Gould Shaw, enlisted in the Union army. After President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation in January 1863 and called for the formation of African American regiments, Francis utilized his connections to help establish the United States Colored Troops (USCT). To Francis and Sarah's delight, the army offered Robert a commission as colonel of the first African American regiment, the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts. To his parents' dismay, Robert initially declined the offer, but he quickly changed his mind and accepted the commission.

The Shaw family's elation over Robert's commission soon faded with the realities of wartime. In July 1863, Robert was killed while leading his men in an attack on South Carolina's Fort Wagner. Confederates unceremoniously tossed Robert's body into a mass grave with the African American soldiers he had led. This incident provided a rallying point for Northerners supporting the abolitionist causes of the war, and it promoted the heroics of the USCT. Sarah took comfort in the knowledge that her beloved son died as a martyr for the cause to which she had devoted much of her time and energy.

Sarah Shaw continued her activism for social progress with such causes as women's rights and anti-imperialism until her death on New Year's Eve in 1902.

Kristina Dunn

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; Antislavery Societies; Child, Lydia Maria Francis; Emancipation Proclamation (January 1, 1863); Garrison, William Lloyd (1805–1879); Northern Women; Union Homefront; Unitarian Women.

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Sheads, Carrie (n.d.–1884)

During the Battle of Gettysburg, Carrie Sheads converted her school into a makeshift hospital and served as its superintendent. After the battle, she distinguished herself by providing constant nursing care for wounded soldiers. When a Union officer was threatened with execution, she successfully intervened on his behalf. In recognition of her dedicated service and contribution to the war effort, the Federal government awarded Carrie a clerk position after the Civil War. Carrie's family experienced devastating personal losses on behalf of the Union cause for which they were accorded special recognition.

Caroline Sheads was descended from John Troxell, Gettysburg's first settler and a proprietor of a tavern. A large extended family, the Sheadses played an important role in the development of the borough. In 1859, Carrie purchased three acres near the town's Lutheran Theological Seminary. She opened Oak Ridge Seminary, a school for girls, in a house built by her father. On July 1, 1863, the

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Battle of Gettysburg erupted near the school. When the wounded began to flow in, Carrie and her family opened their home to the injured, treating over seventy severely wounded combatants.

Among the soldiers who found their way to Carrie's school was Colonel Charles Wheelock, commander of the Ninety-seventh New York Infantry. Surrounded by Confederates, Wheelock waved a white handkerchief in surrender. In the chaos of battle, Confederate infantry began to fire on him and his men. Carrie had provided the officer with a large white cloth, which allowed him to signify his intent to surrender. After the Union captives were confined inside the school, a Confederate officer demanded Wheelock's sword. Despite the threat of execution, the colonel adamantly refused. Carrie intervened and appealed to both of the officers, begging the Southern soldier to avoid further bloodshed and Wheelock to compromise his principles. During a moment of confusion, Carrie hid the sword and thus averted a tragedy.

Throughout the battle, Carrie and her family continued to nurse the wounded. When the Confederates began to remove their prisoners of war, Carrie appealed for assistance in caring for those under her charge. When the commanding officer offered her three of his captives as nurses, she successfully lobbied for five. For several weeks after the battle, Carrie continued to supervise her hospital.

Carrie and her family suffered many losses during the war. Her school suffered severe damage at the time of the battle. Four of her brothers served in the Union army: two perished during the war, one died of tuberculosis after his discharge, and one received a wound that shortened his life. Carrie's mother and sister died soon after the war. In recognition of her many sacrifices, Carrie Sheads received a clerkship in the Treasury Department after the war. She died in 1884 and was buried in the Sheads family plot in Evergreen Cemetery.

Karen Kinzey

See also Gettysburg, Battle of (July 1–3, 1863); Teachers, Northern.

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Sheridan, Philip Henry (1831–1888)

A professional soldier whose career spanned much of the nineteenth century, Philip Henry Sheridan is best known for his service during the Civil War and the Indian Wars. Given command of an army in the Shenandoah Valley in 1864, he defeated opposing Confederate forces but became infamous for his harsh treatment of civilians. Sheridan served in Louisiana during Reconstruction, advocating a hard hand against former Confederates. Transferred to the West, he planned ruthless campaigns against Native American tribes. Before his death in 1888, he was promoted to general of the army.

Born March 6, 1831, Sheridan graduated from West Point in 1853. He was assigned to duty on the frontier, where he led a small unit of dragoons and learned to track and fight Native Americans. Sheridan rose in the ranks at the start of the Civil War, eventually taking charge of an infantry division. He fought at the battles of Perryville, Stones River, Chickamauga, and Chattanooga in the Western theater.

In 1864, assigned to lead the Army of the Potomac's Cavalry Corps, Sheridan advocated the use of the mounted soldiers as a cohesive unit. Instead of guarding wagons, he reasoned, the cavalry should be a functional, fighting arm of the main army. Sheridan proved the success of his strategy when his cavalry corps scattered rebel defenders at the Battle of Yellow Tavern, a few miles north of Richmond and, in the process, mortally wounded famed Confederate General J.E.B. Stuart.

After Confederate General Jubal Early's raid into Maryland in July 1864, Sheridan bested him at the battles of Third Winchester, Fisher's Hill, and Cedar Creek. Aside from Early's army, Sheridan was greatly concerned with Confederate partisans behind Union lines. Ably led by John Singleton Mosby, the rebel guerrillas disrupted Union supplies, kidnapped officers, and killed Federal troops. Sheridan had little sympathy for civilians, men or women, who supported the Confederate guerrilla troops by supplying

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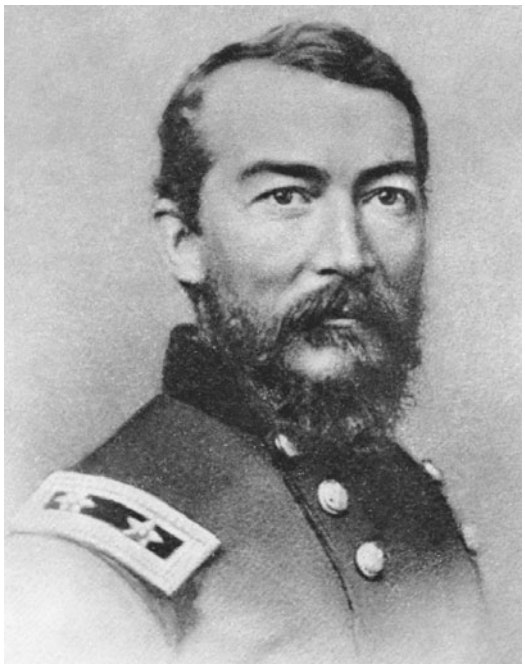

Union General Philip H. Sheridan. (National Archives and Records Administration)

food, information, and shelter. Ordering the destruction of private property and the confiscation of available supplies in areas that the guerrillas were known to frequent, Sheridan believed that those who supported the war behind the lines should also feel its most direct consequences.

In 1865, Sheridan was instrumental in forcing Confederate general Robert E. Lee to surrender at Appomattox. After the war, Sheridan oversaw the reconstruction of the former Confederate states of Texas and Louisiana. His hard-line approach toward former Rebels earned him the enmity of many Southerners. Transferred west to fight Native Americans, Sheridan brought his harsh war measures to the Great Plains.

Philip Sheridan died on August 5, 1888, at the age of fifty-seven. He left many admirers as well as enemies.

Kanisorn Wongsrichanalai

See also Chickamauga, Battle of (September 19–20, 1863); Confederate Homefront; Destruction of Homes; Destruction of Personal Property; Lee, Robert Edward (1807–1870); Military Invasion and Occupation; Mosby's Rangers; Reconstruction (1865–1877); Sheridan's Shenandoah Valley Campaign (1864); Southern Women.

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Sheridan's Shenandoah Valley Campaign (1864)

Always an important strategic base because of its location as well as its rich agricultural lands and railway lines that helped supply the Confederacy, Virginia's Shenandoah Valley proved to be a contested area throughout the Civil War. Home to many families, the valley changed hands multiple times during the course of the war. As a result, civilians constantly dealt with soldiers of both sides as well as with shortages and the dangers of living in a war zone. During the 1864 campaign, Shenandoah Valley civilians faced destruction on a new level.

Determined to permanently cut General Robert E. Lee off from the benefits of the Shenandoah Valley, Union General Ulysses S. Grant ordered a full-scale attack on the area in 1864. In early August 1864, Grant created the Department and Army of the Shenandoah. He put Philip H. Sheridan in charge, ordering him to destroy Confederate forces under Jubal A. Early. In addition, Grant urged Sheridan to devastate the Shenandoah Valley, which provided food and resources for Lee's Army of Northern Virginia; Grant wanted the valley laid barren. Sheridan and his soldiers took these orders to heart. Throughout the offensive, Sheridan's thirty-five thousand men burned crops and barns as they drove off the livestock. They also attacked Southern homes, seizing foodstuffs and personal property in the process. The nearly five-month campaign resulted in more than twenty-five thousand casualties.

Sheridan and Early met on the battlefield on several occasions in the fight for the Shenandoah Valley. Their men skirmished throughout August as both sides jockeyed for position and information on the other. When a Unionist Quaker schoolteacher in Winchester, Rebecca Wright, alerted Sheridan

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that Lee had recalled one of his divisions from the valley to help protect Richmond and Petersburg, Sheridan realized he had gained a two-to-one advantage over his enemy, and he prepared to attack. On September 19, the two armies clashed in Winchester, Sheridan's troops initiating the fighting with an attack on Confederate defenses. Although the Union forces initially struggled, partially due to a bungled order, after several days of fighting they ultimately drove the Confederates into a retreat. Both sides suffered casualties of approximately fifty-five hundred, a number more damaging to the Confederate forces that had begun the battle with only fifteen thousand men.

After defeating the Confederates, Sheridan's men moved through the Shenandoah Valley destroying all food, farming implements, livestock, and raw goods, fulfilling Grant's orders to devastate the valley. By October, Sheridan reported having destroyed more than two thousand barns and seventy mills with their contents of wheat, hay, flour, and farming tools. In addition, he estimated that he had driven out, issued to his troops, or killed more than four thousand head of stock and three thousand sheep. The soldiers' attack on homefront resources continued for as long as the troops remained in the area. Although orders held that men should burn only barns and public buildings, soldiers often burned homes as well.

In attacking Confederate food resources, Union troops also destroyed civilian property and food. Often before burning a home, they invaded it and destroyed valuable and sentimental property. They expanded their mandate to destroy anything that could assist the Confederate war effort and demolished or stole women's wardrobes, fine china, silver candlesticks, glass vases, private journals, sewing supplies, and fancy linens. In addition, to get to these personal items, Union soldiers often ransacked women's bedrooms and private chambers, unleashing the ire of many white Southern women. Although soldiers commented on the effect of their actions on female civilians, few sympathized with the plight of Rebel women. Like their commander, they believed that these women had brought the destruction upon themselves by supporting the Confederacy, its soldiers, and its government.

Civilians also faced the problems of living in an area frequented by Southern guerrillas who trailed behind the Union forces. Not only did these guerrillas burn Union wagon trains, but they also shot at teamsters, stragglers, and couriers. In addition, many guerrillas, as they moved through the valley, seized the personal property and foodstuffs of its residents. Sheridan sent a detachment to deal with the guerrillas, but they remained a persistent problem.

After destroying what resources remained in the Shenandoah Valley, Sheridan and his troops headed north in mid-October. Then, in the early morning hours on October 19, Early's troops attacked Sheridan's army, which was encamped at Cedar Creek. Sheridan, who was asleep miles away in Winchester when the fighting began, hurried to his men as soon as the noises and the news of the battle reached him. By the time Sheridan arrived, Union soldiers had been driven from their camps and were retreating. However, the general quickly reorganized and galvanized his men. They resumed the fighting and eventually defeated the Confederates. Early's retreat after Cedar Creek ultimately allowed Union forces to hold the Shenandoah Valley for the remainder of the war. Although Early and his troops attempted to drive Union forces from the Shenandoah Valley again in mid-November, they could not do so. The Shenandoah Valley remained in Union hands for the remainder of the war.

White Southern women who encountered and read about the defeats and destruction in the Shenandoah Valley refused to sit back and watch events unfold around them. For example, in December 1864, twenty-eight women in Harrisonburg, Virginia, wrote to Confederate Secretary of War James A. Seddon, offering to form their own regiment to fight the Union. They vowed to arm and equip women between the ages of sixteen and forty and to do anything to help the Confederacy.

Sheridan's victory in the Shenandoah Valley, combined with Union General William Tecumseh Sherman's capture and evacuation of Atlanta, helped secure Abraham Lincoln's re-election in November.

Lisa Tendrich Frank

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See also Atlanta, Evacuation of (Special Field Orders, Number 67); Confederate Homefront; Destruction of Homes; Destruction of Personal Property; Domesticity; Military Invasion and Occupation; Separate Spheres; Sheridan, Philip Henry (1831–1888); Sherman's Campaign (1864–1865); Southern Women.

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Sherman, Ellen Boyle Ewing (1824–1888)

Ellen Ewing was the wife of United States General William T. Sherman.

Born in Lancaster, Ohio, she was the daughter of leading Whig politician Thomas Ewing and his intensely religious wife Maria Boyle Ewing. It was primarily because of her mother that Ellen gained her intense devotion to Catholicism (her father never became a Catholic). Her religious zeal for the Catholic Church was the greatest influence in her life. When she and future husband William T. Sherman were courting in the 1840s, his inability to accept her faith caused much heartache in their relationship and came close to preventing their marriage. Even after their nuptials in 1850, she constantly badgered him about his lack of faith, once even telling him that the only thing that kept him from reaching perfection was his refusal to become a Catholic.

Throughout their married lives, Ellen Sherman was both an important support and a major burden. In addition to constantly battling her husband about his lack of Catholicism, she insisted, early in their marriage, that they live in Lancaster, close to her father, even pressuring her husband to become manager of a salt mine so that they could remain nearby. He wanted his independence, and, after leaving the army in 1854, he became a banker in San Francisco. She did not want to accompany him, and, as a compromise, she left their first-born daughter with her parents in Ohio to assuage their grief at her departure for California. After a time there, Ellen left her husband and two children behind, and she went home to Ohio for an extended visit. She also suffered from several chronic illnesses and regularly complained about them. Although William was a very sociable person, Ellen refused to attend social functions with him, usually insisting that her health problems prevented her from doing so.

When William Sherman suffered anxiety and depression over the military situation in Kentucky at the start of the Civil War and almost lost his generalship as a result, Ellen led the intensive family effort on her husband's behalf to convince Federal officials, including President Abraham Lincoln, to maintain their support of him. Throughout the war and even more obviously afterward, she gave her husband the freedom to live his life to the fullest, while she remained at home as his anchor, maintaining home and family. Theirs was a combative relationship but one that served them both. While he showed interest in several other women, he never thought of not being married to her. Their major marriage conflict in the postwar years, one that caused a temporary separation, was over their son becoming a Jesuit priest. Sherman saw this young man as future family head and blamed his wife for allowing her church to take him.

William T. and Ellen Sherman remained loyal to one another until the end. He expressed it best, as he rushed to her deathbed in the New York home he had bought for her. "Wait for me, Ellen, no one ever loved you as I loved you."

John F. Marszalek

See also Catholic Women; Northern Women; Sherman, William Tecumseh (1820–1891).

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Sherman Land (Special Field Orders, Number 15)

Special Field Orders, Number Fifteen established a land policy to deal with the growing numbers of runaway slaves who attached themselves to the Union armies. African American men could apply for forty acres of land—nicknamed Sherman Land for the author of the policy—on which to settle their families.

In November 1864, Union General William Tecumseh Sherman advanced his armies overland from Atlanta to Savannah, Georgia. Thousands of slaves took the opportunity to claim their freedom and to follow the army. The growing number of black refugees hindered the rapid movement of the troops and exposed them to possible Confederate attacks.

Former slaves following Sherman's army faced a tragedy in late 1864. On December 8, Union Brevet Major General Jefferson C. Davis ordered his troops to take up the pontoon train before the black refugees crossed over Ebenezer Creek, Georgia, with the military. Fearing capture by Confederate troops and a forced return to slavery, many refugees panicked and tried to cross the flooded creek. As a result, a number of them drowned, despite efforts of individual soldiers to save them. Reporters and soldiers sent home accounts of the deaths and of Sherman's and his commanders' careless attitudes toward black refugees.

On January 11, 1865, United States Secretary of War Edwin Stanton and Adjutant General Lorenzo Thomas arrived in Savannah to meet with Sherman and representatives of Savannah's black community. Their discussion focused on the affair at Ebenezer Creek and Union soldiers' attitudes toward blacks during Sherman's campaign.

To settle the matter of refugees following the armies and to cover the administration from any future damaging statements, Stanton, Sherman, and Thomas worked on an order to resettle the freedpeople. Special Field Orders, Number Fifteen set aside the abandoned lands on the Sea Islands as well as the land stretching thirty miles inland from Charleston, South Carolina, to Jacksonville, Florida, for the settlement of freedpeople without white interference. Each black male head of household received forty acres within this territory. Freedpeople rushed to claim their land. Female heads of household, not an uncommon sight in wartime or slavery, found it difficult to stake their claim to the land because Union officials did not recognize their position as head of household. To assist families in settlement, officials promised extra mules for distribution to farmers and appointed Brigadier General Rufus Saxton Inspector of Settlements and Plantations.

Sherman may have seen the land allotments as a temporary measure, yet others viewed the so-called Sherman grants as an important step toward complete emancipation. "Forty acres and a mule" became a clarion call for future reparations to former slaves. Land allotments to freedpeople continued through the Freedmen's Bureau until 1866. However, when President Andrew Johnson pardoned former Confederates, he also returned land to white property owners. The repatriation of Confederates forced approximately forty thousand freedpeople from Sherman land.

William H. Brown

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers: African American Women; Freedmen's Bureau; Reconstruction (1865–1877); Sherman's Campaign (1864–1865); Sherman, William Tecumseh (1820–1891).

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Sherman's Campaign (1864–1865)

In late 1864 and early 1865, Union General William Tecumseh Sherman carried out what was termed a hard war campaign on civilians in Georgia and the Carolinas. Sherman and sixty thousand soldiers marched through the fertile plantation area of the South, living off the land and working to destroy the Confederacy's material as well as moral support. Throughout the march, Union soldiers confronted elite Confederate women who had remained in their homes and on their plantations.

After capturing Atlanta on September 2, 1864, Sherman established a command post in the city. His Special Field Orders, Number 67, issued on September 8, evacuated the city of its largely female civilian population. On November 15, Union troops left Atlanta, burning all places of military importance, including depots, factories, foundries, and machine shops. Southern reports asserted that the fires also engulfed many homes and much personal property. The destruction continued as Sherman's troops marched to Savannah and northward into the Carolinas.

Throughout the campaign, Sherman divided his men into two wings, spread them across a sixty-mile-wide path, and marched between ten and fifteen miles daily. This tactic forced Confederate armies to spread their resources thinly as they tried to guess the path of the enemy. The campaign had several skirmishes but few casualties. Union troops foraged for what they needed and destroyed whatever was left to keep it from the Confederates. Union troops left the Southern countryside strewn with twisted railroad ties, the remnants of burnt houses and crops, dead animals, and trampled land. Officials designated a group of men as foragers, called bummers, but units in the main columns as well as individuals also gathered their own food and war treasures. Soldiers took as souvenirs women's personal property: clothes, letters, diaries, linens, jewelry, silver, and household items. Southern women railed at the indignity of having their personal space invaded and their personal effects taken by enemy men. Soldiers often sent captured Southern "treasures" home to loved ones and dropped others on the side of the road when they became too cumbersome.

Marching across the lower South gave Sherman and his men the opportunity to witness and to affect slavery. The troops, often indirectly, freed the slaves that they encountered. African Americans cheered as Union troops passed, followed them as camp followers, and even became spies for Sherman's army. Not all Union soldiers embraced their roles as liberators. Many raped the black women whom they encountered, and others felt burdened by the African American camp followers. When Union General Jefferson C. Davis's troops crossed Ebenezer Creek, for example, they removed a pontoon bridge before African American escapees could cross with them. Many of the black camp followers drowned trying to cross the bridgeless creek.

Sherman's troops cut through most of Georgia by December 10, 1864. They demanded the surrender of Savannah on December 17, besieging the city until the Confederate army abandoned it on December 21. Union troops took control of the city, and Sherman sent President Abraham Lincoln a telegram offering Savannah as a Christmas present. Sherman used Savannah to demonstrate that peaceful surrender would protect Southerners from Union destruction. He opened his headquarters to visitors, allowed the local government to function, and brought food into the city. Sherman expressed surprise that his conciliatory attitude did little to soften that of Southern women, who still defiantly proclaimed Confederate loyalties. Many refused to walk under the United States flag wherever it hung or to speak with occupying soldiers. From Savannah, Sherman issued Special Field Orders, Number 15, granting freedpeople full control of the Sea Islands as well as coastal land thirty miles inland from Charleston to Jacksonville. Sherman and his troops left Savannah on February 1, 1865, and headed toward Columbia and Charleston, South Carolina.

Sherman's men took special care to punish the elite families in the Palmetto State for their role in secession. As they had in Georgia, Union soldiers primarily encountered women as they marched through South Carolina. They burned and ransacked many of the homes and towns they encountered. They entered Charleston and Columbia on February 17 and 18, 1865, destroying much of both

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cities. Debate continues over who began the fire in the state capital of Columbia, but Union soldiers recorded their satisfaction in seeing it burn. Charleston fared no better, perhaps because of the concentration of large slaveholding families there. Sherman's men continued their destruction as they marched north out of Charleston, burning Camden, Winnsboro, Lancaster, Chesterfield, and Cheraw.

Sherman instructed his commanders to deal fairly with North Carolinians, who were poorer than their neighbors and rumored to have Unionist tendencies. However, Union soldiers continued their destruction of the Southern landscape, setting fire to the pine forests and to the turpentine, tar, and rosin factories that they encountered. They also continued to raid and destroy the homes of many elite families. Sherman's troops left Fayetteville on March 15, 1865, and soon drove back the outgunned and outnumbered Confederates in a small confrontation. Fighting continued in Averasboro on March 16 and again at Bentonville on March 19, forcing a Confederate retreat. Within two weeks of Sherman's April 13 entrance into Raleigh, Confederate General Joseph Johnston surrendered his troops at Durham Station.

Lisa Tendrich Frank

See also African American Women; Atlanta, Evacuation of (Special Field Orders, Number 67); Camp Followers; Civilian Life; Confederate Homefront; Destruction of Homes; Destruction of Personal Property; Military Invasion and Occupation; Rape; Sherman, William Tecumseh (1820–1891); Sherman Land (Special Field Orders, Number 15); Southern Women.

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Sherman, William Tecumseh (1820–1891)

William Tecumseh Sherman, Union general and postwar United States Army commanding general, is best known for his 1864–1865 march through Georgia and the Carolinas.

Born in Lancaster, Ohio, to Connecticut transplants, Charles and Mary Hoyt Sherman, he had an enjoyable childhood until he was nine years old and his father suddenly died. His mother could not maintain the large brood of ten children, so family members and neighbors took them in. Cump, as his family always called him, became the ward of Thomas Ewing, a leading Whig politician. Ewing's wife, Maria, insisted that Cump be baptized a Catholic, and the name "William" was added to his original "Tecumseh." Ellen Ewing, four years his junior, thus began a lifelong role in his life. As a child, she viewed him as her protector, but there was no spark of romance between them until he left home, graduated from West Point, and began army life in the South. The two married in 1850 and produced a family of eight children.

Sherman's fame primarily rests on his victory at Atlanta and his successful psychologically powerful marches to the sea and through the Carolinas. As his soldiers purposefully destroyed property to end the fighting as soon as possible with the least loss of life, stories about him spread. Unsubstantiated rumors abounded that there were large numbers of rapes of women in his army's path. If, on the other hand, Sherman's army spared a house or a locality, the explanation developed that the mercy occurred

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Union General William T. Sherman is best known for his 1864–1865 march through Georgia and the Carolinas. This campaign helped bring about Confederate surrender. (National Archives and Records Administration)

because a former girlfriend of the general lived there and that he held his soldiers back out of remembrance of a prewar romance.

Women in the path of Sherman's army reacted to the soldiers' presence in a variety of ways. Some were cowed to the point of writing their boyfriends, husbands, brothers, or sons in the Confederate army elsewhere, urging them to return home and fulfill their gender roles of providing protection against the invaders. Other women stood up to the general and his soldiers with verbal and sometimes physical abuse. When Sherman captured Savannah, several leading Confederate generals left their wives in his care, demonstrating that they did not believe the stories about his alleged maltreatment of civilians.

After the war, Ellen Sherman refused to attend social events with her husband, so he often had a daughter or a female friend on his arm at a dinner party or the theater. He constantly flirted with women and charmed some, but others found his attention offensive. He was clearly attracted to some women, notably sculptress Vinnie Ream, and others threw themselves at him, such as Mary Audenreid, the widow of a military aide. All their married life he remained loyal to Ellen, however, and, when she died in the late 1880s, he suffered a severe depression. In the end, Ellen remained the most significant female influence in his life. Yet their marriage was more combative than romantic.

John F. Marszalek

See also Atlanta, Evacuation of (Special Field Orders, Number 67); Sherman, Ellen Boyle Ewing (1824–1888); Sherman's Campaign (1864–1865); Sherman Land (Special Field Orders, Number 15); Southern Women.

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Shiloh, Battle of (April 6–7, 1862)

The war's largest and deadliest battle west of the Appalachian Mountains, the Battle of Shiloh took place at Pittsburg Landing on the Tennessee River in southwestern Tennessee on April 6–7, 1862. More than 109,000 combatants, including a handful of women, met on the battlefield, and 23,746 of them became casualties. Both the unprecedented size and the extraordinary bloodiness of the battle shocked citizens of both the North and the South. Although the Confederacy came close to prevailing on the first day of fighting, Shiloh was a key strategic victory for Union control of the Western theater.

In February 1862, the Union had taken Forts Henry and Donelson in northern Tennessee, followed by the capital city of Nashville. The next Western Confederate stronghold in Union sights was Corinth, Mississippi, a key hub for the Memphis and Charleston Railroad. In March 1862, forces under General Ulysses S. Grant massed along the Tennessee–Mississippi border, ready to

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move on Corinth, about twenty miles to the south, as soon as additional troops from General Don Carlos Buell's Nashville occupation force arrived. Early in April 1862, Confederate General Albert Sydney Johnston, in command at Corinth, decided to get to Grant before Buell did.

Johnston succeeded on April 6, surprising Grant's men with an early morning attack. As the battle raged that first day, there was great disorganization on the field and considerable hand-to-hand fighting. Most of the combatants were very young, and many were raw, particularly on the Confederate side. Nonetheless, the Confederates aggressively pushed the Union soldiers back almost to the Tennessee River. By the end of the first day, Johnston had bled to death after being shot in the leg, and Union troops had made a valiant but ultimately untenable stand in a heavily wooded area christened the Hornets' Nest. April 7 brought renewed carnage, as well as Buell's reinforcements. The Confederates, now under General Pierre G. T. Beauregard, retreated to Corinth at day's end.

Two women are known to have fought for the Confederacy at Shiloh: Loreta Velazquez and Mary Ann Pitman. Both survived and later served as Confederate spies. Fighting as Harry T. Buford, Velazquez briefly commanded the Arkansas Grays regiment she had helped raise the previous year. On the second day of the battle, she was wounded by shrapnel in the arm and shoulder while helping bury the dead. Pitman, a Tennessean who used the alias Rawley, had helped raise a company and served as a second lieutenant.

At least four women fought for the Union. Jane Short, who used the name Charley Davis, sustained a minor hand wound. Frances Hook survived the battle, but her only brother did not. Two other Unionist women who served at Shiloh remain anonymous. One was badly injured and went to the Ladies Home for the Friendless in Washington, D.C., to recover. Another perished, and her remains were discovered in a mass grave in 1934.

Several women, who were in the camp with their husbands when the battle broke out, quickly became involved with nursing the wounded. Belle Reynolds, newly married, was with her husband John in the camp of the Seventeenth Illinois Infantry when shells began to fall on April 6. Belle and another woman nursed the wounded aboard the steamer *Emerald* and then at another temporary hospital near the landing. Belle's efforts at Shiloh prompted Illinois Governor Richard Yates to give her an honorary major's commission and name her daughter of the regiment.

Ann Wallace, wife of Union General William H. L. Wallace, arrived at Pittsburg Landing for a surprise visit on April 6. Her husband suffered a mortal head wound while leading his men out of the Hornets' Nest along the Sunken Road. Ann took care of him until he died on April 10.

As news of Shiloh's horrific casualties spread, Confederate women made their way to Corinth to tend the wounded. These volunteer nurses included nuns from the Sisters of Charity and family members of men involved in the fighting. Kate Cumming left her home in Mobile, Alabama, even as her brother received his baptism of fire at Shiloh, his first battle. In Corinth, Kate worked in the temporary hospital established at the Tishomingo Hotel. As she recounted in the journal that she kept to record her nursing experiences, the horrors she witnessed quickly banished images of glorious military exploits from her head. Cumming gave out food and water, bathed wounds, wrote letters for soldiers, and passed out sermons to them. The valuable work of Cumming and other women among the wounded from Shiloh prompted Dr. S. H. Stout, a surgeon who became medical director of hospitals of the Department and Army of Tennessee, to support women's presence in Confederate hospitals.

In the years after the battle, women contributed to commemorative activities at the battlefield, including dedication ceremonies for the monuments erected in the national cemetery, established in 1866, and in the national military park, established in 1894. Chapters of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) in Alabama and Arkansas sponsored monuments to the fallen from those states in 1907 and 1911, respectively. In 1917, the national UDC organization funded a large, symbolic monument to all of the Confederate dead at the battlefield. The $50,000 memorial, located in

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the Hornets' Nest, represented the victory experienced by the Confederacy on the first day and the loss and death experienced on the second.

Antoinette G. van Zelm

See also Catholic Women; Cumming, Kate (ca. 1835–1909); Female Combatants; Monuments; Nurses; United Daughters of the Confederacy; Velazquez, Loreta Janeta [Harry T. Buford] (1842–1897).

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Shortages

The absence of many common and luxury items from women's lives during the Civil War profoundly shaped the homefront experience. Confederate women felt wartime shortages more severely than their Union counterparts, largely due to the Confederate military needs and to the increasingly effective Union blockade of the Confederate coastline. Women survived without their usual products, such as coffee and new clothing, by creating substitutes from items on hand or in nature. Although shortages affected lower-class and African American women the most, few women of any class or race avoided facing economic hardships in their daily lives during the war.

The causes of wartime shortages varied from inflation, felt by women in both sections, to government policies, such as government impressment and the Union blockade. With a shortage of capital and an abundance of paper money, inflation caused prices to rise to extraordinary levels. Throughout the war, Confederate money became increasingly worthless, complicating women's ability to purchase the products that were available. Industrial production focused on military needs rather than on consumer demands, forcing women to find alternate sources for their needs. While often innovative in their ability to find substitutes or to produce their own food and clothing, Confederate women were never able to fulfill completely the homefront demands for basic supplies. Often what was produced was susceptible to Confederate taxes or military impressment policies. The crippling blow for Confederate women came as the Union armies invaded the region and the Union blockade tightened. As battles and armies destroyed the land and the blockade prevented importation, Confederate women and their families daily struggled for survival.

One of the most critical shortages Confederate women faced was that of food. The antebellum Southern economy had been driven by cotton and tobacco production, and conversion to widespread food production on farms and plantations was unsteady at best. As men left for the battlefields and slaves fled to freedom, Confederate women remained to farm for their families, a task many were unused to, further exacerbating food shortages. Much of the food produced was seized by the government to feed the armies, and the food that was available for purchase could be had only at inflated prices.

In April 1863, frustrated women in Richmond, Virginia, took to the streets to protest in a bread riot, seizing the supplies of food they thought shopkeepers were hoarding. Although similar riots occurred throughout the Confederacy during the war, most women resorted to substitutes rather than stealing for their culinary needs. Beef alternatives included both fish and fowl, but in desperate times women cooked rats, frogs, snails, dogs, cats, and mules. When they ran out of salt, which was vital for both seasoning and preserving food, women collected dirt from the smokehouse floor and boiled it to separate out the salt. Another staple, flour, frequently cost more than $1,200 a barrel, forcing women to

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use corn meal, rice, or white potatoes in their recipes. For sugar, women found sorghum, honey, and maple sugar acceptable. Coffee, the most popular beverage in the Confederacy, also became prohibitively expensive as the war progressed; so women experimented with parched okra, corn, rye, sweet potatoes, acorns, dandelion roots, peanuts, beans, or wheat to satisfy their thirst. Other women found tea substitutes in the leaves of raspberries, huckleberries, blackberries, currants, or vegetables. If women were successful in finding an extra bit of food or in creating an alternative recipe, they readily shared with family and friends, and newspapers would often publish their successes as well.

Replenishing clothing supplies also proved challenging. As with food, most of the manufactured clothing in the antebellum South had come from the North or from Europe. With the blockade preventing importation during the war, women again turned to their resourcefulness. Many middle- and lower-class women, as well as slave women, continued to make their own clothes as they had before the war, but upper-class women began to make their own homespun clothing for the first time. Difficulties developed in the absence of skill and materials, from needles and thread to cloth and cotton cards. Nonetheless, Confederate women persevered with what they could find. Women fashioned knitting needles from oak or hickory wood, and they used thorns for pins. Women often combined materials, such as cotton and animal fur, to stretch their material further. With new cloth in short supply, women recycled any bit of cloth available, including drapes and table linens, into new clothes. Old clothes were reused, with some women unraveling the stitching from an old dress to be reused in a new outfit. Materials for accessories, such as hats and buttons, were found in nature, with women using grasses, leaves, or straw for hats and wood or gourds, animal horns and bones, shells, waxed thorns, and persimmon seeds for buttons. Women also had to make their own shoes, using all variety of materials from animal skins and carpet to wood and newspaper.

Beyond the basic necessities of food and clothing, women experienced a host of other shortages in their lives. Women often smuggled medicines, such as quinine or morphine, through the Union lines or found substitutes in nature. Women fashioned candles by dipping a cloth into melted wax (beeswax, myrtle wax, turpentine, or rosin) and wrapping it around an old candlestick, corn cob, or hickory stick. They refilled their mattresses and furniture cushions with straw, cottonseed, or leaves, and they replaced blankets with carpets. With paper and ink expensive and difficult to obtain, women turned to wrapping paper, blank book pages, wallpaper, or old letters to write on. They also frequently practiced cross-writing—filling a page and then turning it ninety degrees and writing over the page again—to make the most of the supplies they had. Proven substitutes for ink included berries, tree bark, seeds, and rusty nails. If women were forced from their homes by approaching armies, finding a new residence often proved difficult, and women turned to vacant public buildings or an extra room in someone's home to shelter their families.

Kristen Streater

See also Bread Riots; Confederate Homefront; Homespun; Impressment; Northern Women; Southern Women; Union Homefront.

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Slater, Sarah Antoinette (n.d.–n.d.)

Sarah Slater was likely the courier who, during the early months of 1865, carried communication and money between Richmond and Confederate operatives in Canada and who associated with John Wilkes Booth and other Lincoln assassination conspirators. A mysterious figure to this day, she was

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known as the Frenchwoman among the conspirators, always wearing a veil and speaking broken English. Federal investigators pursued her as a result of testimonies given at the assassination trials, suspecting her of being the vital link between Richmond, Montreal, and Booth in Washington. But by that time, she had disappeared without a trace.

The dates of her birth and death are unknown. Louis Weichmann, a witness at the trials, named the Frenchwoman as Sarah Slater. This woman was born in Connecticut and moved with her family to New Bern, North Carolina, in 1858. On June 12, 1861, she married dance instructor Rowan Slater. He joined the North Carolina Infantry, departing on June 23, 1861, and, though he survived the war, he never saw his wife again.

In January 1865, she went to Richmond to apply for a passport north. While there, Secretary of War James A. Seddon recruited her for espionage work. Her first mission was to carry papers to Canadian authorities. On October 19, 1864, men in civilian clothes attacked St. Albans, Vermont, as part of a Confederate strategy to cause the Union to divide its forces. Although the town repulsed the raiders, they managed to rob three banks before escaping into Canada. Canadian authorities arrested them, and the Federal government demanded they be handed over for the robberies. Slater was to carry documents to prove to them that the robberies were part of an authorized military operation. She was successful in her mission; the Canadian government released the prisoners and returned the bank money to them.

Slater was trusted with a second mission to Canada in late February and early March 1865. On her route to and from Canada and Richmond, she stopped in Washington and New York, staying in the boardinghouse of Mary Surratt, who would later be executed for her role in the Lincoln assassination plot. Slater was escorted in her missions first by Augustus Howell, and later by John Surratt, Mary Surratt's son.

Her last mission, on April 1, 1865, was to bring money, originally intended to fund the Canadian operations, to Montreal to be sent to London for private use after the war. Slater met Booth one last time in Washington, departing on April 4. After that, she and the money disappeared.

Gabrielle Bruns

See also Confederate Homefront; Female Spies; Southern Women; Surratt, Mary E. Jenkins (1823–1865); Union Homefront.

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Slave Families

When the American Civil War broke out, enslaved blacks lived in a variety of family arrangements depending on where and at what they worked. In the upper South, many lived in extended family households that included relatives and so-called fictive kin, or people taken into the household as though they were family. More than a few slave households contained only single adults. In most cases, children lived in one-parent family households. The predominance of one-parent households resulted from the domestic slave trade, which probably destroyed one in every three slave marriages and separated 20 percent of all the slave children in the seaboard South from their families. In the lower South, on the other hand, on the eve of the Civil War, a slightly larger percentage of the enslaved lived in households with both parents.

Adult slaves respected family ties, knew about their family relations, gave their children family names as surnames without revealing the names to white owners, honored family elders, taught their children important survival lessons, and tried to establish as strong a family unit as possible under the devastating conditions of slavery. When they ran away, slaves frequently did so in desperate attempts to find the families from which they had been separated. Unlike their white owners, they

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tried not to marry cousins or close relatives, and they paid homage to marriage and family relations in slave wedding ceremonies and funerals in both secret and open services and rituals. Young women usually married when they became pregnant, and the enslaved families readily adopted the children left orphaned by the slave trade or other circumstances of slavery. Mothers typically taught their children to respect their fathers and other male figures in the immediate and extended family.

Slave mothers dominated many, and in some places a majority, of the family units in the antebellum South. In families whose women lived as mothers without their husbands present, the slave mother emerged as a tower of strength and wisdom. On small plantations and farms such as those typical in the upper South, slave mothers, as women essentially on their own without men in their daily lives, relied on a network of enslaved women to assist them in child rearing and in coping with slavery. In the lower South, a more viable slave community usually existed, especially on the large sugar and cotton plantations, with husbands and male relatives partaking of family life along with spouses and kin. In both cases, however, the slave mother was an independent force in the household.

For a variety of reasons, many husbands and fathers lived apart from their families. Fathers were sold away from their families, or they saw their wives and children carried off by slave traders and migrating planters. Many husbands on smaller plantations lived apart from their wives and children in so-called abroad marriages. These resulted when slaveholders separated families to better manage the various parts of their properties or farms. In other instances, small slaveholders owned slaves whose mates lived on neighboring farms.

Even in families, however, whose parents lived together, a patriarchal husband seldom dominated the household. The husbands and wives were more like equal partners in slavery—equal in their lack of power to affect fundamentally their lives or the lives of their children. Spouses worked at heavy field labor on equal terms, although men were assigned the heaviest tasks, such as handling plow animals. Unlike the white household, the slave husband had little real authority over his family members. He could not protect his wife and children, nor could he enforce his will on them unless it conformed to the will of the slaveholder.

When the Civil War swept over the Confederate states, the region's 4 million enslaved people valiantly moved to protect their families even as they courageously embraced freedom. From the start of the war until the Emancipation Proclamation took effect in 1863, enslaved blacks were considered as little more than a burdensome nuisance by the Union army and as potential traitors by Southern whites. Fearful that loyal slaveholders in the Border States might join the Confederacy if the Union defined the Civil War as a war of emancipation rather than as a war to preserve the Union, Federal authorities in the first months of the war returned runaway slaves to their owners and openly discouraged the slaves from breaking for freedom. However, little could be done to stem the tide of enslaved people leaving for Union lines or running away at the first opportunity. More important, as Union troops occupied southern territory in Virginia and along the coastal regions of North and South Carolina, tens of thousands of slaves fell into Federal hands as refugees. Federal authorities began treating the enslaved refugees as contraband of war (the property of the enemy), justifying this designation because the Confederate forces used enslaved workers in building war fortifications and as nurses and support workers for the military.

United States President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863 and called for black males to enlist as Union soldiers, partly to convince Europeans that support for the Confederacy meant support for slavery, partly to encourage resistance to slavery by blacks within the Confederacy, and partly because enslaved blacks all over the South already had emancipated themselves by refusing to continue as slaves and by running away. By the end of the war, over one hundred thousand black men had served as Union soldiers and sailors, and many more women and children and elderly blacks lived as refugees in camps and depots wherever Union forces were present. Nearly eighty thousand such refugees were on the roads and

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Five generations of a slave family in Beaufort, South Carolina, in 1862. (Library of Congress)

adrift in the lower Mississippi Valley after the fall of Vicksburg in the summer of 1863. Thousands of other blacks lived on their own in makeshift communities and settlements within the Confederacy while they awaited the end of the war.

Faced with thousands of black refugees who flocked to Union lines, the Federal government began placing the blacks on abandoned plantations run by the army or leased to Union entrepreneurs. Most of these plantations, especially in the lower Mississippi Valley, were occupied principally by women, children, and the elderly who worked for fixed wages by planting cotton or by planting rice and sugar elsewhere. Most of these free workers lived in family cabins left over from slavery and tried to survive as best as possible while husbands and fathers served in nearby army regiments. It was on these government plantations that the formerly enslaved people, especially women, began to experience the first taste of freedom, including negotiating with the army and private agents over such things as wages, supplies, and living conditions.

On the whole, the story of the black family throughout the course of the American Civil War is the story of severe hardship, perhaps even more arduous than that experienced in slavery. Husbands who left for freedom or to enlist in the Union armies often left behind enslaved women and their families. Frequently, black men set off for freedom on their own to try to break the path for their families to follow, but the precariousness of the war meant that women and children were often left

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behind to fend for themselves. Under these circumstances, the plight of black women and their dependent children during and immediately after the war was extremely difficult. In some cases, white slaveholders punished black women for the actions of their husbands who joined the Union army. Enslaved blacks who were left behind were forced to work even harder than before to make up for loss of male workers, not only because of the runaways but also for slaves commandeered by Confederate forces. Any sympathy for the Union cause could result in severe whippings, and some black women were executed for expressing joy at the presence of Union forces and for providing information to the Yankees. Others were taken deeper behind Southern lines and even into Texas by slaveholders trying to retain a hold onto as many of their slaves as possible, thereby disrupting black families even more.

Still, thousands of black women ran away to Union lines with their children in tow, a break for freedom that was itself fraught with danger. Fleeing women and children usually left with no provisions and with little idea of where they were going. What they found, once they made it to Union lines, were horrible living conditions in refugee camps, where thousands died from diseases such as small pox, yellow fever, and the like; physical and sexual abuse by Union soldiers; relocation to plantations to work at hard labor in the fields; and a Federal policy that treated them as unwanted obstacles to efficient military maneuvers, to say the least. Black soldiers were punished if they provided their families with provisions issued to them by the military, and the desertion of black troops to help provide for their families, which happened frequently, often resulted in jail and even execution in a few cases.

Black women and their families survived in such conditions by banding together in settlements on their own; growing food crops on plantations abandoned by their former masters; laboring as cooks, hospital workers, and washerwomen for black soldiers as they lived in refugee camps or in hastily constructed shelters near the military encampments; and by just hiding out in the woods as best they could. In the cities and towns, they tried to work as seamstresses repairing uniforms. Some became prostitutes. As in slavery, the Civil War left the black woman as the primary caretaker of black children, but the conditions of war and emancipation made the burden more difficult even than in slavery. In some cases, mothers were forced to leave some of their children behind when they fled for their lives from abusive masters, hoping to return to rescue them in the future.

When the fighting ended, thousands of black refugees returned to the abandoned plantations on which they had lived as slaves to work the land on their own or as wage hands living in family units. When Southern whites tried to pass Black Codes that gave them parental authority over black children and forced African Americans to work in gang labor, freedmen and freedwomen refused to work under such conditions or even for their old masters. In the Reconstruction era, blacks throughout the South used their labor power to insist on a new system of labor based on the family household. Black husbands and fathers negotiated terms that allowed women to work at domestic tasks in the home rather than in the fields, families to live in family cabins scattered across the plantation lands in forty-acre plots, and family autonomy and independence from daily supervision by white overseers or by former slaveholders. In many cases, African American workers insisted that the old white slaveholders move off the plantation as a condition of agreeing to work. This system of labor eventually came to be known as sharecropping or share tenancy, in which blacks worked for a share of the crop for wages or paid a share of the crop for rent. Although this work arrangement quickly entrapped black farmers in a system of debt peonage controlled by the Southern supply merchant rather than the planter/landlord, it began as a way of protecting the family unit as the basis of work and living.

The freedmen and freedwomen also rushed to have their slave marriages recognized by the Union army and the United States authorities, demanded schools for their children, searched for families separated from them by the slave trade, and worked to establish neighborhood churches composed of families made stronger by the shared

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experiences of slavery and the Civil War. Indeed, historians estimate that 90 percent of rural black families lived in households with parents and children in 1870 and 1880. Within a few years after slavery, the simple family unit had become the norm for Southern blacks.

Joyce L. Broussard

See also African American Women; Border States; Camp Followers; Confederate Homefront; Contrabands; Courtship and Marriage; Disease; Emancipation Proclamation (January 1, 1863); Family Life, Confederate; Freedmen's Bureau; Hospitals; Impressment; Prostitution; Rape; Reconstruction (1865–1877); Refugees; Rural Women; Sherman Land (Special Field Orders, Number 15); Southern Unionists.

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Slaveholding Women

The slaveholding women of the Confederate States of America assumed immense social, political, and economic significance during the Civil War. As Southern men fought the Union army on the battlefield, women waged a war of equal importance on the homefront. Battling the difficulties of crop production, slave management, shortages of food and clothing, inflation, and the presence of Federal armies, female slaveholders struggled to protect their families, their homes, and their way of life. At the start of the war, the majority of slaveholding women expressed an ardent patriotism that was best conveyed in their willingness to sacrifice both their men and their comfort for the Confederacy. But as the demands and horrors of warfare pressed on them and challenged the Southern social order, some women's devotion to the cause turned to disillusionment. Even though they risked forfeiting the antebellum lifestyle on which their identity rested, some slaveholding women ultimately undermined the Confederate effort and demanded an end to the conflict.

Although Southern society expected women to refrain from political discussion, the prewar secession debates and the bombing of Fort Sumter led many female slaveholders to shed their apolitical guise. As members of the wealthiest and most powerful social group in the Old South, they had more at stake in maintaining slavery and the region's hierarchical social order than other Southern women. As such, they encouraged the white men in their lives to defend their way of life by taking up arms against the encroaching Federal Army. Hoping to capitalize on this informal recruitment, Confederate officials and propagandists exploited the antebellum gender prescription of female sacrifice. Patriotic women were supposed to forsake male protection and give their husbands and sons to the Confederacy. Although countless female slaveholders feared running plantations on their own, commanding slaves, and possibly losing loved ones in battle, the ideal Confederate woman was expected to repress such feelings in support of the cause. Consequently, many women focused on the romance and glories of war, rather than on its potential trials and tribulations, and they proudly, if not hesitantly, sent their men off to battle.

The mass mobilization and departure of white men from Southern plantations had a profound impact on female slaveholders. While some followed their husbands to battle, moved back home with their parents, or relocated to nearby cities, most remained on their estates as long as possible.

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Unlike yeoman women who had few resources at their disposal, wealthy female slaveholders escaped significant disruption in their lives at the outset of the war, for they had money to maintain their antebellum lifestyle and the slaves to maintain plantation production. This gave slaveholding women the leisure to ponder their role in the conflict. Many were frustrated with their seeming insignificance and began to resent the restrictions that their gender placed on them. Prohibited from joining the army, they found an outlet for their patriotism and growing restlessness in volunteer activities. Thousands of ladies' relief and aid associations emerged across the South as women searched for proper ways to contribute to the war effort. Female slaveholders remained within feminine boundaries by sewing uniforms, flags, and tents and by collecting or giving donations of money, food, and supplies to Confederate soldiers.

As the war progressed, slaveholding women's attention shifted from volunteer activities to the plantation affairs for which they were now accountable. Taking over sole responsibility for Southern plantations during the war was a trying experience for most female slaveholders. Although many absentee planters' wives had managerial experience prior to 1861, a woman's administration was usually intermittent and not the primary responsibility of most plantation mistresses. Even those who fulfilled a managerial role on a regular basis were not prepared for the unique administrative problems wrought by war, particularly those concerning slaves. No amount of managerial training could prepare white women for the wartime resistance put forth by their bondspersons.

Slave management was elite women's most important war responsibility and also their greatest challenge. Maintaining control over bondspersons was essential to the Confederacy, for slavery was the bedrock of the South—the institution on which the Southern economy and social order rested. Moreover, the Union blockade necessitated a Confederate reliance on Southern plantations and slaves for the production of food and supplies. Consequently, slaveholding women assumed tremendous political, economic, and social significance as the wartime protectors of the slave system. This role was a difficult one to fulfill, not only because of slaves' increasingly defiant attitudes toward female slaveholders and bondage, but also because of society's doubts and women's own insecurities about their managerial capabilities.

Prior to the war, most Southerners did not see or treat the plantation mistress as a master. Although white women could be, and occasionally were, ruthless and violent slaveholders, popular gender prescriptions demanded passivity on their part. Their presumed or actual weakness often encouraged slaves to act more autonomously in their presence than in that of white men and caused white society to question whether slaveholding women had the emotional and physical strength necessary to command bondspeople. Often female slaveholders feared the repercussions of being held exclusively responsible for slave management during the war. Much to their dismay, their fears of slave resistance were realized following the wartime exodus of white men from Southern plantations.

The problems accompanying slaves' subtle and blatant disregard for slaveholding women's authority in the prewar years were amplified as the war progressed and bondspeople encountered greater opportunities for freedom. Consequently, many women pleaded with their husbands to return home and assume control of plantation affairs. When military leaders denied discharges or furloughs, the wives of slaveholders sent thousands of requests to government officials imploring them to exempt their men from service. The Confederate Congress responded by passing the so-called Twenty-Nigger Law of 1862. While expanded conscription laws eventually curbed its terms, this legislation exempted from service one white man from every plantation where there resided twenty or more slaves. The law not only privileged the wealthy over the poor, as small slaveholders and nonslaveholding whites complained, but it also confirmed widespread assumptions about women's natural weakness and vulnerability.

Many slaveholding women held these assumptions themselves, for their petitions regarding their husbands' military exemption were usually couched

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in terms of their need for masculine protection, particularly from restive slaves. They were frustrated with their inability to make their slaves work effectively, and they also feared insolence, violence, rape, and even murder. Stories concerning lazy, disrespectful, and aggressive slaves circulated around the Confederacy and intensified female slaveholders' frustration and trepidation. Many women wrote to their husbands about their dread of nightfall, the time during which they most feared a revolt. Some even claimed that they went to bed fully dressed so that they would be prepared for any disturbance.

Such concerns reflected an important shift in many slaveholding women's belief in slavery as a paternalistic institution that fostered harmonious relations between black and white Southerners. Even when the war broke out and their husbands left home, some women claimed to have no fear of their slaves, for they believed them to be devoted to their owners. The pervasiveness of this fantasy among female slaveholders was evident in the shock and disbelief that they expressed when their favorite slaves fled for Union lines during the war. Unable to grasp the reasons for leaving, many plantation mistresses conveyed feelings of abandonment, despair, and anger to their husbands, all of which revealed the extent of their dependency on their bondspersons.

Female slaveholders used a variety of means to prevent or temper insubordination and desertion and to inspire hard work among their slaves during the war. Some ignored gender prescriptions that demanded feminine morality and passivity, and they inflicted violence on their slaves. Others tried to cajole or charm their bondspersons with flattery, kindness, and affection. Some even resorted to begging. As the war drew on, however, all methods of slave management became increasingly difficult and ineffective. As a result, many women started to see slavery as a burden and demanded relief from their husbands and the government. When their pleas went unanswered, their devotion to the Confederate war effort waned.

Although some female slaveholders' disillusionment with the war and with the Confederate cause originated in their troubles with slave management, it burgeoned with wartime hardships that cut across class lines. Inflation, monetary shortages, and a lack of food and material goods compounded slaveholding women's problems on the homefront. Although the wealthiest slaveholders were able to maintain a comfortable standard of living much longer than less prosperous Southerners, their lives did not escape disruption. The Union blockade and Confederate restrictions on the production and export of cotton caused slaveholders' revenue to decline drastically. The money that they did have fell in value as inflation hit the South and as the prices of food and supplies soared. Added to these problems was the limited availability of necessities like cloth, shoes, and flour. Domestic production and ingenuity staved off a state of crisis for slaveholding women and their families for a while, but, by the end of the war, starvation and material deprivation shook even the most affluent households.

Desperate to feed and clothe their children, some slaveholding women entered the ranks of paid labor during the war, most often requesting salaried positions in government offices. Faced with a pressing need for employees and a dearth of male applicants, Confederate officials overlooked peacetime gender conventions and filled many vacant positions with women. The most desirable appointments, such as those in the Treasury Department, usually went to members of the slaveholding class. Because of this, government work was an attractive option for struggling female slaveholders as well as a source of class tension. The salary of clerical workers far exceeded that of other female government employees and that of army privates. Moreover, working conditions were more pleasant and safe in Confederate office buildings than in factories or makeshift hospitals—places of employment reserved almost exclusively for poor women.

While the majority of slaveholding women escaped the dangers of the hospital and factory, many faced the hazards of living in the path of the Union army. Those who resided near the battlefront risked having their property commandeered, stolen, or destroyed by Northern soldiers. Female slaveholders tried to protect their possessions from Federal troops in various ways. Some buried items of

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monetary and sentimental value. Others trusted favorite slaves with their goods, assuming that the Northern army would not bother searching or destroying bondspersons' cabins. Many women even concealed belongings on their person. Stories circulated throughout the country of Southern women who hid silver, china, and jewelry in their hoopskirts. Although slaveholding women's elite status could provide them with a modicum of protection, this was a dangerous strategy, for it increased the risk of sexual violation by looting soldiers. By drawing attention to their ladyhood, those who were lucky sometimes evoked a sense of honor and propriety in the men who searched their homes. However, in the act of protecting themselves, female slaveholders may have put other women who did not possess the shield of gentility at heightened risk of sexual and physical abuse.

The dangers that accompanied military occupation, combined with the stress of slave management, material deprivation, and starvation, led many slaveholding women to grow disenchanted with the Confederate cause. By the latter years of the conflict, their unmet demands for assistance and protection turned into pleas for their husbands' desertion from the army. Increasingly desperate and compelling cries from home shook the soldiers on the front and in some ways undermined the Confederate war effort. The value of women's material and emotional support to the Confederacy was no clearer than when it began to waver.

Nikki Berg Burin

See also Aid Societies; Civilian Life; Destruction of Homes; Destruction of Personal Property; Domesticity; Family Life, Confederate; Letter Writing; Morale; Nationalism, Confederate; Plantation Life; Shortages; Slave Families; Southern Women.

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Smith, Caroline "Cassie" Selden (1837–1907)

Her marriage to Confederate officer Kirby Smith made Caroline "Cassie" Selden Smith the Bride of the Confederacy, and the letters the couple left behind reveal the effects of the Civil War on their personal lives.

Born in September 1837, Cassie Selden was the eldest of seven children born into a wealthy Episcopalian family in Lynchburg, Virginia. Although her father died when she was twelve, family finances enabled Cassie to attend the prestigious Georgetown Seminary. There, she received an education fitting her status as a prominent member of Virginia society.

In spring 1861, Colonel Edmund Kirby Smith, a thirty-four-year-old career military man, arrived in Lynchburg to train recruits for the Confederacy. During a social gathering, Smith teased some of Lynchburg's young ladies, telling them that the girl who made him the finest shirt would receive his romantic attention. Cassie, a self-described Virginia belle, stitched two shirts for the colonel. Smith accepted the gifts graciously and Cassie recalled that, by the time he left Lynchburg in late May, she had "sewn" love's seeds.

Smith had been promoted to brigadier general by the next time Cassie saw him in July 1861. As he recuperated from a wound suffered at Manassas, Cassie doted on him, listening to his stories and taking him to church on Sundays. Smith proposed after he recovered, and the two were married with full military pomp in Lynchburg on September 24. Smith's fame at Manassas prompted the press to

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dub Cassie the Bride of the Confederacy. The newlyweds honeymooned at Smith's family home in St. Augustine, Florida.

The couple returned to Virginia where Smith served until February 1862. He was promoted and sent to East Tennessee. Cassie remained behind and discovered that she was pregnant. During their separation, the couple began exchanging letters that reflected the personal dimensions of the Civil War. Cassie revealed her anxieties about the pregnancy as well as her longing for her days as a carefree Southern belle.

When Kirby was promoted to lieutenant general and assigned to the Trans-Mississippi in February 1863, Cassie and daughter Catherine accompanied him to Shreveport, Louisiana. After a yellow fever epidemic prompted the general to send his family to Marshall, Texas, he visited them frequently.

After the war, Kirby sought refuge in Mexico and Cuba, and he sent Cassie back to Virginia. In November 1865, Kirby took the amnesty oath and the family reunited in Lynchburg. Left destitute by the war, they settled in Sewanee, Tennessee, where Kirby taught at the University of the South. For the next two decades, Cassie and her husband opened their home to Confederate veterans.

After the general's death in 1893, Cassie became active in the newly formed Daughters of the Confederacy and attended meetings as an honored guest. Nevertheless, as a widow she suffered increasing financial hardships, and only donations from Confederate veterans kept her from poverty. She remained active in promoting the causes of Confederate veterans until her death in 1907.

Jeffery S. Prushankin

See also Letter Writing; Southern Women.

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Solomon, Clara (ca. 1845–1907)

A member of the Jewish community in New Orleans, Clara Solomon experienced the Civil War and Union occupation as a teenager. Her surviving diary provides a glimpse of a life influenced by several different identities: Jewish, Southern, New Orleanian, and female.

Born to Solomon P. and Emma Solomon, Jewish migrants from South Carolina, Clara Solomon grew up in New Orleans's highly assimilated Sephardic community. The Civil War began when she was sixteen, and her diaries for the years 1861 and 1862 record the thoughts and experiences of a young woman coming of age in the midst of war and occupation.

The Solomon family shared the strong Confederate loyalties of their Catholic and Protestant neighbors. They were members of the Sephardic Dispersed of Judah Congregation, whose rabbi, James Gutheim, gave impassioned sermons in favor of secession and the Confederate cause. Clara and her sister were also avid readers of local newspapers, devouring them in search of war news and the fate of friends and relatives in Confederate service.

Clara recorded the impact that her father's position as a Confederate sutler stationed in Virginia had on his wife and six daughters, who remained in Louisiana. She also wrote about the toll that the Union blockade took on the population of New Orleans. The commercial activity of the city ground to a halt, which dealt a devastating blow to Solomon Solomon's dry goods store and left the family severely in debt. That, combined with his absence from home and uncertain income as a sutler, made supporting themselves a necessary task. While Clara remained at the Louisiana Normal School, she joined her mother and sister in making clothes for Confederate soldiers. The work let them aid the war effort while also earning a small, but much needed income. The Solomon women found that inflation and the blockade made obtaining food,

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cloth, and other necessary items increasingly difficult. For their Passover celebration in 1862, the family resorted to eating cornbread because of a scarcity of matzo.

Clara also chronicled her experiences in the early weeks of the Union occupation of New Orleans. She was horrified by the surrender of the city, deplored the censorship of the local newspapers, and expressed the hope that the occupation would be short-lived. She noted disapprovingly the ostentatious displays of patriotism by New Orleans women who wore black ribbons and Confederate flags on their dresses. Clara's diary ended in 1862, but the family continued to live in the city for the duration of the war.

After the Civil War, the family's financial position remained precarious. In 1866, Clara Solomon married affluent jeweler Julius Lilienthal, twenty years her senior, and, following his death, she married Dr. George Lawrence.

Julia Huston Nguyen

See also Diaries and Journals; Jewish Women; Southern Women.

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Southern Unionists

Refuting the myth of a monolithic Confederate South, many Southern women and men remained loyal to the Union throughout the Civil War. These Southerners opposed secession and hoped for a restoration of the United States. The activities of Unionist women ranged from dissenting silently to sheltering their Unionist male relatives from the Confederate army or to helping Union prisoners of war escape.

Historians disagree on the exact number of Southern Unionists, especially because of disputes over the definitions of the terms "Southerner" and "Unionist." Some scholars count only whites from the Confederate states as Southerners, whereas others include whites and African Americans from all of the slave states. The question of what constitutes Unionism is even less clear. While some Southerners never strayed from loyalty to the United States government, others began the war as Confederates but left their new nation when they felt that it had failed them, and still others suddenly emerged as Unionists only when the Federal army occupied their towns. Additionally, many Unionists kept their loyalty secret, and consequently counting them is impossible.

Southern women chose Unionism for a variety of reasons. Women born in the North most likely continued their fealty to the national government. Other women simply considered secession to be an unnecessary and hasty response to Abraham Lincoln's 1860 election, and therefore, rather than choosing Unionism, these women rejected secession and the Confederacy. Not surprisingly, African American slaves in the South embraced Unionism, especially after the passage of the Emancipation Proclamation. Still other women did not begin the war as Unionists but transferred their loyalty back to the Union when they felt that the Confederacy had failed their families, especially as privation stalked the land. Some historians claim that the Confederate government's actions, particularly the conscription and impressment policies, which made the war appear to be a rich man's war and a poor man's fight, drove these lukewarm, nonslaveholding Confederate men and women to Unionism. Other scholars, however, deny that Unionism had a class aspect, and they depict wealthy women who refused to become Confederates. Nevertheless, probably the most common reason that Southern women became Unionists was that their husbands chose to remain loyal to the United States. Women had an impact on family loyalty decisions, and some husbands and wives divided over the issue of secession. Aware that Unionism could fracture families and expressing sympathy for secessionist women, the Georgia legislature made male service in the Union army sufficient grounds for divorce. Instead of leaving their spouses, however, women married to Unionist husbands more commonly became de facto Unionists.

Geography had an impact on Unionism, with higher concentrations of Unionists in the Appa-

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lachian mountain region (including eastern Tennessee, western North Carolina, and northern Alabama) and in the piney woods and swamps outside the South's plantation belts. Generally, these areas were more isolated from major transportation arteries, had a lower percentage of slaves in their population, and had less wealth than the rest of the South. Additionally, religion and ethnicity could influence Unionism, with Dunkards in Virginia and Texans of German descent remaining disproportionately loyal to the United States.

The actions of Southern Unionists varied. Some Unionists fled their homes when the war began or after the August 1861 passage of a law that gave those who refused to support the Confederacy forty days either to depart the South or to be treated as enemy aliens. Some went to the North, while others remained refugees for the duration of the conflict. For those who remained at home, in many regions, silence was the best policy; these Unionists maintained a false outward show of loyalty to the Confederacy, crying when they felt like celebrating and celebrating when they felt like crying. Others took symbolic action, canceling their subscription to Confederate newspapers, refusing to provide money to Confederate charities, singing "Hail, Columbia" and the "Star Spangled Banner," or displaying American flags in their homes.

Unionist women, sometimes taking advantage of their gender, aided the Union army and its soldiers. Some Unionist women served as spies or intelligence gatherers. These included Elizabeth Van Lew, a Richmond abolitionist who helped Union prisoners of war escape from Libby prison and provided information to Ulysses S. Grant's invading army. Other female spies gained access to Confederate army encampments in the guise of looking for their male relatives, or they engaged in seemingly innocuous flirtatious conversations to learn troop deployments. Other women smuggled food, money, and mail to Union prisoners of war in Confederate hospitals. Often possessing more freedom to travel than men and being less likely to have their bodies searched, Southern Unionist women operated as a vital cog in a long-distance communication network between Northerners and Southern Unionists. These Unionists helped start a new Underground Railroad that transferred information, prisoners of war, or Southern Unionists who feared for their lives rather than escaped slaves.

Other Unionists felt less compulsion to remain furtive in their loyalty to the United States. In regions such as eastern Tennessee and western North Carolina, where Unionists were a majority or a significant minority, they felt less need to hide their allegiance. And, when the Union army occupied a region, Southern Unionists became even more vocal in their fidelity to the United States government. Here, Unionist women often hoped to fulfill the same romantic dream of meeting a handsome soldier that their Confederate counterparts had wished for at the beginning of the war. In Key West, Florida, Unionist women truly echoed their Confederate sisters by presenting Northern soldiers with a flag and raising money for their cause. Federal occupation and Federal policies, which rewarded pledges of loyalty, often made it hard to distinguish between true Unionists and Unionists of convenience, men and women who transferred allegiance to the stronger side. When the Union army moved on, true Unionist women, fearing for their safety, often followed the invading army, for which some provided cooking and washing services.

Slave women can also be viewed as Southern Unionists. Unlike their white counterparts, they, however, could not rely on their gender to shield them from retribution. Nevertheless, this risk did not prevent them from taking advantage of opportunities. Mary Elizabeth Bowser, a former slave working in the Confederate White House, acted as a Union spy and worked with Elizabeth Van Lew. Slave women, like their male counterparts, fled to Union lines, engaged in work slowdowns, and generally tried to accomplish as much as they could to weaken the Confederate cause. They also provided Union troops with information about Confederate armies and could serve as guides. Perhaps the most famous of these guides was the escaped slave and Underground Railroad conductor Harriet Tubman.

Family and community were important to all Unionists regardless of race. Networks of Unionists provided support, both tangible and emotional, to

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one another. They participated in secret organizations, with names such as the Order of the Heroes of America or the Peace Society, where they discussed how to undermine the Confederate war effort and where they could express their true feelings without fear of retribution. The importance of this community support and the nature of Unionism changed after the Confederacy enacted conscription in April 1862. Prior to the passage of this act, Unionist men could refuse to serve in the Confederate army, but after its enactment avoiding service became a treasonous act with vigilance committees and committees of public safety constantly on the look out for draft dodgers. Thus, many Unionist men went into to hiding to avoid forced service in Southern armies. Unionist women played a vital role in supporting these fugitives by smuggling food and supplies to these men and by warning them when conscript hunters approached.

Whether men or women, Unionists risked both financial and bodily harm. Confederate law provided for the seizure of property of those who aided the Union war effort. Women who provided for their husbands, sons, and others who resisted conscription into the Confederate army could be insulted, have their homes burned, be arrested, or be tortured into revealing the location of their male relatives. Women branded as Unionists, especially those whose husbands fought in the Union army, could be denied government rations, prevented from receiving local charity, or refused the use of local mills for their grain. Also, in several areas, conflict between Unionists and Confederates took the form of guerrilla warfare. Violence begat increasingly violent retaliations, with both sides not necessarily distinguishing between combatants and noncombatants. In those situations, brutality toward women increased, including imprisonment, rape, and murder. Thus, without—and even with—the support of other Unionists, Unionist women often found themselves trapped in precarious situations.

John M. Sacher

See also African American Women; Border States; Bowser, Mary Elizabeth (ca. 1839–n.d.); Confederate Homefront; Conscription; Destruction of Homes; Destruction of Personal Property; Female Spies; Loyalty Oaths; Military Invasion and Occupation; Rape; Refugees; Rural Women; Southern Women; Tubman, Harriet [Araminta Ross] (1822–1913); Urban Women, Southern; Van Lew, Elizabeth (1818–1900).

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Southworth, Emma Dorothy Eliza Nevitte (1819–1899)

E.D.E.N. Southworth, probably the most widely read female author of the nineteenth century, was described by a contemporary as a Southern woman with Northern principles. Through stories set in the plantation South, Southworth exposed slavery as damaging to all whites who condoned it. Her melodramatic novels often featured unconventional and independent heroines and a sharp critique of men's power over women's lives. Serialized in mass circulation weekly newspapers, her work enjoyed tremendous popular success from the early 1850s to the late 1880s in both the North and the South.

Emma D. E. Nevitte was born December 26, 1819, in Alexandria, Virginia. Her mother, Maria McIntosh, came from generations of landed Southern gentry and married Charles Lecompte Nevitte, an importer who owned a fleet of ships. Emma adored her father, who died when she was four, having never fully recovered from a wound received in the War of 1812. Emma remembered herself as a shy, awkward, unattractive child, with a pretty younger sister who was the family favorite. She grew

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increasingly isolated and withdrawn, and much of her lonely childhood was spent in the kitchen listening to the servants' ghost stories, legends, and tales of the family's bygone wealth. The Nevittes faced constant financial problems, but summers with her extended family in Maryland exposed Emma to the plantation life often depicted in her novels.

Emma's mother remarried to a schoolmaster in Washington, D.C. After being educated in his school, Emma taught there for five years. In 1840 she married Frederick Southworth, a New York inventor, and they moved to the Wisconsin frontier. After they returned to Washington, he abandoned Emma and their two children in 1844. She returned to teaching to support the children and began writing fiction to supplement her inadequate salary. Her first story appeared in the *Baltimore Saturday Visiter* in 1846, and others the next year in the *National Era,* the capital's abolitionist newspaper. Ill and despairing, with eighty pupils, a bedridden child, and editors to satisfy, she wrote her first novel, *Retribution.* Pouring her misery into her writing seems to have been good for her, and the tale captivated readers.

Retribution, serialized in the *National Era,* launched Southworth's prolific career as a writer of popular fiction. It ran for fourteen installments in 1849 and was so well received that Harper's published it in book form the same year. Drawn from her own abandonment and her firm antislavery convictions, it is the story of a heroine, working to free her slaves, with an unfaithful husband. Suddenly, people offered Southworth friendship and sympathy. She had found independence, respect, and a career. The *National Era* continued to feature her work, and she went on writing abolitionist fiction despite criticism from her family and the Southern press. The *National Era*'s editor wanted an even more damning and attention-getting portrayal of slavery and began installments of Harriett Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1851. Southworth continued to write for the *National Era* and sold some pieces to the *Saturday Evening Post.* Throughout her long career, she produced about two novels a year.

Hard work brought financial success. She moved into Prospect Cottage on the Potomac Heights in Georgetown in 1853. Among the many guests she entertained there were her friends John Greenleaf Whittier and Harriet Beecher Stowe.

Popular nineteenth-century author Emma Dorothy Eliza Nevitte (E.D.E.N.) Southworth. (Cirker, Hayward and Blanche Cirker, eds., *Dictionary of American Portraits*, 1967)

In 1857, Robert Bonner of the *New York Ledger,* the most widely read paper in America, signed Southworth to an exclusive contract, securing the right to serialize all her novels before they were published in book form. Southworth's novels were its chief selling point, dominating the front page and often continuing for six months. Each week's episode, eagerly awaited by readers, was accompanied by a dramatic woodcut illustration. *The Hidden Hand* first appeared in 1859 and was her most popular tale. It was serialized again in 1868 and 1883 before being released as a book in 1888. Some nineteenth-century critics found fault with her overblown language, extravagant and improbable plot contrivances, imperfectly drawn characters, and sensational treatment of race and sex, but the reading public could not get enough. Her work was widely translated and reprinted abroad.

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Southworth sailed for England in 1859, remaining there until 1862. On her return, she firmly supported the Union despite her Southern roots. Her letters to Robert Bonner of the *Ledger* clearly express her anti-Confederate sentiments. She nursed wounded soldiers, and her cottage was several times used as an auxiliary hospital.

Because her work was serialized and issued as books with a variety of titles and publishers, estimates of the number of novels she produced between 1849 and 1886 vary from forty to sixty. An indication of Southworth's lasting importance is the attention focused on her life and work. Literary scholars initially categorized her with the "scribbling women" and sentimental literary domestics, who wrote novels for a female audience, because she spun melodramatic tales that often ended in a happy marriage. More recently, scholars interpret Southworth's fondness for heroines who are rewarded for their independence and rebellion against Victorian female passivity as providing a subversive outlet for the fantasies of repressed female readers. Because she adapted the romantic Southern genre of the plantation novel to her storytelling style and because her most successful novel, *The Hidden Hand,* was not as explicitly abolitionist as her earlier works, twentieth-century critical consensus accused her of abandoning her antislavery principles. However, in the years before the Civil War, the *National Ledger*'s editorial policy stressed neutrality in the interest of circulation. Southern readers had grown increasingly sensitive to Northern attacks on slavery, and Bonner allowed nothing that would offend them. Southworth, practiced in lampooning gender conventions, applied the same subversive literary techniques to race in *The Hidden Hand.* Beginning with the sale of its white heroine into slavery as an infant, the novel is full of episodes demonstrating that race had looser boundaries and less significance than many whites believed.

E. D. E. N. Southworth died at Prospect Cottage on June 30, 1899.

Nancy Gray Schoonmaker

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; Fiction Writers, Southern; Hospitals; Fiction Writers, Northern; Northern Women; Nurses; Southern Women; Stowe, Harriet Elizabeth Beecher (1811–1896); Wartime Literature.

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Stanton, Elizabeth Cady (1815–1902)

Women's rights reformer and abolitionist Elizabeth Cady Stanton devoted her life to the fight for equal rights for women.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton was born in Johnstown, New York, to Margaret and Daniel Cady. She attended Johnstown Academy and Emma Willard's Troy Female Seminary. In 1840, Elizabeth married reformer Henry Stanton, a prominent abolitionist. After the wedding, the couple attended the World's Anti-Slavery Convention. Male participants questioned the credentials of the female delegates, and after some debate the men decided that women could sit in a screened-off section. The debate over whether to seat women outraged Stanton, who, along with Lucretia Mott, a Quaker preacher, agreed to hold a women's rights convention when they returned to the United States. Eight years later they helped to plan the first women's rights convention in the United States.

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In 1848, Stanton, Mott, Martha Coffin Wright, Mary Ann McClintock, and Jane Hunt issued a call for a women's rights convention to be held in Seneca Falls, New York. Delegates signed the Declaration of Sentiments modeled after the Declaration of Independence. A woman suffrage resolution introduced by Stanton sparked debate at the conference and was passed by a small margin.

In 1851, Stanton met Susan B. Anthony, and together the two fought for women's rights in New York. Stanton, who had seven children by 1859 and a husband who was often away from home, relied on Anthony to build support for women's rights. Stanton authored the speeches given by Anthony and she drafted resolutions. Anthony circulated petitions, held meetings, and organized women. In 1860, their hard work paid off when the New York State Legislature passed the Married Women's Property Act.

The Civil War halted Stanton's work for women's rights, and she came to believe that woman suffrage organizers had to shift their priorities. Stanton believed that women would be made citizens and enfranchised at the end of the war if they committed themselves to war work. Unlike other Northern women, she did not serve as a nurse or work with the United States Sanitary Commission. She and Anthony had other plans.

Anthony and Stanton favored abolitionism and believed that the conflict must abolish slavery. Stanton believed that President Abraham Lincoln moved too slowly on the issue of freedom for slaves. Lincoln, who faced pressure to draw up an emancipation policy, had stalled on the issue. He drew up a proclamation in 1862 and waited for the right time to issue it. On January 1, 1863, Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation, freeing slaves in the Confederate states but exempting areas that remained in the Union.

The proclamation did not please Stanton or other abolitionists. They believed that the Constitution needed to be amended to end slavery once and for all. Henry Stanton encouraged his wife and Anthony to take action. They began drafting plans for a Northern women's organization. They issued a call for a meeting of the women of the Republic, and they assembled in New York in May 1863.

As one of the more radical of the nineteenth-century suffragists and women's rights leaders, Elizabeth Cady Stanton sought above all else to free women from the legal obstacles that prevented them from achieving equality with men. (Library of Congress)

Those who attended the convention formed the Women's National Loyal League, the delegates electing Stanton president and Anthony secretary. The goal of the league was to distribute petitions and obtain signatures of those in favor of a Federal amendment to the United States Constitution to abolish slavery. Less than nine months later, the league submitted petitions to Congress bearing the signatures of one hundred thousand individuals. Convinced of its overwhelming public support, the United States Senate passed the Thirteenth Amendment in April 1864, but the issue went down to defeat in the House of Representatives that June. By August 1864, the league had gathered nearly four hundred thousand signatures. In 1865, the House voted in favor of the Thirteenth Amendment, and the amendment was ratified that same year.

In 1864, Lincoln's re-nomination for president was uncertain as war casualties increased, and he received little support from the Republican Party. Stanton and abolitionist Wendell Phillips endorsed

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the candidacy of General John C. Frémont, who had issued an edict freeing the slaves of those who supported the Confederacy in Missouri. To stir up interest in the Frémont campaign, she asked abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison for his assistance and also sent suggestions to Frémont's wife on how to call a dissident political convention. At the convention, held in May 1864, a small group of supporters nominated Frémont for president. He withdrew from the presidential race in September, and Lincoln was re-elected to a second term in 1864.

In 1865, Stanton began receiving drafts of the proposed Fourteenth Amendment, which would, for the first time, introduce the word "male" into the Constitution. The drafts offended Stanton who believed that the nation would extend citizenship rights to women to thank them for their war work. She insisted that the amendment include women, fearing that it would be even more difficult eventually to secure woman suffrage if the amendment excluded women. Abolitionists disagreed. They refused to support woman suffrage, calling the postwar period the Negro's hour and favoring black suffrage.

Disappointed, Anthony and Stanton held the first women's rights convention since the beginning of the Civil War. Delegates formed the American Equal Rights Association to secure universal suffrage (black and woman suffrage). In 1867, Stanton tried to secure universal suffrage in New York and Kansas. The campaign in Kansas was particularly bitter and helped to foster an independent feminist movement, as Stanton and Anthony began to recognize that abolitionists like Wendell Phillips, a previous supporter of women's rights, refused to champion the cause until black suffrage had been secured.

In spite of Stanton's opposition to the Fourteenth Amendment, the amendment was ratified and became part of the Constitution in 1868. When the Fifteenth Amendment was introduced in Congress, Stanton used racist and elitist arguments to oppose the amendment. The issue of black suffrage and the Fifteenth Amendment split suffragists into two camps: those who favored the Fifteenth Amendment and those who opposed it. This split led to the creation of two separate suffrage associations in 1869: the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) headed by Anthony and Stanton, and the American Woman Suffrage Association. The groups merged in 1890, and Stanton became the first president of the resultant National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton died in 1902.

Jennifer Ross-Nazzal

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; Anthony, Susan B. (1820–1906); Emancipation Proclamation (January 1, 1863); Fifteenth Amendment; Fourteenth Amendment; Garrison, William Lloyd (1805–1879); Lincoln, Abraham (1809–1865); Mott, Lucretia Coffin (1793–1880); National Women's Loyal League [Women's National Loyal League]; Northern Women; Quaker Women; Thirteenth Amendment.

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Stephens, Octavia (Tivie) Bryant (1841–1908)

Diarist Octavia Bryant Stephens was the wife of a small planter in East Florida. Her and her family's wartime experiences typified those of small slaveholders throughout the South.

Born on October 21, 1841, while her parents were visiting family members in Massachusetts, Tivie was raised in Jacksonville and on an estate called White Cottage in Waleka, Florida. Her father was a well traveled lawyer who also worked as a merchant and newspaper editor.

As a teenager, Tivie began a courtship with Winston Stephens, a well-regarded small planter and slaveowner more than eleven years her senior. Tivie accepted his marriage proposal in 1856, but her parents prevented the union because she was not

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yet fifteen. In 1858, when Stephens returned after fighting in the Third Seminole War, the couple courted in secret. They married on November 1, 1859, just after Tivie turned eighteen. The couple moved into the Rose Cottage estate in Welaka, Florida. The following year, their plantation contained ten slaves and primarily grew short staple and long staple cotton.

During the secession crisis, Tivie and Winston both hoped they could silence the radical Democrats in the region. In the 1860 election, Winston ran unsuccessfully for office as a Constitutional Unionist. After the fall of Fort Sumter, the Bryant family, like much of Jacksonville, divided its loyalties. Tivie's father remained a staunch Unionist and fled to Cuba, but all but one of her brothers fought for the Confederacy. Winston enlisted in the Second Florida Calvary, and Tivie took control of the homestead.

Tivie and other East Floridians felt the full brunt of the Federal naval blockade. Out of necessity and Tivie's ingenuity, the Rose Cottage became more self-reliant. Throughout the Confederacy and especially in isolated East Florida, food shortages and a reliance on local produce and homespun clothes became the norm. When Union troops invaded and occupied Fernandina in 1862, the situation on the homefront worsened. Tivie and her neighbors buried their valuables and otherwise prepared for invasion by Union troops. Near the end of 1863, the surrender of Jacksonville and the Confederate abandonment of East Florida led Tivie to abandon the Rose Cottage and relocate her family near Thomasville, Georgia. Tivie also suffered personal losses during the war. Her infant daughter Isabella died in January 1862.

Tivie, like many women, was widowed by the war. Winston was killed by a Union sniper during a small skirmish near Cedar Creek on March 1, 1864. No longer living at the home that they created together, she would remain in Thomasville until the war's conclusion. She gave birth to Winston Jr, the last of their three children, months after her husband's death.

Tivie returned to Welaka with her two children in 1869. She lived there until her death on September 6, 1908.

Andrew K. Frank

See also Confederate Homefront; Courtship and Marriage; Diaries and Journals; Letter Writing; Military Invasion and Occupation; Refugees; Shortages; Southern Women; Widows, Confederate.

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Stone, Cyrena Ann Bailey (1830–1868)

Southern Unionist, Vermont native, and essayist Cyrena Ann Bailey Stone spent the Civil War in Atlanta. Her journal remained anonymous for more than a century.

The fifth child of Phinehas and Janette MacArthur Bailey, Cyrena was born in East Berkshire, Vermont, in 1830. Her father's position as a Congregationalist minister moved the family between Vermont and New York. Her mother died in 1839, her father remarried soon after, and the family moved back to East Berkshire in 1845.

Little is known about Cyrena's early life. She was most likely educated at common schools, but she may have also been educated at home by her father. Cyrena honed her writing skills, as evidenced by her published essays on spiritual, natural, and political topics.

Cyrena met lawyer Amherst Willoughby Stone, the son of a local farmer, in East Berkshire sometime before 1850. The two married in August 1850 and set up house near Atlanta in Fayetteville, Georgia. Their daughter died of consumption in August 1854, soon after her first birthday. Cyrena published an anonymous essay in an Augusta paper that reflected her grief over Jennie's death. The Stones left Fayetteville for Atlanta in 1854.

Atlanta offered many opportunities for the young couple. They soon became ensconced in the city's intellectual, social, and civic life. From Atlanta, Cyrena anonymously published religious essays in local papers. They built a house with several outbuildings on fifteen acres on the outskirts of town, and they owned six slaves. By the Civil War, the Stones lived a life of privilege, influence, and luxury,

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but in many ways they remained outsiders because of their New England backgrounds.

Much of what is known about Cyrena's wartime life comes from her half sister's novel, *Goldie's Inheritance,* which contains large excerpts of Cyrena's diary, including portions that seem to have been lost. The extant diary stretches from January 1, 1864, to July 22, 1864, and it details life for a Unionist in the Confederate city. Throughout the diary, Cyrena carefully disguises her identity, referring to herself as Miss Abby. She also hides the names of other Atlanta Unionists.

The two documents offer broad outlines of Cyrena's life. Throughout the secession crisis and war, she upheld her dedication to the United States. She anonymously published pro-Union essays, and she spent the war visiting and aiding Union prisoners and wounded in the city. In late August 1862, Confederate authorities arrested Cyrena and several other Unionists for their anti-Southern activities. Amherst's April 1863 departure left Cyrena, like other Southern women, alone to protect her property and fend for herself. She remained in Atlanta during the 1864 siege but left a few weeks after the city's capture. She traveled to Nashville to reunite with Amherst, and the couple went to New York City.

Cyrena Bailey Stone died December 18, 1868, in Sheldon, Vermont.

Lisa Tendrich Frank

See also Civilian Life; Confederate Homefront; Religion; Sherman's Campaign (1864–1865); Southern Unionists; Southern Women; Summerlin, Mary (ca. 1837–n.d.).

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Stone, Lucy (1818–1893)

Women's rights activist Lucy Stone began her public career as an abolitionist lecturer but quickly added women's rights to her repertoire of speeches. For almost fifty years, she played a key role in American women's struggle for equal rights. Stone gained fame for her work as an organizer, publisher, and strategist in the early women's rights movement.

Stone was born in West Brookfield, Massachusetts, to a hardworking farming family. They were devout Congregationalists and abolitionists, and Lucy embraced both sets of beliefs. Against her parents' wishes, Stone used money she had saved to attend Mount Holyoke Seminary in 1839. She had to leave school after only one year to attend to an ill sister.

Stone continued her education at Oberlin College in 1843. Oberlin, the first coeducational college in the United States, did not allow her to practice rhetoric or to take part in class debates or discussions. Frustrated by this restriction, Stone and Antoinette Brown organized a debating society for young women. The two became lifelong friends. From Oberlin, Stone wrote to abolitionists Abby Kelley and Stephen Foster, persuading them to address the student body on the subject of abolition. At this time Stone resolved to become a public speaker for women's rights. Stone graduated from Oberlin in 1847, the first Massachusetts woman to earn a bachelor's degree.

In December 1847, Stone gave her first public lecture on women's rights. She also began giving public lectures against slavery. By 1848 the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society had hired her as an agent, but she was criticized for speaking about women's rights on "company time." Stone arranged to lecture on abolitionism on weekends and on women's rights during the week.

Through the 1840s and 1850s, Stone was a highly popular speaker on both abolition and women's rights. Audience members noted that her pleasant appearance and melodic voice made her acceptable even to those who viewed women speakers as loud or unladylike.

Although early in her life Stone claimed that she never would marry, she met Henry Blackwell in 1853 and married him in 1855. She maintained her views on women's rights in her wedding vows. Their unique wedding vows protested the conventional position of women in marriage. Unusual for the time, Stone also refused to change her last name after she

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Lucy Stone's involvement in the woman's rights and woman suffrage movements overshadowed her years of labor for the antislavery movement (1818–1893). (Library of Congress)

married. The couple's only child, Alice Stone Blackwell, was born in 1857.

Through the 1850s, Stone was a strong member of the women's rights movement. She worked closely with leaders Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton. However, her relationship with the two grew strained as they discussed the agenda for the 1860 convention. Stanton wanted divorce reform to be an issue, but Stone opposed pursuing it, believing it to be too radical an issue. Divorce was introduced, and Stone did not attend the convention.

When the Civil War broke out, women's rights activists agreed to redirect their energies to the war effort. They formed the Woman's National Loyal League, which enabled women to work in the political sphere for the nation. Its goal was to gather signatures on a Mammoth Petition to Congress to abolish slavery. They collected almost half a million signatures and ultimately helped push Congress to enact the Thirteenth Amendment.

The differences between Stone's conservative feminism and the more radical position of Stanton and Anthony resurfaced when the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments were moving through Congress. Stone believed that women must support these amendments for the freed slaves' sake even though they ignored women's issues. Stanton and Anthony disagreed, and the disagreement led to a split in the women's rights movement in 1869. Stanton and Anthony formed the National Woman Suffrage Association. Stone led the American Woman Suffrage Association, along with such moderates as Mary Livermore and Julia Ward Howe.

In 1867, Stone began publishing the *Woman's Journal,* a journal devoted to women's interests and their educational, legal, and political equality. She served as its editor from 1872 to 1882.

By 1890 the leaders of the two suffrage organizations realized that reunification would best serve women. The groups merged, becoming the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Stone chaired the executive committee, but failing health limited her activities. She died at her home in Dorchester, Massachusetts, in 1893.

Ellen H. Todras

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; Anthony, Susan B. (1820–1906); Education, Northern; Fifteenth Amendment; Fourteenth Amendment; Kelley, Abby (1811–1887); National Women's Loyal League [Women's National Loyal League]; Northern Women; Stanton, Elizabeth Cady (1815–1902); Thirteenth Amendment.

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Stone, Sarah Katherine "Kate" (1841–1907)

Kate Stone's Civil War diary gives vivid glimpses of her family's comfortable plantation life and their

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efforts to maintain the status quo despite wartime shortages. Her narrative also details refugee life in the Confederacy.

Kate was born in Hinds County, Mississippi, on January 8, 1841, one of ten children of William Patrick and Amanda Susan Ragan Stone. The Stones valued education, and a tutor lived with the family. Kate was a graduate of Episcopal Bishop Stephen Elliott's fashionable academy in Nashville. Kate's father died in 1855, leaving heavy debts. However, Amanda Stone purchased Brokenburn plantation and ran it with such skill that the proceeds of the crop of 1861 would have given her clear title. She was making long-range plans to give a plantation and slave workforce to each of her children.

The war changed everything. Leaving Brokenburn, the Stones joined thousands of Southern refugees seeking a safe place to wait out the war. Kate's family was one of many who settled in Tyler, Texas. The townspeople were initially hostile, but after several months Kate and her mother were invited to take part in a benefit to raise money for a soldiers' home. Amanda Stone's expertise in assembling fashionable entertainment quickly put Kate and her mother at the center of Tyler society. Kate noted that people had grown accustomed to death from a steady stream of casualty reports; people grieved but social life continued.

Kate began her journal with a description of the departure of her brother William, captain of the company of men he had raised to fight for the Confederacy. Kate wrote of slaves escaping to freedom behind Yankee lines, planters burning their cotton to keep it from falling into the hands of the enemy, and the arrival of Union troops. When armed blacks menaced their neighborhood, Kate's widowed mother made plans to flee to Texas. Forced to leave almost everything behind, the Stones learned that their former slaves had remained on the plantation looting what was left after the Yankees had removed their furnishings. Kate's mother had managed the plantation well and left with enough money to live carefully until the war ended.

At the end of the war, three of Kate's brothers were dead. Facing an uncertain future, the family returned to Brokenburn and tried to raise a crop but ended the year deeper in debt. By 1868, the family was forced to leave. On December 8, 1869, Kate married Henry Bry Holmes, a member of the family's circle of friends in Tyler. They lived in Tallulah and raised two children to adulthood. Kate was a leader in the town's social and religious activities, and she died there on December 28, 1907.

Nancy Gray Schoonmaker

See also Aid Societies; Confederate Homefront; Diaries and Journals; Fairs and Bazaars; Fundraising; Refugees; Slaveholding Women; Southern Women.

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Stowe, Harriet Elizabeth Beecher (1811–1896)

Abolitionist and author Harriet Beecher Stowe stirred up antislavery sentiment with her novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin; Or, Life among the Lowly.* The novel, first published in serial form beginning in 1851, railed against the cornerstone of the Southern plantation economy—slavery—and guaranteed Stowe a place in the historical and literary canon.

Born in Litchfield, Connecticut, on June 14, 1811, Stowe was the daughter of prominent Congregationalist minister Lyman Beecher and his first wife, Roxana Foote. Like her older sisters, she attended the Litchfield Female Academy, a progressive school for girls. At the age of thirteen, she enrolled at the Hartford Female Seminary, a school founded by her older sister Catharine. She later taught there. In 1832, she began teaching at Catharine's Western Female Institute in Ohio. In 1836, Harriet married Calvin Stowe, a biblical scholar and theologian who taught at Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati.

Harriet began writing early in her life. In April 1834, "A New England Sketch" was published in *Western Monthly Magazine,* a literature periodical.

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The Mayflower (1843), a collection of stories and sketches, launched her career as an antislavery writer. Her earliest writing was modeled after Joseph Addison's *The Spectator,* utilizing Enlightenment rhetoric to inculcate moral lessons.

By the time she wrote *Uncle Tom's Cabin* at her kitchen table in Maine, Stowe was the mother of seven children. She drew partly on her experiences in Ohio and her contact with escaped slaves there to create the characters and situations in the book. The novel first appeared in serial form in the *National Era,* a Washington-based abolitionist newspaper, from June 5, 1851, to April 1, 1852. The forty-installment novel captured public attention. Its popularity in the papers led to its publication as a book and provided publicity for the book's release on March 20, 1852. The novel would spawn plays, songs, and games.

Like many women of her time, Stowe took up her pen as a weapon to fight injustices that she perceived to threaten the American family. Inspired by the fiends and giants in John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* (1678), Stowe's landmark narrative against slavery was driven by chiaroscuro, the interplay of light and dark or good and evil. The character of Marie St. Clare, a selfish and self-centered invalid who lived in luxury and used her ailment to avoid taking action, was for Stowe the personification of feminine evil. Her inaction prevents St. Clare from caring for weaker and more ignorant individuals in her household and fulfilling her role as a mother. In this and other situations, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* spotlighted the conflict between slavery and motherhood as a result of literary devices that Stowe employed to prompt sympathetic imitation among American women. For example, at one point Stowe's narrator asks readers if they have ever felt the loss of a child, hoping to direct them to imitate a sequence of emotions as if the characters were neighbors or friends.

Stowe was idolized for her novel in England and in the North, but vehemently criticized for it across the slaveholding Southern states. She had never traveled south of northern Kentucky and received criticism from Southerners who said she knew nothing about their peculiar institution. To counter this criticism and to add credence to her critique of Southern society, Stowe published *A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1853). This follow-up contained documentary evidence about slavery culled from graphic anecdotes in Southern newspapers. Her sources for these stories, gathered by Southern abolitionists Sarah and Angelina Grimké, were originally published in *American Slavery as It Is: Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses* (1839) by Sarah Grimké and her brother-in-law Theodore Weld. The documents illuminate the basis for many of Stowe's characters and storylines. For example, the character of Lucy may have been styled after Margaret Garner, a slave who escaped with four children, only to be returned to the South on a ship that went down. Garner, who had killed her three-year-old child in prison, drowned her infant and then refused to let herself be saved.

In all of her work, Stowe used real-life experience to explore common themes. She understood the emotional conflicts that arose in parenting and infused this ordinary, everyday drama into her writing. During a cholera epidemic in 1849, she lost her youngest child Charlie when he was eighteen months old. During his life, Charlie presented Stowe with challenges that contradicted the angelic fictional children presented in Victorian children's literature. She wrote *Our Charley, and, What to Do with Him* (1858), a children's book of short stories, that seemed to convey the simple sentimentalism of a grieving mother even as it presented a realistic and lovable boy character who vacillated between good and bad behavior without having the opportunity of full character development.

Charlie's death had a tremendous impact on Stowe's writing. She told friends that her loss of him helped her understand the horrors that slave mothers faced in the South. She, too, knew what it was like to have a child torn from her. Perhaps Stowe's mourning for her last-born, as well as her rage over changes in the Fugitive Slave Act, shaped her creation of the fictional character of Little Eva, a child redeemer endowed with an intuitive spiritual sensibility in *Uncle Tom's Cabin.*

In subsequent works, Stowe continued to write about what she considered her society's biggest problems. In 1856, Stowe published another antislavery

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Connecticut-born Harriet Beecher Stowe is famous as the author of the best-selling antislavery novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), which aroused Northern feeling against slavery in the United States. (National Archives and Records Administration)

novel, *Dred: A Tale of the Dismal Swamp.* In this book, she presented black characters who she thought would evoke the sympathy of her white middle-class readers. In this work, Stowe showed herself as a radical abolitionist who called for emancipation. However, she stopped short of integration and instead supported the colonization of freed slaves. In *The Minister's Wooing* (1859), she satirized Calvinism and demonstrated her frustration with married women's limitations under the law. However, Stowe, like her sister Catharine Beecher, tapped into the powerful ideology of female labor as a woman's duty, particularly in one passage suggesting that housework should be completed in the morning to leave the rest of the day free for social obligations, familial repose, and intellectual development.

Her unmarried sister, Catharine, freed Harriet from many domestic obligations throughout the 1840s and allowed her time to write. Embedded in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was the benevolent female influence that Catharine promoted in her *Essay on Slavery and Abolition with Reference to the Duty of American Females* (1837) that encouraged women to appropriately assert their power of persuasion in the domestic sphere. This essay, a reproach on the radical abolitionism practiced by Sarah and Angelina Grimké, ignited a debate among American women. Angelina Grimké responded to the essay with her *Letters to Catharine Beecher in Reply to "An Essay on Slavery and Abolitionism," Addressed to A.E. Grimké* (1838).

After Abraham Lincoln announced the drafting of an Emancipation Proclamation in late September 1862, Stowe called on First Lady Mary Todd Lincoln in New York City to request an invitation to the White House. Stowe was granted an invitation for tea on December 2, 1862, but she was not impressed by the First Lady. When she and her children arrived in Washington, D.C., they visited hospitals and tourist destinations in the area. When Stowe met President Lincoln, he supposedly greeted her with the apocryphal comment, "So you're the little woman who wrote the book that made this great war." When news of the Emancipation Proclamation arrived on January 1, 1863, Stowe was attending a New Year's Jubilee celebration at the Boston Music Hall. Recognizing her book as a major influence in pushing the nation toward abolition, the crowd gave Stowe a standing ovation, repeatedly calling out her name.

Stowe kept busy during the Civil War. Her son Fred enlisted in the Union army, as did many of her husband Calvin's students at Phillips Andover. She published articles in the *Independent* that detailed the excitement around her. The war took a toll on the Beecher family, as it did on nearly every family in the Civil War North and South. Many of the men of Harriet's family who served were wounded, and some of the women came down with tuberculosis. In addition, Stowe's health had been compromised by closely spaced pregnancies and her father died in 1863. Harriet helped support her family during these difficult times.

The Pearl of Orr's Island (1862) was the only book Stowe published during the Civil War. As it had

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prior to the war, much of her work centered on domestic themes and women's issues. In *The Pearl,* Stowe embedded feminine logic in ordinary domestic experiences, creating an innovative gender schema. She subtly intertwined gender roles so that her female characters baked, sewed, and navigated boats while the male characters practiced the law and hung curtains, redefining gender.

During the war, Stowe also submitted articles that were serialized in *The Atlantic Monthly* and published in a bound volume as *Household Papers and Stories* (1865). She started working for *Hearth and Home Magazine* during the same year. After the Civil War, she captured the social life and customs of post-Revolutionary New England in *Oldtown Folks,* published in 1869. *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* an all-time best seller, made Stowe a literary success, but that success came without copyright protection. Stowe had received $10,000 for the first three months of sales for the work, but she felt that she was owed much more. Not having reaped the monetary benefits of a best seller, Stowe was forced to continue writing to support her retired husband, unmarried daughters, and a son who was driven to drink by his experiences during the Civil War.

Stowe had trouble defining herself as a writer once she became famous. In 1866, she began to publish articles and books under the pseudonym Christopher Crowfield to give herself the freedom to write without bias for her past work or her gender. Under the name Crowfield, her *House and Home Papers* was published in 1869.

Stowe collaborated with her sister Catharine, who could no longer afford a home of her own, on *American Woman's Home* in 1869. Stowe contributed ideas for practical design elements for the household while Catharine promoted the idea of female-headed households. *American Woman's Home* defined the American household as a Christian institution combining home, school, and church complete with illustrated designs for multifunction spaces.

Throughout her life Stowe remained keenly aware of her role in ending slavery as the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* Stowe also knew that her book added a new female rhetoric to the national consciousness that would not be forgotten or overlooked. This knowledge gave her great comfort in her later years. Late in life, she divided her time between Hartford and Florida, where she wrote children's stories and hymns.

Harriet Beecher Stowe died in Hartford, Connecticut, on July 1, 1896.

Meredith Eliassen

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; Beecher, Catharine (1800–1878); Fiction Writers, Northern.

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Summerlin, Mary (ca. 1837–n.d.)

Unionist widow and single mother Mary Summerlin lived in Atlanta during the Civil War. She visited Empire Hospital regularly, bringing supplies and money to Union soldiers. She also helped a Union spy gather information and move within Confederate society. Confederate officials imprisoned her for her suspected involvement in espionage activities.

Born in Virginia, Mary and her family soon moved to Athens, Georgia. At the age of eight, Mary was sent to Vermont to live with relatives and to go to school. In 1855, she returned to Athens. She married a local storekeeper, W. T. Summerlin, and the two lived in Henry County, Georgia. The

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couple's only child, Ella, was born sometime before W. T. Summerlin's 1858 death. To support herself and her daughter, Mary settled in Atlanta. There she opened a dressmaking shop in her home, which was across the street from Empire Hospital.

During the Civil War, Mary visited the hospital frequently, often to give aid to wounded Union soldiers. As did other Unionist women, Mary visited the hospital under the cover of aiding the Confederate soldiers there. Once in the hospital, she would casually bring "leftovers" to the Union men in residence. She and sometimes her daughter also smuggled money and other supplies to Union men. In late August 1862, Mary, with at least seven other Unionists, was suspected of and arrested for aiding the Union. However, her arrest and short imprisonment did little to hamper her Unionist efforts.

In December 1862, Summerlin met and began aiding a Union agent called Tommy. She passed him off as her cousin, Tommy Burton, during an invited stay at her home in early 1863 as well as during a hospital supply-gathering trip. When Summerlin, Tommy, and, most likely, hospital matron Ella K. Newsom traveled to Charleston and Augusta to gather hospital necessaries, Tommy gathered information on forts, harbors, and other Confederate military details.

Tommy left Summerlin's home soon after their return to Atlanta, but he returned in the summer of 1863. This time, however, many Confederates became suspicious of his motives and background. He evaded capture, dressing in one of Mary's dresses to get from his hotel to Summerlin's home, where he hid in a large table for two weeks. Mary then smuggled Tommy out of Atlanta dressed as a woman.

Soon after Tommy's escape, Confederate officials arrested Summerlin on suspicion of harboring spies. During her six-month imprisonment, she fell ill, obtained a parole, and returned home. Both Mary and her home felt the effects of the Union's 1864 bombardment of Atlanta; the home was damaged and she was wounded. Yet she received permission from General William T. Sherman to remain in Atlanta after he ordered its evacuation in September 1864.

Lisa Tendrich Frank

See also Atlanta, Evacuation of (Special Field Orders, Number 67); Confederate Homefront; Female Spies; Imprisonment of Women; Northern Women; Nurses; Sherman, William Tecumseh (1820–1891); Southern Unionists; Southern Women; Stone, Cyrena Ann Bailey (1830–1868).

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Surratt, Mary E. Jenkins (1823–1865)

Born and raised in Maryland, Mary Surratt's relatively obscure life as a Southern slaveholding woman dramatically changed when she was arrested for assisting John Wilkes Booth with his plans to assassinate President Abraham Lincoln. Tried, convicted, and hanged by a military tribunal at the close of the Civil War, Mary Surratt became the first woman ever to be executed by the United States government.

Born in Prince George's County, Maryland, in 1823, Mary Elizabeth Jenkins was the second of three children and the only daughter of Archibald and Elizabeth Anne Jenkins. When Mary was two years old, her father died unexpectedly, leaving Mary's young mother to support the family on their modest plantation near Calvert Manor in Waterloo. In 1835, Mary attended a private Catholic girl's boarding school, the Academy for Young Ladies, in Alexandria, Virginia. Within two years, Mary converted to Catholicism, rejecting the Episcopal faith of her mother and setting her own course.

When Mary was sixteen years old, she met John Harrison Surratt; they married in August 1840. Within four years, Mary had given birth to three children: Isaac, Anna, and John Jr. An alcoholic, John Sr. was undependable and frequently in debt. His excessive drinking and volatile behavior frightened Mary and the children; so she sought solace in her deepening faith and her local Catholic church.

In 1851, tragedy struck the Surratt household. Their home near Giesboro, Maryland, burned to the ground, and the Surratts barely escaped with their lives. A family slave suspected of the setting the fire eluded arrest. John Surratt Sr. determined

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then to leave the life of a farmer and to build an inn and tavern on land he had inherited from an uncle. Located at the junction of two major thoroughfares twelve miles from Washington, D.C., the tavern became an immediate success. With the proceeds of the sale of their farm properties, John paid off most of his debts and used the remaining funds to purchase rental property, a boarding house on H Street, in Washington, D.C.

John's drinking continued unabated, but the tavern's business flourished under Mary's control. During the 1850s, the Surratt Tavern became the local post office, and the crossroads on which it sat became known as Surrattsville. Its location proved to be essential to the tavern's importance in regional communication and social networks. During the Civil War, the tavern and hotel became a haven for Confederate spies, couriers, and smugglers. Although located in a state that had remained loyal to the Union, the tavern's position between Washington, D.C., and Virginia, as well as the Confederate sympathies of its owner and neighbors, secured its reputation among secretive rebels as a safe haven.

John Surratt unexpectedly died in January 1862, leaving Mary with many unpaid debts. Most of her slaves had been sold, and the rest had run away, so operating the tavern proved increasingly difficult. Seventeen-year-old John Jr. was now postmaster, and he continued many of the covert services his father provided to the Confederacy. Son Isaac went to Virginia and joined the Confederate army. By November 1863, local Union forces became suspicious of the Surratts' rebel sympathies, and John lost his position as postmaster. Unable to use the regular mail system to ferry messages back and forth between Northern operatives and Richmond, the Confederacy became dependent on couriers to keep the lines of communication open. Young John became an active courier himself, drawing the Surratts deeper into treasonous activity.

In the fall of 1864, Mary decided to lease the tavern to a neighbor, John Lloyd, and move her family to Washington, D.C., to the boarding house her husband had purchased a decade earlier. The empty house soon filled with paying boarders, some of whom were involved in the assassination plot to kill not only President Lincoln, but also Vice President Andrew Johnson, Secretary of State William H. Seward, and General Ulysses S. Grant. John Jr.'s courier activities and loyalty to the Southern cause brought him to the attention of John Wilkes Booth. Together, they began to recruit like-minded individuals into their initial scheme to kidnap the president. Though Booth never boarded in the Surratt home, Mary became inextricably involved in his plans during the months leading up to Lincoln's assassination.

Mary Surratt, an alleged member of Booth conspiracy, was hanged after Lincoln's assassination (1820–1865). (Courtesy New-York Historical Society)

The plan to murder Lincoln evolved during the last days of the Civil War, as the Confederacy surrendered at Appomattox in early April 1865. While some of the conspirators balked at the idea of murder, they remained committed accomplices, ensuring their future fates on the gallows or in prison.

On April 14, 1865, the night Lincoln was killed, accomplice Lewis Payne attempted to assassinate Secretary of State Seward. After brutally stabbing

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and beating Seward and his two sons, but not killing them, Payne fled to Mary Surratt's house, where he had once boarded. Arriving late at night while Federal authorities were questioning Mary and searching her home, Payne claimed to be a common laborer hired to dig a ditch for her. Mary denied ever having met Payne, but suspicious agents arrested them both. Louis Weichmann, a boarder-turned-witness, testified that Payne had boarded at Mary's home during the prior six months, exposing her lie. Weichmann also revealed that coconspirator George Atzerodt had boarded with the Surratts as well and that Booth's secret group frequently held meetings there. President Andrew Johnson later remarked that Mary provided the "nest that hatched the egg."

Mary's assistance of Booth on several occasions compounded her precarious situation. Planning carefully for his hasty flight after he murdered the president, Booth needed supplies hidden along a planned escape route out of Maryland. Surratt's former tavern was the ideal place; not only was it close to Washington, but its new manager, John Lloyd, was a trusted Confederate sympathizer. Lloyd testified that Mary coordinated arrangements with him, delivering messages and the vital supplies Booth would need for his quick escape. In fact, Mary delivered some of the supplies on the day of Lincoln's assassination. Though she continued to claim her innocence, she never offered explanations to refute the damaging testimony against her.

The trial, held before a military tribunal rather than a civil court, lasted seven weeks. Daily newspaper reports gripped the nation. Eight of the accomplices, including Mary, were tried and convicted. Mary's supporters tried desperately to appeal the verdict to no avail. On the afternoon of July 7, 1865, Mary Surratt was hanged with three other conspirators. She was the first woman executed by the United States government.

John Surratt, Jr. was the only known accomplice to avoid conviction. Booth was shot and killed while hiding in a barn in southern Maryland. Four more accomplices faced life sentences.

During and immediately following Mary's trial and execution, many Southerners maintained the illusion that she was an innocent victim of a vengeful and vindictive Northern court. Her name rallied the cause of defiant Southerners who were reluctant to rejoin the Union. For decades, sympathizers carried on the call for justice and retribution for Mary's hanging, portraying her as the epitome of wronged Southern womanhood. Surviving witnesses and government officials linked to the trial were compelled to defend their roles in her conviction and execution. While historians now agree that Mary was indeed a willing accomplice, her execution remains hotly debated.

Kate Clifford Larson

See also Confederate Homefront; Female Spies; Lincoln, Abraham (1809–1865); Slaveholding Women; Southern Women; Union Homefront.

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Swisshelm, Jane Grey (1815–1884)

Jane Grey Swisshelm was a journalist, feminist, and abolitionist.

Born December 6, 1815, Swisshelm worked and lived in Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Chicago, and Washington, D.C., over the course of her life. Swisshelm was highly influential during her lifetime, especially before and during the Civil War, and her writings touched people across the country.

Swisshelm's religious background as a member of the Covenanter (Presbyterian) Church, which opposed slavery and encouraged its members to take abolitionist action, was instrumental in her commitment to abolitionism. In her twenties, Swisshelm began to write, at first anonymously but soon under her own name, poetry and prose for newspapers and other periodicals. Her themes included the rights of women as well as abolition. An inheritance from her mother enabled her to begin publishing

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the *Pittsburgh Saturday Visiter* in 1847, making her one of the first women to publish and edit her own paper and certainly the first to focus primarily on politics rather than on literature and domestic life. The paper was not a financial success, but its articles were often cited or reprinted by other editors, and Swisshelm's views on slavery and women's rights became well known. She hired female compositors for the paper on an equal basis with men, extending her theoretical beliefs into her practical life.

In 1857, after the failure of the *Pittsburgh Saturday Visiter* and her marriage, Swisshelm moved to St. Cloud, Minnesota, where she started a new paper, the *St. Cloud Visiter.* Minnesota politics were far from genteel, and Swisshelm's disagreements with local Democrats ended with the destruction of her presses by vigilantes. Undeterred, she soon reopened, and, when a libel suit connected to the earlier problems forced her to close the *Visiter,* she started the *St. Cloud Democrat.* In these papers she continued to make the abolitionist argument and to work for political parties that pursued abolitionism. Swisshelm supported Abraham Lincoln.

Horrified by the 1863 Dakota War, Swisshelm moved to Washington, D.C., hoping unsuccessfully to influence governmental attitudes on frontier issues. She took a position as one of the first women in the War Department's quartermaster general's office. During her employment, Swisshelm wrote many private and public letters on women as civil service workers and continued to write general political articles for newspapers nationwide. She also became interested in the war hospitals, striving to improve the health of the wounded and the nursing practices of women volunteers. She devoted many pages in her autobiography to "an inside history of the hospitals during the war of the Rebellion."

After the war, Swisshelm began the *Reconstructionist,* a paper published in Washington, D.C.from 1865 to 1866. She then left to live with her daughter in Chicago. Later she moved back to Pennsylvania, where she continued to write for many publications and to give public lectures.

Jane Grey Swisshelm died on July 21, 1884.

JoAnn Castagna

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; Hospitals; Northern Women; Nurses.

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Taylor, Susie Baker King (1848–1912)
A Georgia slave when the war began, Susie Baker King Taylor gained her freedom in 1862. She worked as a laundress for a Union army regiment, nursed soldiers, and taught other freed slaves to read and write. As the only written recollection of a black woman who served during the Civil War, her memoir is unique in Civil War literature.

Taylor grew up in Savannah, Georgia, in the care of her enslaved grandmother, who lived much like a freed black. Despite laws against literacy for slaves, Taylor learned to read. Her first lessons came from a freed black woman who ran a secret school. Other teachers included a white girl and the son of her grandmother's landlord.

When the Union army attacked Fort Pulaski in Savannah Harbor in 1862, Baker fled behind Union lines with her uncle and his family. Such slaves were considered freed, although this predated the Emancipation Proclamation by more than eight months. Amazed at her ability to read and write, Union officers asked Taylor to teach other contrabands in their care, which she did for about a month. When some of the former slaves formed the First South Carolina Volunteer Infantry to fight for the Union, Baker became a laundress for the troops. She also continued to teach soldiers to read and write, and she nursed them through injury and illness. She later nursed soldiers for the Massachusetts Fifty-fourth Infantry Regiment, a colored unit.

Susie Baker King Taylor, an escaped slave from South Carolina, joined the 33rd U.S. Colored Troops as laundress, teacher, and nurse during the Civil War. (Library of Congress)

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Susie married Edward King, a sergeant from the South Carolina regiment, in 1862. He died suddenly in 1866. She married Russell Taylor thirteen years later.

After the war, Susie King taught school in rural Georgia and then in Savannah. She later worked as a laundress and a cook. She moved North in the 1880s, where she worked for the Women's Relief Corps, a branch of the Grand Army of the Republic.

In 1902, Taylor published her memoir, *Reminiscences of My Life in Camp: With the 33rd United States Colored Troops, late 1st S.C. Volunteers.* It provides insight into the feelings of African Americans in the South during and after the Civil War. Particularly poignant is her discussion of the excitement among the slaves on the day the Emancipation Proclamation went into effect. She also detailed the unequal treatment of the races and the vast disrespect for blacks she experienced when she returned South for a visit in 1898. Taylor's memoir concluded with her faith that justice for African Americans would ultimately prevail.

Susie Baker King Taylor died in 1912.

Ellen H. Todras

See also African American Women; Confederate Homefront; Contrabands; Education, Southern; Nurses; Teachers, Southern; Wartime Employment.

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Teachers, Northern

During the antebellum period, Northern women, both black and white, took advantage of expanded educational opportunities to become teachers. Although the common school movement was well in place in the North by the mid-nineteenth century, free blacks generally attended separate schools. And, while the education of free blacks was not as strictly proscribed in the North as it was in the South, white teachers of free blacks confronted de facto segregation and racism. With the outbreak of war, Northern teachers, imbued with abolitionist politics and religious zeal, ventured south as teachers of the freedpersons and missionaries of the gospel. After experiencing the chaos and violence of the war and Reconstruction, most teachers returned to the North. A select few, however, remained to contribute to building a system of common schools in the South.

Although Northern states provided for the education of some free blacks, the idea of racially integrated schools was vehemently opposed. In 1831, Prudence Crandall opened a school for the daughters of elite families in Canterbury, Connecticut. In 1832, she was approached by Sarah Harris, a servant girl with white, Native American, and African American lineage. According to one account, Harris's purpose was to get an education so that she could teach black children. When Crandall admitted her to the school, outraged white parents quickly withdrew their daughters. After making several clandestine trips outside the community ostensibly to gather teaching supplies, Crandall returned to Canterbury with the financial support for a black school and subsequently dismissed the remaining white girls. In March 1833, she placed an advertisement in *The Liberator,* William Lloyd Garrison's abolitionist newspaper, for the opening of a school for "young ladies and little misses of color." It would become the first private boarding school for black girls in New England. Eventually, she enrolled approximately sixteen students. A system of persistent harassment began, and Crandall and her students were insulted, threatened, and stoned. Crandall herself was arrested and jailed three times, and in 1834 the school was vandalized by a mob. She finally had to close the school because she could not guarantee the safety of her students. Two of Sarah Harris's daughters became teachers in the Southern states after the Civil War. Another of Crandall's students—Julia Ward Williams—attended Noyes Academy, an integrated school in Canaan, New Hampshire until it was destroyed by a mob of white men in 1835. While at the Academy she met and

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subsequently married noted black abolitionist Henry Highland Garnet.

Crandall was a member of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers), who traditionally valued education. Many women who were affiliated with Quaker meetings believed that education not only played a central role in the religious experience but that it was also vitally important to emancipation. The matter of racial tolerance was complicated, however. Although Quakers expressed a belief in the equality of races and sexes, there was often a distinction made between Quaker theoretical beliefs and nonracist attitudes, including abolitionism. Some Quaker meetings in Indiana and Ohio, for example, experienced a schism when members disagreed about the role of Quakers in the abolitionist movement. Nevertheless, Northern Quaker teachers, such as Crandall and Emily Howland, were prominent in the education of free blacks.

Emily Howland, who was raised in Sherwood, New York, studied classical education in Philadelphia in a school for women administered by Mary Robinson. In 1856, defying her family's wishes, Howland answered a call for teachers issued by a newly opened Quaker-funded school for free black girls in Washington, D.C. Founded by Myrtilla Miner, a Baptist, the school was supported by Philadelphia Quakers. Howland left before the school closed in 1860, but the experience was a prelude to Howland's work with black war refugees. In 1863, she coordinated relief efforts at the refugee camp in Washington, D.C. Afterward, she began teaching. She served for a year at Camp Todd, near Arlington, Virginia, before going home to Sherwood in 1865. In 1866, she returned to Washington and founded a new school for blacks and poor whites with the help of the Freedmen's Bureau and the Friends Freedmen Association of Philadelphia. Noting that her day students were instructing their elders at home how to cope with postwar business transactions, she put mathematics instruction first in the curriculum, followed by reading and writing. This curriculum allowed black students to communicate with family members who had been relocated by government order and also help them with business matters.

In addition to white women, Quakers hired African American women as teachers and administrators. Fanny Jackson Coppin and Mary Jane Patterson, the first two black American women to obtain full college degrees (both from Oberlin College, Ohio), served as principal and assistant principal of the Institute for Colored Youth of Philadelphia. Sarah Mapps Douglass, an abolitionist and member of the Society of Friends, served as principal of the preparatory department of the Institute. Harriet Brent Jacobs, born into slavery and author of *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl,* taught in several schools before and during the Civil War, supported by funding from Quaker organizations. Charlotte Forten Grimké, a member of a wealthy free black family in Philadelphia, joined Laura M. Towne and Ellen Murray as teachers in the Sea Islands in the Port Royal experiment.

Along with her husband Charles, Laura Smith Haviland established the first school in Michigan to accept black students years before the Civil War. They resigned from the Society of Friends because of their intense involvement in abolition issues, although Laura eventually reunited with them. In 1837, they opened the Raisin Institute, the first school for indigent black children in Michigan. Haviland worked as a Federal agent of the Freedmen's Bureau and visited Quaker schools for blacks in Virginia in 1865. In 1862, Tacy Hadley and her husband Job, both teachers residing in Hendricks County, Indiana, at the time, felt called to travel to Cairo, Illinois. Abolitionist Levin Coffin, who lived in New Garden, Indiana, before relocating to Cincinnati, Ohio, helped them to establish a school in Cairo that eventually had an enrollment of four hundred students. The Ohio Yearly Meeting Friends paid Job's niece, Hannah Hadley, for teaching in the school.

When the Civil War began, hundreds of Northern women went south to teach, preach, and assist in the relief effort. While teaching gave them a professional identity, they were civilians in an occupied territory. Sponsored by benevolent societies and religious organizations, they not only taught rudimentary skills in reading, writing, and arithmetic but also inculcated Christian beliefs and middle-class values among freedpersons. The so-called

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Yankee Schoolmarms, many of whom espoused abolitionist beliefs, perceived their role to be nothing less than the induction of former slaves into free society. More than half of them hailed from New England, 75 percent were women, and the majority were unmarried, white, and middle class. Although idealistic, their motives were not entirely altruistic. Like Southerners, they feared the consequences of millions of freed slaves and thought that Christianity would have a civilizing effect on freedpersons. The living conditions were primitive, the pay was meager, and the risk of physical harm, disease, and exhaustion was ever present. In addition to instruction, they were charged with finding suitable space for schoolrooms and with providing books and supplies. Their letters and diaries speak of deprivation, fear, loneliness, and the constant threat of violence from the residents of a ravaged land who resented the invasion of another "army" of Northern, mostly white teachers. Although they were technically under the protection of the Union army, many soldiers resented having to protect the women.

Although army officials recognized that women filled the void created by men who were serving in the army or in support roles, they adhered to narrow nineteenth-century gender constructs. Military authorities preferred older, stable white women who would not challenge the orthodoxy or authority of the war department. Women, rather than men, were also preferred because it was assumed that women's talent lay with teaching young children. Since prevailing racial stereotypes portrayed slaves as childlike simpletons, the rationalization was that women would prove to be better teachers. In addition to being nurturing, women by nature were considered to be kind, patient, and content to perform routine instructional drills. In fact, it was thought that they possessed innate pedagogical skills that were relational rather than cognitive or behavioral in nature. Moreover, white women were held up as paragons of moral virtue and expected to instruct exslaves in regard to domestic matters and personal habits of cleanliness, industry, and godliness.

For their part, white women held racial and gender stereotypes of black women as well. Ignorant of the pathology of slave society, white women balanced sympathy for the freedpersons against a maternalism created by a sense of white, Christian, female superiority. Blending education with socialization, they stressed the importance of familial ties by attempting to reunite black families and urging couples to legalize their marriage. They taught domestic science to black women and criticized them for their inability to keep a middle-class Northern house correctly. Worse, they blamed black women who were subject to rampant sexual abuse by Union soldiers for lacking morals. No less than men, they subscribed to prevailing theories of black racial inferiority in regard to intelligence and behavior. And, as educated individuals, they were called on by army officials to explain contradictory policies such as the proscription of freedpersons for military duty.

For both men and women, the education of freedpersons during the Civil War foreshadowed a debate over what was called negro education that was later forcefully argued by black leaders Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois. For black women, the training in domestic science and homemaking perhaps found its purest expression in training programs at the traditionally black Tuskegee Institute and Hampton Institute, which prepared black women for domestic service. During the late nineteenth century, the program known as the Jeanes teachers would continue the emphasis on vocational training for black women. Started in 1907 by the philanthropy of Quaker Anna T. Jeanes, these teachers were black women who taught domestic science, housekeeping, and home economics to black women throughout the rural South. Almost always African American women, Jeanes teachers taught rural blacks how to run their households in a sanitary, productive, and efficient manner.

Black female teachers were received somewhat differently than their white counterparts. A free, black, professional woman in the South raised complicated issues of social position. Such was the case with Charlotte Forten, who came to St. Helena Island in 1862 as the first and only black teacher. Unlike white women, Forten and other black women were encouraged to spend their time recruiting black soldiers rather than teaching freedwomen and children. Some of the freedpersons

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were unwilling to work for her, white missionaries resented her, and white teachers were by no means free of prejudicial racial attitudes, no matter how idealistic they had been in the North. Eventually, however, the suspicions of the freedpersons, who had been denied educational opportunities by Southern slave codes and Border State black codes, gave way to a determination that education was prerequisite to full social, economic, and political equality.

During Reconstruction, relief efforts finally ended, and educational efforts were transferred to Southerners and secular Northern philanthropic foundations. Hundreds of women teachers were released by the many relief societies operating in the South that had employed and sponsored them. Those who chose to remain in the South joined the ranks of other sympathetic Northerners, who aided the advancement of Southern blacks by equipping them with the fundamental skills necessary to survive the harsh economic and political aftermath of the Civil War. In so doing, their efforts contributed to a system of common (public) education for both Southern blacks and whites.

Jayne R. Beilke

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; Confederate Homefront; Coppin, Fanny Jackson (1837–1913); Education, Northern; Education, Southern; Forten (Grimké), Charlotte L. (1837–1914); Free Blacks; Freedmen's Bureau; Garrison, William Lloyd (1805–1879); Haviland, Laura Smith (1808–1898); Jacobs, Harriet Ann [Linda Brent] (1813–1897); Port Royal; Quaker Women; Rape; Towne, Laura Matilda (1825–1901); Union Homefront.

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Teachers, Southern

Southern teachers during the Civil War were most often Northern women who ultimately contributed to a system of Southern schooling through a pedagogy comprised of basic skills instruction, socialization, and a belief in the emancipatory power of education.

The South had traditionally resisted the creation of state-sponsored common school systems for white children. This resistance was further exacerbated by planter fears that literacy would spur the desire for freedom on the part of the enslaved population. In response, during the early nineteenth century, all Southern states passed laws prohibiting slaves from becoming literate and punishing slaveholders for teaching them. Throughout most of the antebellum period, only informal opportunities for schooling were available to slaves through the slave system itself or through subterfuge.

Formal schooling for Southern whites was limited to old field schools, the academy, and private tutoring for the children of plantation owners. Children of planter families were also sent abroad, most often to England, for education. Old field schools were similar to the one-room district schools of the North, but they were not funded by local taxes. Instead, they operated on a subscription basis whereby the tuition rates and length of term were agreed on by the teacher and the subscribers. While old field schoolteachers taught elementary subjects, those who taught at academies (an early form of secondary school) taught moral education, Bible study, and practical skills such as surveying.

Despite its strong regional identity, the South was not monolithic with regard to education. By 1860 only four Southern states—North Carolina, Kentucky, Alabama, and Louisiana—and a few isolated communities had fledgling common school systems. Most wealthy Southerners instead preferred to send their children to private institutions. Educational ideology varied not only from state to state, but also within states according to the predominant type of agriculture, the number rural versus urban population centers, the ratio of plantations to small farms, and the interconnected ideology of slavery. Despite the South's diversity, in general, Southerners were

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more reluctant to tax property for school costs and to innovate state-level supervisory mechanism for common school systems than were Northerners. As the Civil War approached, Southerners increasingly resented the emulation of the Northern model of common schools. Critics warned against the reliance of the South on Northern teachers, Northern textbooks, and Northern colleges. Despite the rhetoric, the South was unquestionably dependent on the North for teachers, school supplies, and the organizational common school model. Southern urban systems such as those of Charleston, South Carolina, continued to import Northern teachers as late as 1857, and Southern enrollment at Northern colleges remained strong into the late 1850s.

The majority of teachers during the mid-nineteenth century were between eighteen and twenty-five years old, although some were as young as fifteen or sixteen. It was not unusual for students to be older than their teachers, since age grading was not yet a fixture in schools. Teachers received what little training they could get from academies and normal schools, and teaching examinations, consisting of written and oral questions, were developed by local school districts. Teaching was a low-status profession that drew men on only a temporary basis. Once the war began and men joined the armies, teachers became even scarcer. As a consequence of Southern resistance to common school reform, teacher training in the region lagged behind that of Northern states. Teacher institutes that were held annually, semi-monthly, or on alternate Saturdays helped teachers improve their skills.

Popular schoolbooks in Southern schools included *McGuffey's Eclectic Reader, Ray's Arithmetic,* and Webster's blue back *Speller.* School supplies and furniture were in short supply. The length of the school day and year varied as the community saw fit, and in 1860 the average length of the school term was five months and five and one-half days. At their schools, students of all ages could expect recitation, slate work, arithmetic, geography, and history.

Schoolbooks often revealed their regional bias. *Hilliard's Fifth Reader,* published in the North in 1863, contained such readings as "The Religious Character of President Lincoln" as well as the "Song of the Union." War poems were also common during this period. Southern teachers, once the war began, had less access to Northern texts due to the political climate and the Northern blockade. Lack of resources and the destruction of printing equipment made the Southern production of materials impossible. Notable exceptions were *The Dixie Primer: For Little Folks* and *The Dixie Speller: To Follow the First Dixie Reader,* authored by Marinda Branson Moore of North Carolina.

Northern teachers heading South during wartime had their work cut out for them. At the outbreak of the Civil War only about 5 percent of slaves were literate, as judged by the ability to write one's name. As Federal troops occupied an area and set the slaves free, many former slaves established schools to help others make the transition to freedom. Federal troops invading Savannah, Georgia, in 1864 discovered, however, a secret school for slaves that a black woman named Deveaux had operated since 1833. Will Capers, an ex-slave who was a cabinetmaker, told Laura Towne that he had operated a secret night school for male slaves. Union army officers eventually encouraged the educational work of Northern missionaries, whose efforts paved the way for the establishment of the Freedmen's Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands in 1865. Situated in a department of the army, the Freedmen's Bureau revealed the government's formal stance in regard to the education of former slaves.

Northern teachers who traveled to the South were deeply resented by many Southerners and overworked by the Northern agencies that sent them. However, their initial reception did not deter these teachers, who continued to arrive in small groups. Predominantly unmarried and white, Northern women teachers did not receive a salary from the relief associations that sponsored them until late in the war. When they finally were paid, they received less than their male counterparts.

Desolate surroundings, loneliness, hard work, and the cultural clash of Northern white Protestant middle-class life with the remnants of the Southern slave system took their toll. The religious fervor expressed in "shouts" and the expressive singing

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During and immediately following the Civil War, many Northern women headed South to help educate the newly freed slaves. (Corbis)

and dancing of the freedpersons shocked the sensibilities of many Northern teachers.

For Northern women who went south during the Civil War to work with African Americans, however, teaching was about more than lessons in reading, reciting Bible passages, or instilling moral values. Leaving the relative comfort and security of the North, teachers like Harriet Ware went south to teach as part of a higher moral calling. Displaying race- and class-based maternalism, Ware and others like her believed that African Americans needed their help. For many, teaching the freedpeople became an outgrowth of other domestic occupations associated with the war effort: providing medical aid and clothing, supervising black laborers on occupied plantations, and offering instruction in reading, writing, religion, sewing, and the proper habits of dress and punctuality.

Most women who became teachers in the South also embraced the principles of abolitionism. Like many educated women during the nineteenth century, Massachusetts schoolteacher Lucy Chase enthusiastically embraced Unitarianism and a multifaceted philosophy of self-improvement and reform. Chase was influenced by women's suffrage, abolitionism, temperance, mesmerism, and phrenology. She and her sister Sarah went south to educate the freedmen through the auspices of the various freedmen's aid commissions. During this early period, an emphasis was placed on teaching the idea that freedom from slavery had boundaries—that slaves were, in fact, not free to disobey civil law or incite mass anarchy. Teachers instructed their African American students on the ideas of self-reliance, female morality, and domestic order. As much socialization as education, the education of the freedpeople stressed the importance of marital bonds and instilled white Protestant middle-class values.

As support for their efforts increased, teachers in the South faced careful selection guidelines. The recruitment of women stemmed from the nineteenth-century belief in them as moral centers. When selecting female teachers, most male officials believed that older and more practically oriented women would prove better teachers than young idealistic women. As the war progressed, however, teachers and administrators throughout the occupied South asked for more women to join the ranks, and younger women took on the task. In any case, female teachers were expected to serve as moral models for their African American students.

Organizations also recruited women as teachers because of their willingness, availability, and affordability. As a whole, women were content with lower salaries than their male counterparts. In addition, Northern women often answered the call to serve as teachers in the South out of a sense of duty to their nation; men served on the battlefield while women served in the schools. Northern women were generally more willing to join the education effort than men, who did not consider teaching to be a worthwhile endeavor. In addition, blacks who had been victimized by white soldiers were more likely to trust women, even white women, who seemed to them less threatening than men.

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Women teachers' work in regard to relief and domestic instruction transitioned to teaching reading and writing, which signaled to African Americans that the acquisition of learning was valuable in and of itself. Female teachers focused their time on bringing the freedmen closer to a condition of freedom through education, while male teachers often split their time between teaching and plantation management. Not only did the role of female teachers in the South change during the Civil War, but also the pedagogy changed. Teachers began to establish so-called industrial schools, including numerous schools for training black women in such pursuits as sewing. Teachers hoped to help black women develop a useful skill so that they would no longer be dependent on Northern charity. Lucy Chase planned to teach sewing and literacy simultaneously.

Northern teachers in the South faced many obstacles but often experienced great success. In 1862, Quaker sisters Lucy and Sarah Chase arrived in Norfolk, Virginia, as emissaries of the Boston Education Commission. They were assigned to work with two thousand contrabands on Craney Island, six miles from Norfolk. Frustrated by army bureaucracy, they scrounged for supplies and acted as teachers, nurses, mediators, and comforters. Additional Quakers joined them by 1864; so they relocated to Slabtown, a new village for four hundred black refugee families near Yorktown. Here they organized parties of black men to build a community center, a warehouse, and schoolhouses. Other work parties tended truck gardens for Slabtown's food supply. In 1865, within a week of the Confederacy's surrender, the Chase sisters visited Richmond, where they soon opened a school in Richmond's First African Church and enrolled one thousand African American children and seventy-five adults. They were joined by Sarah F. Smiley of Philadelphia, who started an industrial school for adults in Richmond as well as a teachers' home.

With the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery in the United States, the battle over black education in the South intensified. A new group of teachers—black and white—came south to open thousands of new schools in which they continued to instruct the former slaves in domestic arts, personal hygiene, and self-sufficiency. Despite their intentions, many of these teachers remained unconvinced of the freedpeople's intellectual capacities. African Americans, however, continued to associate education with ultimate freedom and opportunity.

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See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; African American Women; Civilian Life; Confederate Homefront; Education, Northern; Education, Southern; Freedmen's Bureau; Military Invasion and Occupation; Northern Women; Plantation Life; Quaker Women; Reconstruction (1865–1877); Religion; Separate Spheres; Teachers, Northern; Thirteenth Amendment; Towne, Laura Matilda (1825–1901)

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Telegraph Operators [Telegraphers]

By the Civil War, the telegraph had become an important part of American life. Although it had been in service for fewer than twenty years, during the war it was put to widespread use for news reporting, business communications, personal notices, and military communiqués. In addition to creating a new industry, the telegraph created a new type of technical worker: the telegraph operator. The 1860 census lists approximately two thousand men who were employed as telegraph operators. About one hundred women were similarly employed, although it is difficult to estimate the number with any certainty, because the 1860 census did not break down occupations by gender. Women had, in fact, worked as telegraphers since the late 1840s; it was one of the first technical professions open to women. Over fifty women were employed as telegraphers in the North-

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eastern United States alone in the 1860s, earning annual salaries of $300 to $500.

Telegraphy became a critical occupation as the Civil War began. As male telegraphers left for the Military Telegraph Corps, women replaced them in many offices. As telegraphers, women received and transmitted vital information during the war. For example, Elizabeth Cogley, an operator for the Pennsylvania Railroad in Lewistown, Pennsylvania, was the first operator in Pennsylvania to receive President Abraham Lincoln's call for troops in 1861. In addition, Emma Hunter, an operator in West Chester, Pennsylvania, since the early 1850s, sent and received many messages related to the movement of troops and war materials.

In the Confederacy, women took charge of telegraph offices as men went off to war. Although even less is known about female Confederate operators than their Northern counterparts, it appears that women worked as telegraphers and office managers in Georgia, South Carolina, Louisiana, Florida, and Alabama during the Civil War.

A few women served in the Military Telegraph Corps; their names can be found in the roster of 1,079 military telegraphers appended to William Rattle Plum's history of the Corps, *The Military Telegraph during the Civil War in the United States.* The only woman telegrapher about whom Plum provided any information was Louisa E. Volker, whose intelligence activities on behalf of the Union army at Mineral Point, Missouri, put her at risk of capture during Sterling Price's invasion of Missouri in 1864.

As the Civil War came to an end and men began to return home, competition for telegraph operator jobs increased. The status of women in the telegraph industry was debated, sometimes hotly, in the pages of *The Telegrapher,* a trade paper that first appeared in 1864. Women operators had come to view themselves as technical professionals and were unwilling to abandon the skills they had acquired and return to more traditional domestic roles.

Military telegraphers, who were civilians under military command and not part of the regular army, sought to gain recognition for their service after the war. On January 26, 1897, Congress passed Senate Bill 319, An Act for the Relief of Telegraph Operators Who Served in the War of the Rebellion. This act recognized former military telegraphers, including women, as honorably discharged members of the United States Army. The only female Military Telegrapher other than Louisa Volker to receive a certificate of honorable service under the Congressional act was Mary E. Smith Buell, of Norwich, New York.

The entry of women into the profession of telegraphy during the Civil War established a pattern of women replacing men in the telegraph office that would recur in later wars. And, as would happen in later wars, the return of men from the battlefield generated a debate over the long-term role of women in telegraphy. By debating their opponents in print and insisting on their right to earn a living as telegraphers, Civil War–era women operators created their own identities as skilled workers, thereby paving the way for the employment of large numbers of women as telegraphers in the 1870s.

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See also Civilian Life; Confederate Homefront; Domesticity; Female Spies; Northern Women; Separate Spheres; Southern Women; Union Homefront; Wartime Employment.

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Thirteenth Amendment

The adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment, forever settling the status of slavery in the United States, marked the most significant departure from the Constitution as it was written in 1787; however, the amendment is often overshadowed either by the Emancipation Proclamation or the Fourteenth

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Amendment. As historians are well aware, the Emancipation Proclamation did not free a single slave yet its implementation set in motion forces for the destruction of slavery. The Fourteenth Amendment, ratified in 1868, guaranteed African Americans due process and equality before the law. Thus, the common view has interpreted the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment as either a postscript to the Emancipation Proclamation or as a necessary prologue to the Fourteenth Amendment. Certainly, the Thirteenth Amendment guaranteed that the provisions of the Emancipation Proclamation could not be overturned by a future presidential administration, Congress, or the courts, and the amendment prepared the way for the expansion of civil rights for African Americans that were later guaranteed in the Fourteenth Amendment.

The passage of the Thirteenth Amendment followed a complicated process. Early in the process, President Abraham Lincoln exhibited a constitutionally conservative approach. Rather than calling for a constitutional solution to the abolition of slavery, Lincoln relied instead on confiscation acts and the Emancipation Proclamation. Even the president's initial plans for reconstruction after the war called for Southern states to abolish slavery through the adoption of revised state constitutions. However, the enactment of the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863, opened serious debates in the North about the slavery issue, and Lincoln recognized the contingency of the proclamation. Without a constitutional amendment, the lasting effect of the proclamation remained an open question.

In the wake of the Emancipation Proclamation, several versions of an antislavery amendment were considered. In January 1864, John Henderson, a Congressman from Missouri presented a draft proposal for such an amendment, and Charles Sumner, working with Northern abolitionists, also submitted a version. In the amendment debates, Congressman James Ashley of Ohio emerged as the leading spokesperson for a constitutional amendment to abolish slavery and to protect the rights of the ex-slaves. Ashley also argued that Congress had unrestricted amending power that allowed for the abolition of slavery. Ultimately, the amendment took shape under the direction of the Senate Judiciary Committee led by Lyman Trumbull of Illinois. Rather than adopting the broad language of Sumner's version, the Senate committee instead used language similar to that of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, which called simply for the prohibition of slavery. The committee believed their amendment accomplished everything that Sumner sought an antislavery amendment and yet avoided the anger and potential loss of support from the War Democrats. The Thirteenth Amendment passed the Senate in April 1864, but it died in the House of Representatives as Democrats rallied support against the amendment under the banner of states' rights.

Despite the failure of the House to pass the Thirteenth Amendment, the amendment's demise was far from certain. Popular support for abolition gained strength in the North as war casualties and resentment toward the South grew. The thirty-eight-to-six vote in the Senate in favor of the Thirteenth Amendment demonstrated the growing base of support for abolition among Democrats as well as the unity of Republicans on the issue. The fate of the amendment ultimately rested on the outcome of the 1864 elections and the course of the war.

In the 1864 campaigns, the Republicans adopted a broad platform that committed the party to an antislavery amendment. However, the Democratic platform pledged to recognize states' rights thus ensuring the right of states to determine the fate of slavery. The antislavery amendment was often overshadowed by other campaign issues, chief among which was miscegenation. Democrats argued that black freedom would lead to miscegenation, and Republicans argued that miscegenation was the result of slavery. Local issues and peace terms also overshadowed the amendment as an election issue. However, when Lincoln was re-elected by an overwhelming majority, he claimed the victory as a mandate on the abolition amendment.

Immediately, Lincoln and other Republicans began to push the lame-duck Congress for passage of the Thirteenth Amendment. Whereas many Democrats had lost their seats in the 1864 elections, thus ensuring Lincoln a Republican majority when the new Congress was seated in March 1865,

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Lincoln preferred passage by a bipartisan majority as a sign of wartime unity. Lincoln used his prestige and influence in an attempt to persuade Democrats to reverse their votes. In some instances, the president even used the promise of government jobs to outgoing congressmen to gain the necessary support for the amendment. Equally important to the outcome of the House vote, however, were Northern Democrats' increasing desire to avoid the proslavery label and their new political vision of the Constitution as a document that could be modified without being destroyed. On January 31, 1865, the Thirteenth Amendment finally passed the House with the Republicans unanimously in favor of the amendment and a number of Democrats either reversing their position or absenting themselves, thus allowing the amendment to be adopted with two votes to spare.

State ratification quickly followed. Of the nonseceding states, only New Jersey, Kentucky, and Delaware—states carried by James McClellan in the recent presidential election—failed to ratify the amendment. Because the Lincoln administration had fought the war on the basis that states could not secede, Lincoln believed it necessary to get three-fourths of all states to ratify the amendment rather than requiring only a three-fourths majority of the Union states. Under Andrew Johnson's plan for the restoration of the states to the Union, seceding states were required to ratify the Thirteenth Amendment as a condition of readmission. By December 18, 1865, the requisite number of states had done so.

Julie Holcomb

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; Emancipation Proclamation (January 1, 1863); Fourteenth Amendment; Lincoln, Abraham (1809–1865); Politics; Union Homefront.

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Thomas, Ella Gertrude Clanton (1834–1907)

Wealthy Georgian Ella Gertrude Clanton Thomas chronicled her life as the child of a wealthy and indulgent Georgia planter, her education at Wesleyan Female College in Macon, her marriage, the war years, and the gradual dissolution of her family's property and social standing in the years after the Civil War. Her extensive journal, begun in 1848 and kept for forty years, illuminates the experience of many elite white women, who had to adjust to new labor relations with former slaves and who had to work to support their families. The diary follows Gertrude's intellectual and emotional evolution from carefree Southern belle, through the disillusionment and losses of marriage and war, to a mature and self-reliant woman.

Ella Gertrude Clanton was born near Augusta, Georgia, on April 4, 1834. Her father, Turner Clanton, had parlayed his inheritance into a sizable fortune and had served two terms in the Georgia state legislature by the time he wed Mary Luke, also from a prosperous local family. Gertrude's place in society was defined by her father's wealth and status. She gave careful attention to the details of her wardrobe and grooming, in readiness for paying calls or receiving guests. Correspondence, writing in her journal, and reading everything that came to hand filled most of her days. Like most women of the planter class, she defined herself as a Christian and judged her success as a woman by how well she lived the tenets of her faith.

In January 1849, a few months after she began her journal, Gertrude went to Macon, Georgia, to attend the Methodist-run Wesleyan Female College. Her studies included mental philosophy, natural philosophy, and astronomy, but not the more rigorous classical languages, science, and mathematics taught at men's colleges. A few weeks after her arrival, Gertrude and many fellow students were converted to emotional, evangelical Methodism

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during a revival. Her newfound piety included a vow to give up dancing.

Just before her graduation from Wesleyan in 1851, the brother of a school chum began courting Gertrude. J. Jefferson Thomas, son of a local planter family, was nearing graduation from Princeton and planned to become a doctor. He won her heart but only the grudging consent of her father. He gave up the study of medicine by the time they married in December 1852.

Upon her marriage, her father gave Gertrude a plantation, house, and a slave labor force valued at $30,000. Jefferson assumed management of her property, as was customary, but was unable to support Gertrude in the style to which she was accustomed. Her father helped financially, and the young couple began having children.

When the Civil War began in 1861, Jefferson joined the Confederate army. Soon Gertrude's fears overcame her patriotic enthusiasm, and she was relieved when he resigned his commission in 1862, hired a substitute, and joined the local militia. In 1864, General William Tecumseh Sherman's men sacked one of her family's plantations, and her beloved father died. Gertrude's belief in the Confederate cause was based in part on her acceptance of Bible-based proslavery arguments, which placed God on the side of the Confederacy. The South's defeat shook her faith.

Confederate surrender in 1865 meant emancipation, which, besides liberating most of their capital assets, proved the greatest immediate challenge for Gertrude and women like her who had never had to hire servants or do their own housework. The jubilance and perceived disloyalty of her former slaves angered her. For the rest of her journaling days, she grappled with issues of race, chiefly free labor and miscegenation—the two that most personally affected her.

Friends and relatives began to rebuild their lives and fortunes, but Jefferson went deeper into debt. Having their property seized and advertised for public sale was mortifying for Gertrude, as was learning that Jefferson had borrowed heavily from her share of her father's estate during her father's lifetime.

Gertrude's problems were not only financial. Her Christian code of morality was affronted by the possibility that her father had willed her a slave who was her half sibling. During these years, perhaps because of her husband's drinking, she became active in the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU).

Teaching had become acceptable for women impoverished by the war, but until late in 1878 Jefferson Thomas refused to hear of his wife working. Also in 1878, some short pieces she had written to read before the Grange were published. By 1880, she declared herself a "public woman" and signed submissions to two newspapers as Mrs. Gertrude Thomas. She found it satisfying to help pay bills and provide for her children, but the inexorable loss of their property continued. In the WCTU she met and worked with Rebecca Ann Latimer Felton. Gertrude championed better education for girls, especially the Industrial School for Girls at Milledgeville, and new opportunities for women, including the right to speak in public. When the Georgia Woman Suffrage Association (GWSA) was founded, Gertrude joined.

In 1893, Gertrude and Jefferson moved to Atlanta to live with one of their sons, a practicing physician in Atlanta. Gertrude left only scrapbooks of the last years of her life. Active in church groups, the Wesleyan alumnae, and literary societies, she was elected president of the GWSA in 1899 and was a dedicated and much admired member of the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

Gertrude Thomas died on May 11, 1907, and is buried in Magnolia Cemetery, Augusta, Georgia.

Nancy Gray Schoonmaker

See also Confederate Homefront; Courtship and Marriage; Diaries and Journals; Education, Southern; Felton, Rebecca Ann Latimer (1835–1930); Methodist Women; Plantation Life; Reconstruction (1865–1877); Religion; Sherman's Campaign (1864–1865); Slaveholding Women; Southern Women; Teachers, Southern; United Daughters of the Confederacy.

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Tompkins, Sally Louisa (1833–1916)

Born on November 9, 1833, in Matthews County, Virginia, Sally Louisa Tompkins operated Robertson Hospital in Richmond, Virginia, during the Civil War. With the help of ten surgeons and two cooks, she cared for more than thirteen hundred sick and wounded soldiers from July 31, 1861, to June 13, 1865. Tompkins' strategy was to heal both the body and the spirit. Soldiers often described her as walking through the hospital with a medicine bag strapped to her waist and a Bible in her hand.

At the beginning of the war, a two-tiered hospital system existed in the South: a chain of military hospitals under the direction of the Chief Surgeon Samuel P. Moore and a series of private hospitals operated by women. In October 1862, the Confederate Congress passed legislation consolidating military hospitals and stipulating that soldiers could be treated only in hospitals under the direction of commissioned officers holding the rank of captain or higher. This measure effectively closed private hospitals operated by Southern women or required them to be subsumed into the Confederate military hospital system. Tompkins's hospital was so successful, however, that she was able to obtain an honorary commission as a captain in the Confederate army from Confederate President Jefferson Davis. The president's action allowed Tompkins to keep her hospital open until the war's end. Of the 1,333 men treated at Robertson Hospital, only seventy-three died, a success rate of 94.5 percent, a figure that was unequaled in any other Confederate hospital.

After the war, Tompkins never married, and she depleted her remaining financial resources with charitable works for Confederate veterans. On July 25, 1916, she died in the Home for Needy Confederate Women in Richmond, Virginia, and was buried there with full military honors. In 1961, St. James Episcopal Church in Richmond, of which she was a member, installed a stained glass window in Tompkins's honor.

E. Susan Barber

See also Aid Societies; Confederate Homefront; Hospitals; Nurses; Southern Women.

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Towne, Laura Matilda (1825–1901)

Laura M. Towne dedicated her life to the abolitionist cause and to educating freedmen in the South Carolina Sea Islands.

Laura Towne was born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on May 3, 1825. She was the fourth child of John and Sarah Robinson Towne. Soon after Laura's birth, her mother died and John took the family to Boston, where the Towne family became exposed to the abolitionist movement. It was not until moving to Philadelphia and attending the First Unitarian Church, however, that Laura actively engaged in abolitionist activities. During this time, Laura also studied at the Woman's Medical College.

At the beginning of the Civil War, Laura was living in Newport, Rhode Island. Immediately, she began assisting soldiers in their preparations for war by sewing clothing and performing other necessary duties. Laura, however, wanted to do more to help the Union war effort. In 1862, she volunteered to assist the Federal government with the education of former slaves living on the South Carolina Sea Islands. Through her associations in Philadelphia, Laura was selected to act as an agent of the Freedmen's Aid Society of Pennsylvania. On April 9, 1862, Laura boarded the steamer *Oriental* and sailed from

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New York to Port Royal, South Carolina. She was soon joined in the Sea Islands by her friend, Ellen Murray.

Laura and Ellen settled on Saint Helena Island, where they assisted the local freedmen population. The training that Laura received at the Women's Medical College in Philadelphia assisted her in providing medical aid to the former slaves. In September 1862, Laura received funding to open a school in the Brick Church on Saint Helena Island. The school proved successful, but it became overcrowded with eighty students enrolled for lessons. The Pennsylvania Freedmen's Association provided for the construction of a new schoolhouse, the Penn School, across from the Brick Church. The new schoolhouse provided the basis for the promotion of the educational, political, and economic advancement of freedmen in the Sea Islands. Laura also utilized her medical knowledge to assist the freedmen during outbreaks of disease.

After the Civil War, Laura and Ellen remained dedicated to their work in the Sea Islands. Eventually, they purchased a home and estate, Frogmore, on Saint Helena Island and made it their permanent home. Their Northern sponsors, however, became increasingly less concerned with the plight of the freedmen. When the Freedmen's Relief Association dissolved, it caused the near financial collapse of the Penn School. Dedicated to the school's mission, Laura paid teacher salaries and other school expenses out of her pocket until she finally secured permanent Northern charitable funding. Laura Towne died in 1901, but her spirit remained evident in the buildings and advancements made by the Penn School on Saint Helena Island.

Kristina K. Dunn

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; Teachers, Northern.

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Treasury Girls

Between 1862 and 1865, the Confederate government hired hundreds of women, known as treasury girls, to replace men who left their jobs to fight in the Confederate armies. In 1862 the Confederate Congress enacted compulsory conscription and civilian jobs were drained of their main source of employees. In an effort to continue government functions, the Confederate Congress called on the women of the South to fill clerical positions in the Treasury Department, the Quartermaster Department, the War Department, the Commissary General, and the Post Office Department.

During the antebellum period, Southern women were not employed outside the home and were not monetarily compensated for their domestic duties. They depended on their husbands, fathers, or other male family members for financial stability. As Southern men continued to be called to battle, their wives, mothers, daughters, and sisters were left with the burden of providing for themselves and other family members. When the Confederate government opened clerical positions to women, it received thousands of applications. Competition for positions was fierce. Although Congress specified that positions be filled by women with the most need for income, jobs were most often filled by women with the right connections who submitted letters of recommendation from Confederate officers or powerful politicians. Most of the women given the jobs were from the middle and upper classes, and many were teenage girls. The available jobs were also limited to those who lived nearest the seat of government, Richmond, Virginia, and Columbia, South Carolina.

Treasury girls were responsible for signing Confederate notes. Prospective candidates were required to pass an oral exam. Once hired, women worked five days per week, from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m. Note signers had to sign thirty-two hundred notes per shift. Although this was not arduous work, pristine handwriting was necessary. Clerks' salaries were garnished 10¢ for each note that was tarnished. In 1862 treasury girls earned $600 for the year, but they were underpaid in comparison to the $1,000

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earned by men in the same position. By 1864, both men and women earned the same salary for this work, $3,000 per year. However, the rate increase did not compensate for the high rate of inflation and rising cost of living. Although the task of making ends meet was difficult, treasury girls were the highest paid workers in the Confederacy. When the war ended, men returned home and to their jobs. Women were forced to revert to their domestic realm, but they did so knowing that they were capable of providing their own financial independence.

Dawn M. Sherman

See also Civilian Life; Confederate Homefront; Conscription; Domesticity; Family Life, Confederate; Politics; Southern Women; Wartime Employment; Widows, Confederate.

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Truth, Sojourner [Isabella Baumfree] (1797–1883)

Most people are familiar with Sojourner Truth's work as an abolitionist, preacher, and early proponent of women's rights. However, Truth also participated in the Union war effort in a variety of ways. She worked hard to obtain much-needed supplies, to raise funds, to nurse the wounded and sick, and to help former slaves. She also gave numerous speeches in support of Abraham Lincoln and the war itself.

Sojourner Truth was born Isabella Baumfree in 1797 in Ulster County, New York. James and Betsy, her parents, were both slaves. Truth spoke only Dutch until she was eleven years old and suffered at the hands of several physically and sexually abusive owners. She was sold four times during her life and was forced to marry a slave named Thomas. The couple had five children together. In 1826, when her owner refused to honor a promise he had made to free her, she ran away with one of her children. She went into hiding with the help of a Quaker family named Van Wagenen, who eventually purchased her freedom after her owner had discovered her hiding place. During that time, Truth became very spiritual and found her calling as a Methodist preacher. A year later she successfully sued her former owner for custody of one of her children. In 1828 she moved to New York City where she worked as a maid and continued to preach.

Truth struggled during the next few years, the victim of a religious cult led by the charismatic and corrupt Robert Matthias. She lost her life's savings to the group and was physically and psychologically abused. She finally ended her association with them when Matthias was accused of murder and Truth was accused of attempting to poison two members of the cult. Once again, she turned to the courts for redress, successfully suing Benjamin and Ann Folger for slander.

The turning point in her life occurred in 1843 when she changed her name to Sojourner Truth and became a traveling preacher. Her new name symbolized her calling to travel the land, spreading the word of God. In Massachusetts, she joined the Northampton Association for Education and Industry, a utopian group, and began her association with abolitionists like Frederick Douglass, Olive Gilbert, and William Lloyd Garrison. In 1850, with the help of Gilbert—Truth could not read or write—she published her memoir, *The Narrative of Sojourner Truth.* Truth continued to tour the country, speaking on behalf of women's rights, abolitionism, religion, and temperance. In 1851 she spoke at the Second Annual Ohio Women's Rights Convention where she presented her famous "Ar'n't I a Woman?" speech.

At the start of the Civil War, Truth was living in Michigan. She spoke at pro-Union rallies and urged that blacks be allowed to enlist in the Union army. When the Federal army began accepting African Americans into the ranks in 1863, her grandson, James Caldwell, enlisted. In June 1861, Truth was arrested following a speech in Indiana where she had broken a rarely enforced law making it illegal

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Sojourner Truth, a former slave, spoke out for the abolition of slavery and for women's rights in America. (Library of Congress)

for blacks to enter the state. She escaped a somewhat violent situation and returned to Michigan, motivated even more to continue her public work.

For Thanksgiving, she collected food for the First Michigan Regiment of colored soldiers stationed in Detroit, Michigan, in 1863. As she visited with the men, she noticed they lacked sufficient supplies, and so she worked to remedy that situation, procuring and delivering needed goods for the men and entertaining them with songs. In 1864 she left for Washington, D.C. Along the way, she delivered speeches in support of President Abraham Lincoln and the war and attempted, but failed, to convince Harriet Tubman that Lincoln was sincerely trying to help African Americans. In Washington, D.C., she met Lincoln and began working in the city. She was appointed to the National Freedmen's Relief Association and raised money for the Freedman's Aid Society. Truth visited the former slaves at the Freedmen's Village, gave motivational speeches to them, and helped them adjust to their new lives of freedom. Finally, she helped organize the Freedman's Hospital and taught the staff there how to clean and dress wounds.

In 1865 Truth confronted another problem in the District of Columbia: segregation on the streetcars. She was instrumental in forcing authorities to enforce desegregation laws already in place. During several often violent confrontations, she remained adamant about her right to travel as whites were allowed. She also continued to raise money and deliver speeches on behalf of the Colored Soldiers' Aid Society.

Following the war, she petitioned Congress for land grants, urging the government to give former slaves land in the West to help them establish a new life for themselves. She also helped freed slaves find employment and continued to speak out in favor of women's rights and temperance. Truth died November 26, 1883, in Battle Creek, Michigan.

Paula Katherine Hinton

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; African American Women; Aid Societies; Douglass, Frederick (ca. 1818–1895); Freedmen's Bureau; Food; Fundraising; Garrison, William Lloyd (1805–1879); Hospitals; Lincoln, Abraham (1809–1865); Northern Women; Nurses; Politics; Reconstruction (1865–1877); Religion; Tubman, Harriet [Araminta Ross] (1822–1913).

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Tubman, Harriet [Araminta Ross] (1822–1913)

Born into slavery on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, Harriet Tubman gained notoriety as an Under-

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ground Railroad operator, abolitionist, Civil War spy and nurse, suffragist, and humanitarian. After escaping from enslavement in 1849, Tubman defied legal restraints to battle slavery and oppression, dedicating herself to the pursuit of freedom, equality, and justice, earning her the biblical name Moses and a place among the nation's most famous historical figures.

Originally named Araminta Ross, Harriet Tubman was born in early 1822 on the plantation of Anthony Thompson, south of Madison in Dorchester County, Maryland. Tubman was the fifth of nine children of Harriet "Rit" Green and Benjamin Ross, both slaves. Edward Brodess, the stepson of Anthony Thompson, owned Rit and her offspring through his mother, Mary Pattison Brodess Thompson. Ben Ross, the legal property of Anthony Thompson, was a highly valued timber inspector who supervised and managed a large timbering operation on Thompson's land. Tubman's relatively stable family life was shattered around 1824 when Edward Brodess took Rit and her children to his own farm in Bucktown, Maryland. Brodess often hired young Harriet out to temporary masters, some of whom were cruel and brutal in their treatment of slaves. He also illegally sold other members of her family to out-of-state buyers, permanently fracturing her family.

Sometime during her young teen years, Tubman was nearly killed by a blow to her head from an iron weight, thrown by an angry overseer at another fleeing slave. The severe injury left her suffering from headaches, seizures, and sleeping spells for the rest of her life. During the late 1830s and early 1840s, Tubman worked for John T. Stewart, a Madison merchant and shipbuilder, bringing her back to the familial and social community near where her father lived and where she had been born. Around 1844 she married a local free black named John Tubman, and she shed her childhood name Araminta in favor of Harriet.

On March 7, 1849, Edward Brodess died on his farm at Bucktown at the age of forty-seven, leaving Tubman and her family at risk of being sold to settle his large debts. In the late fall of 1849, Tubman took her own liberty. She tapped into an Underground Railroad that was already functioning well on the Eastern Shore. Traveling by night and using the North Star and instructions from white and black helpers, she found her way to Philadelphia. She found work as a domestic, and saved her money to help the rest of her family escape. From 1850 to 1860, Tubman conducted about thirteen escape missions, bringing away approximately seventy individuals, including her brothers, parents, and other family and friends, while also giving instructions to roughly sixty more who found their way to freedom independently. The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 left most refugee slaves vulnerable to recapture, and many fled to the safety and protection of Canada. Tubman brought many of her charges to St. Catharines, Ontario, where they settled into a growing community of freedom seekers.

Her dangerous missions won the admiration of black and white abolitionists throughout the North, who provided her with funds to continue her activities. In 1858, Tubman met with the legendary abolitionist John Brown in her home in St. Catharines. Impressed by his passion for ending slavery, she committed herself to helping him recruit former slaves into his army for his planned raid at Harper's Ferry, Virginia. Illness may have prevented her from joining him when he conducted his attack in October 1859. That same year, Tubman purchased a home in Auburn, New York, from William Henry Seward, Lincoln's future secretary of state, where she eventually settled her aged parents and other family members. On her way to Boston in April 1860, Tubman helped incite a riot to rescue a fugitive slave, Charles Nalle, from the custody of United States marshals charged with returning him to his Virginia master.

At the urging of Massachusetts governor John Andrew, Tubman joined Northern abolitionists in support of Union activities at Port Royal, in the Hilton Head district of South Carolina in early 1862. On June 2, 1863, Tubman became the first American woman to plan and execute an armed expedition during wartime. Acting as an advisor to Colonel James Montgomery, Tubman led a raid from Port Royal 25 miles up the nearby Combahee River. Using communication networks that were the provenance of black mariners, Tubman's spy missions provided crucial details about rebel

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enforcements and heavily mined waters. Under the cover of darkness, Tubman and Walter Plowden, a local scout, directed three gunboats loaded with men from Montgomery's Second South Carolina Volunteer Infantry Regiment, a black unit, along the heavily mined river.

Montgomery and his men effectively dispersed Confederate gunners, set fire to several plantations, and confiscated thousands of dollars worth of rice, corn, and cotton. In addition, Montgomery sent small boats to the riverbanks to retrieve the hundreds of slaves fleeing their homes, but the boats were soon swamped by the frantic and desperate freedom seekers. Using her extraordinary voice, Tubman began to sing, encouraging the crowds to stay calm. People on the riverbanks starting singing, shouting, and clapping, easing the pressure on the small boats and the evacuation continued safely. The expedition successfully freed about seven hundred and fifty former slaves. A reporter from the *Wisconsin State Journal,* who witnessed the victorious return, wrote a lengthy article crediting Tubman with planning and directing the raid, calling her the Black She Moses.

Immediately after this raid, Tubman was called to testify at the court-martial trial of Private John E. Webster, who was charged with embezzling goods from the military stores, including selling brown sugar to Tubman and others. The unprecedented testimony of blacks against a white defendant marked an important moment in the Port Royal experiment. In this military district, freedmen were experiencing legal, social, and civil rights not enjoyed by African Americans elsewhere. Tubman's stature in the Union camps and among Union officers was a significant factor in weighing her testimony and convicting Webster.

Her services as a scout and spy were highly valued by Union officers, who recognized her great ability to extract intelligence from the local population of former slaves who had fled their Confederate masters. Tubman received about $200 from the government for her scouting services, but much of it was used to pay other scouts and spies for information, and some was used to build a washhouse to train local women to earn wages by providing laundry services to Union officials. Her expenditures made it difficult for Tubman to support herself and to save money to send back to her ailing parents in Auburn, New York. She was not a soldier, officially, and her on-again, off-again role as a scout and a spy precluded any formal pay arrangement with the army.

Hailed as "the Moses of her people" because of her courageous rescues of hundreds of slaves through the Underground Railroad, Harriet Tubman was a living symbol of the resistance of African Americans to slavery in the United States. (Library of Congress)

Tubman witnessed the carnage inflicted on the all-black Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Infantry Regiment on July 19 during the battle of Fort Wagner. She later told an interviewer that she served the regiment's leader, Colonel Robert Gould Shaw, his last meal. Tubman's description of that fateful day is haunting in its vivid imagery. Tubman also recounted the dreadful conditions and the difficult environment in which she had to care for the

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wounded and dying soldiers felled during the Wagner assault: Swarming flies, festering wounds, raging fevers, and pools of blood dominated work in the field and in the hospital.

Over time, wounded and ill soldiers overwhelmed the hospitals at Beaufort, where Tubman worked day and night. Tubman's skill at curing soldiers stricken by a variety of diseases was also well known. At one point during the war, Tubman was called to Fernandina, Florida, by the Union surgeon in charge there. She prepared a medicinal tea made from roots and herbs found in the nearby swamps, which helped cure the men of debilitating and often deadly dysentery. A cook, nurse, and launderer one day, spy the next, Tubman continuously reinvented herself, adapting to and accommodating the immediate requirements of wartime crises. She never received any pay for her nursing services either; so she struggled to support herself by making and selling pies and root beer and by washing and sewing for the local Union officers.

Granted a furlough in June 1864, Tubman stopped in Boston where she met Sojourner Truth. Truth had long been an antislavery, women's rights, and African American civil rights activist. Born a slave and deeply religious, Truth had much in common with Tubman. They differed, however, in their assessment of Abraham Lincoln. Truth had campaigned for Lincoln and believed he had done much for the betterment of African Americans, but Tubman still did not care for Lincoln. Identifying herself with the thousands of black troops during the Civil War who were paid less than half of white soldiers were paid for the same service, Tubman also resented that Lincoln had been at first hesitant to enlist black men for military service.

During late spring 1865, Tubman was recruited by the United States Sanitary Commission to work in Union hospitals, where the need for her services was great. Arriving at Fortress Monroe at Hampton, Virginia, Tubman was angered by the lack of good medical care given to black soldiers, who were dying at a rate two and a half times that of white soldiers. Tubman personally complained to the U.S. Surgeon General, who then instituted more sanitary medical practices there.

By early fall 1865, Tubman headed back to Auburn to care for her elderly parents. While riding on a train from Philadelphia to New York on a government pass, she was ordered to the smoking car, where other African Americans were forcibly segregated. She refused and was violently thrown from the train by four white men, breaking her arm and several ribs. It would take her months to recuperate. Unable to work, Tubman and her family suffered greatly from hunger and cold that winter.

Tubman remained in Auburn the rest of her life. Committed to woman suffrage, Tubman was also a lifelong community activist and humanitarian, feeding, clothing, and housing anyone in need who came to her door. Illiterate her entire life, Tubman dictated part of her life story to Sarah Bradford, a local central New York author. Published in 1869, this short biography, *Scenes in the Life of Harriet Tubman,* brought brief fame and financial relief to Tubman and her family. She married veteran Nelson Davis that same year; her husband John Tubman had been killed in 1867 in Maryland. Though she and Davis operated a brick-making business and sold produce from their small farm, Tubman battled poverty for the rest of her life. Denied her own military pension, she eventually received an $8 widow's pension as the wife of Nelson Davis and later a $12 Civil War nurse's pension.

Her humanitarian work triumphed with the opening of the Harriet Tubman Home for the Aged, located on land abutting her own property in Auburn, which she transferred to the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church in 1903. Tubman continued to appear at local and national suffrage conventions until the early 1900s. She died at the age of ninety-one on March 10, 1913, in Auburn, New York.

Kate Clifford Larson

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; African American Women; Female Spies.

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Turchin, Nadine [Nedezhda] Lvova (1826–1904)

Nadine Lvova Turchin's diary of 1863–1864 presents details of her travels with the Union army as a nurse and the wife of a commander. Conveying thoughts about military strategies, everyday life, and descriptions of the people she knew, her diary is unique in that it is written by an educated immigrant woman with a military background.

Born in Russia as Nedezhda Lvova in 1826, Nadine Lvova Turchin was the daughter of a colonel in the czar's army. She was brought up in military camps, and, as a member of the aristocracy, she received a solid education. Her husband, born Ivan Vasilvetich Turcheninov and known as John Basil Turchin in the United States, was a graduate of the military academy in St. Petersburg and a veteran of the Crimean War.

The couple immigrated to the United States in 1856, living briefly in Long Island and Philadelphia before settling in Mattoon, Illinois, in the late 1850s where John found work as a topographical engineer for the Illinois Central Railroad.

In 1861, John Turchin was appointed colonel, commanding the Nineteenth Illinois Infantry. Nadine went with him on his campaigns in Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama. An 1862 account tells of John becoming ill and Nadine taking his place as head of the regiment while nursing him. In 1863, John was ordered to report to the commander of the Army of the Cumberland, where he commanded a cavalry division. Again, Nadine accompanied him, and, after she was designated as a nurse, she nursed the men on the front lines of battle.

The only diary of Nadine's that has been found begins May 26, 1863, and ends on April 26, 1864. Written in French, it provides accounts of battles such as Missionary Ridge, Chattanooga, and Chickamauga. It also conveys Nadine's thoughts about the war, her acquaintances, and the infantry. She often complained about the incompetence of the American army and the army marshals' ignorance of military operations, implying that her husband's military accomplishments were underappreciated. She also recorded her frustration at being dependent on commanders whom she saw as unqualified, even writing that the commanding general ought to make her his chief of staff or personal advisor. At other times, she wrote of the boredom and monotony of military life. Despite the complaints in her diary, accounts by the men in the army lauded Nadine for her loyalty to America and to the troops, as well as for her bravery.

The Turchins settled in Radom, Illinois, after the Civil War and little is known of their life there. Nadine died in Radom in 1904.

Sigrid Kelsey

See also Diaries and Journals; Immigrant Women; Nurses; Vivandières.

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Union Soldiers, Motives

The key motivation for most Northern soldiers was their desire to preserve the Union as an example of democratic self-government. They appealed to ideals of liberty, the free labor ideology, the memory of the Revolutionary generation, and the Constitution. Men also enlisted as a result of peer pressure or because they sought adventure or glory, although they often found boredom and fear as well. Finally, Northern soldiers fought for the preservation of what scholars call the primary unit, as well as for self-preservation.

Northern soldiers exalted the concepts of honor, duty, and Union as their motivation for enduring the discomforts of army life. In addition to their desire to protect the Union, volunteers focused on the rule of law, individual liberty, and righteousness. Self-government, democracy, and egalitarianism went together in the minds of most Northern soldiers, and to some they were exclusively Northern traits, for they posited a Southern society in which slavery had corrupted democracy as the primary reason for secession and the war. They expressed their reverence for democracy through their desire to participate in the political process. Participation in politics was a clear way for the soldier to reaffirm his status as a citizen. Celebration of the citizen volunteer and disgust for the mercenary were key components of the Revolutionary legacy that Union soldiers fought to protect, motivations they maintained even after the Union government instituted a draft in 1863.

In addition, Union soldiers symbolically constructed the Union government as a benevolent father figure, creating a persuasive metaphor in which Confederates had rejected not only governmental authority, but also paternal authority. The metaphor of family extended from the soldier's relationship to the United States government to the community of soldiers themselves. Beyond fighting for the preservation of the primary unit, Civil War soldiers fought to legitimize the deaths of their comrades. Duty to nation, family, and community combined to create a powerful motivation for Union soldiers. This sense of duty compelled many to reenlist in 1864.

When speaking of liberty, Northern soldiers most commonly meant the liberty of self-government as defined by the Founding Fathers. Few mentioned slavery as a reason for enlistment, especially in 1861 and 1862. White Union soldiers, however, gradually accepted emancipation in the limited terms that the Lincoln administration defined it—as a means to win the war and restore the Union. Moreover, the black men who enlisted in the Union armies after Lincoln's 1863 Emancipation Proclamation were conscious of their ability to help bring an end to slavery and to stake a claim to full citizenship for free blacks in the North.

Many Union soldiers described Southerners as backward, ignorant, indolent, and brutal. Their response to the physical characteristics of the region—farms, schools, and centers of business—was similarly unfavorable. In their reactions to the

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man-made landscape of the South, Northern soldiers expressed their own visions of a civilized society. They fought to vindicate and extend this vision of society.

Gender ideology and religion also led to men's enlistment in the Union army. Some soldiers joined the army to prove their manliness. The rhetoric of manhood also infused the desires of most volunteers to see battle as quickly as possible. After the first experience with battle, duty compelled these men to continue fighting, while their sense of honor and manhood, in addition to their understanding of Christianity, tended to quell expressions of fear. Soldiers confident in their faith were less afraid to die; they cherished beliefs of a heavenly reunion with families and friends. In addition, many Union soldiers accepted the pronouncements of Northern clergy, whose explanations for the war were built on the assumption that God had created the United States to act as a religious and political model for the rest of the world. Thus, religious ideology paralleled political ideology in motivating Northern soldiers to fight.

Jaime Amanda Martinez

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; Conscription; Desertion; Enlistment; Family Life, Union; Honor; Politics; Religion; Sacrifice; Union Homefront.

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Unitarian Women

For the majority of Unitarians, immediate abolition was the ultimate social reform. With an overwhelming constituency in the New England, Northern Unitarians contributed powerfully to the abolition movement and war effort. Indeed, the emotional pull of the Civil War was so great that the calm, rational theological language of the Unitarian tradition gave way to emotionalism as prominent Unitarians interpreted the war through the lens of religion. Unitarians almost universally conceived the war as a holy war, thereby justifying the abandonment of pacifism.

The great majority of Southern Unitarians, however, remained dedicated to the Southern slave system and believed Northern Unitarians had fallen victim to fanaticism. For Southern Unitarians, abolition was not a denominational or Federal issue, only a state one. If slavery was to be abolished, it had to happen gradually, state by state. By 1861, Southern Unitarians had come to believe that secession was the best option for a peaceful solution to the slavery crisis.

Southern Unitarianism suffered serious declension in the 1850s as abolition and Unitarianism became integrally linked in the North and South. Arguing that Northern Unitarians had violated the theological tenets of traditional Unitarianism, Southern Unitarians declared their independence from the American Unitarian Association. But abolition and Unitarianism were so closely associated in the minds of most Southerners that Unitarian churches throughout the South eventually were forced to close their doors. At war's end, only two Southern Unitarian churches survived: one in Charleston, South Carolina, and the other in New Orleans.

Unitarian women participated in all aspects of wartime life. Julia Ward Howe gave to the war the inspiring "Battle Hymn of the Republic," set to the tune of "John Brown's Body." The daughter of a wealthy Episcopal banker, Howe became increasingly attracted to Unitarianism as an adult. After the Civil War, she championed the ordination of women and preached in Unitarian pulpits. Other notable Unitarian women involved in the abolition move-

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ment and the Civil War were Louisa May Alcott, Lydia Maria Child, Dorothea Dix, Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, and Lucy Stone. The two most distinguished female Universalists who participated in the Civil War were Clara Barton and Mary Livermore.

Closely aligned with Unitarians, Universalists were also instrumental in the abolitionist movement and the Civil War. The central Universalist contention is that God purposes to save the soul of every human being. Both Unitarians and Universalists pioneered the practice of ordaining women to the ministry. After the Civil War, both groups provided leading figures in the women's rights and the temperance movements. Not surprisingly, many of the most important female figures before, during, and after the war were Unitarians and Universalists.

Karen Fisher Younger

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; Alcott, Louisa May (1832–1888); Antislavery Societies; Barton, Clara (1821–1912); Child, Lydia Maria Francis (1802–1880); Dix, Dorothea Lynde (1802–1887); Howe, Julia Ward (1819–1910); Livermore, Mary Ashton Rice (1820–1905); Northern Women; Peabody, Elizabeth Palmer (1804–1894); Religion; Stone, Lucy (1804–1894); Union Homefront.

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United Daughters of the Confederacy

During the last two decades of the nineteenth century, numerous organizations were founded in the South to commemorate the Confederacy and its heroes. Both men and women participated in this commemorative activity, which was part of the postwar Confederate tradition or Lost Cause celebration. During the 1890s, the Lost Cause experienced significant change as women came to dominate the leadership of the movement and made vindication, not just commemoration, the goal. In addition to honoring the Confederacy and its heroes, these women placed critical importance on preserving Confederate culture and transmitting it to future generations.

At the head of this movement was the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), founded in 1894 by Caroline Meriwether Goodlett of Tennessee and Anna Davenport Raines of Georgia. Goodlett and Raines were representative members of an organization of women from the elite ranks of Southern society. These women were related by blood or by marriage to leading men in their respective states and the region. Most were formally educated at private female seminaries and women's colleges.

The organization was founded in Nashville, Tennessee. The Daughters, as they were also known, established five primary types of objectives to define their responsibility in the Confederate celebration: memorial, historical, benevolent, educational, and social. They retained the Confederate memorial tradition established by their forebears in ladies' memorial associations, and they planned to continue building monuments. Because history had the potential of vindicating the war generation, the Daughters also had a keen interest in what was being written and published about the Confederacy. In its early years, the organization was also concerned about the care of surviving Confederate veterans and their widows, and they vigorously pursued plans to ensure the well-being of their aging and indigent Confederate fathers and mothers. Most of the UDC's activities also had a social component, for example chapters held some gatherings at the homes of their members.

The educational objectives of the Daughters, however, distinguished their work from that of other Confederate organizations. UDC members believed that it was their duty "to instruct and instill into the descendants of the people of the South a proper respect for . . . the deeds of their forefathers." Confederate organizations wrote tomes about the importance of teaching the younger generation the "true

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history" of the Confederacy; the UDC constitution implied that the Daughters intended to take further steps to actively instruct and instill in future generations of Southern white children the values of the Confederate generation.

The UDC experienced enormous growth in the first decades of its existence. What began as a group of about thirty-five women became one of one hundred thousand by World War I. It swiftly became a powerful and influential women's organization in the early twentieth century, not only in terms of its numbers, but also with its ability to accomplish goals on behalf of Confederate causes. The Daughters were invested in preserving the social structure and culture of the Old South and Confederacy, and the organization drew members on that basis. Women joined the organization to be with members of their race and class and to preserve their status in both.

The activity with which the UDC is often identified is monument building. Although this was only one of their activities as an organization, the Daughters' success in marking the Southern landscape with monuments is important to understanding their commitment to vindicating the Confederate generation.

It is no coincidence that Confederate monuments appeared on the Southern urban landscape at the same time that the UDC was growing in numbers and influence. According to the work of historical geographers, 93 percent of Confederate monuments were built after 1895. One-half of them were unveiled between 1903 and 1912. Concurrently, the UDC grew from a membership of thirty-five thousand in 1903 to nearly eighty thousand in 1912. The Daughters were the Southerners most committed to monument building; the UDC's growth therefore provides a key explanation for the marked increase in monument building in the region.

True history, the South's version of the Civil War and American history to be exact, was equally important to the UDC. Soon after its founding in 1894, the UDC became the Confederate organization most actively engaged in combating what one Daughter called the "wicked falsehoods" being perpetuated by Northerners. Many UDC leaders spoke about the importance of impartial history, but their organization's efforts to preserve history were also concrete and systematic. The Daughters collected artifacts for museums and supported their male counterparts in setting up state departments of archives and history. They gathered manuscripts and collected war reminiscences from veterans and Confederate women, some of the earliest examples of what has since become the field of oral history. The UDC encouraged the study of history by establishing essay contests for its membership, and many Daughters were active amateur historians. They wrote history for local newspapers, published articles in regional magazines, and even wrote historical novels and textbooks for use in Southern schools.

The UDC sought to correct what it believed were interpretive inaccuracies and in doing so offered an interpretation that suited its cause. Above all, the Daughters resented claims that the South fought the Civil War to defend slavery and that Confederate soldiers were traitors to the United States. UDC members, as well as their male contemporaries, wanted history to record that the South fought the war to defend states' rights, not slavery. They insisted that Confederate soldiers were American patriots because they were the true defenders of the Constitution—a reference to the Tenth Amendment protecting the rights of states. Moreover, the Daughters believed that correcting such errors was essential if Confederate men were to be vindicated.

Vindication for the Confederate generation was, of course, the overarching goal of the UDC from its founding in 1894. Every monument placed in a courthouse square, every veteran or widow cared for, every history book removed from a library or school for being biased against the South, and every chapter of the Children of the Confederacy formed was done to vindicate Confederate men and women.

Yet it was another war, World War I, that gave the UDC members their best opportunity to vindicate the Confederate generation, and they capitalized on it. The UDC's war relief efforts were impressive. UDC President General Mary Poppenheim of South Carolina hoped that her organization's wartime efforts would be worthy of the group's

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Confederate background. The women did their best, and Poppenheim reflected on her organization's achievement by suggesting that the "touchstone of war brought out all the latent power" of the organization. Mrs. J. A. Rountree of Alabama, chair of the UDC's War Relief Committee, reported that, in the last year of the war alone, the UDC had endowed seventy hospital beds at the American military hospital in Neuilly, France; made 3.5 million hospital garments; wrapped 4.5 million surgical dressings; knitted 100,000 garments; donated $82,000 to the Red Cross; subscribed $9 million in liberty bonds; and supported 830 French and Belgian orphans for $20,000.

After World War I, the Daughters did not return to monument building with the same sense of purpose as they had before the war. In fact, the goals of monument building, as set out by the founders, were nearly met, and, by the 1920s, there were fewer and fewer Confederate men and women who needed the UDC's assistance. The Daughters' success, as much as the passage of time, led the UDC to a change in emphasis.

The UDC had earned respect as a national patriotic organization, as evidenced by their partnerships with Northern voluntary associations during World War I. The Daughters interpreted their success and Northern expressions of respect as vindication. White Southerners were praised for their patriotism during World War I without having to relinquish their belief that the Confederate cause had been a just cause. Indeed, the Daughters can take some credit for ensuring that national reconciliation was made effectively on the South's terms, since vindication was the white South's requirement for sectional reconciliation.

Today, the UDC has a membership of approximately twenty thousand members, most of whom are not active. It is no longer the influential organization it was in its early years. Yet its early history remains important to understanding how the New South was created and why the region struggled to disengage itself from its culture of segregation—a culture that was created, in part, by Southern women in the early twentieth century.

Karen L. Cox

See also Ladies' Memorial Associations; Monuments; Southern Women.

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United States Christian Commission

The United States Christian Commission was a Union-wide philanthropic association created to provide religious, intellectual, and medical relief services to Civil War soldiers. Blossoming in the latter years of the war, by 1865 it was second in size only to the United States Sanitary Commission. Springing from the antebellum Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) and built on that foundation, it was led and staffed by its veterans. During the war, five thousand short-term temporary or long-term permanent agents went to the field under its auspices to offer spiritual, intellectual, and physical relief services to the soldiers. Its agents, or delegates as they were called, distributed more than $5 million worth of scriptures, reading material, foods, and medical supplies to soldiers on both sides of the conflict. By the end of their war their presence was ubiquitous; they followed the troops on the march, by train, by foot, or with wagons filled with supplies, offering religious counseling and services and distributing needed supplies. They also developed systematic programs for traveling libraries, the delivery of periodicals, and special hospital kitchens to improve the diet of the sickest soldiers.

Evangelical Christian women, already active in the nation's churches, were particularly drawn to the work of this religious-based benevolent organization. Its work was fueled by their liberal donations. At the beginning of the war, the Christian Commission's leadership did not include women, and working as delegates was deemed inappropriate for women. As the war intensified, the need for the labor and donations of every interested individual led to a shift in such policies. By 1865 women

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were officially employed as administrators, traveled as fundraisers, staffed and led auxiliary societies, and served in the field as lady managers in a popular Special Diet Kitchen program. Through this organization, thousands of American women's work and donations improved the lives of soldiers, but their participation also had a transformational impact on their lives. Not content to remain quietly in the private sphere in the postwar era, female veterans of the Christian Commission participated in increasingly public ways in variety of religious and secular reform efforts, from temperance to woman suffrage.

When the war began, YMCAs in the North saw their members marching off to fight and so extended their efforts from city streets to camp, hospital, and battlefield. At first, individual associations sent representatives to the field to bring religious teachings and Bibles to the soldiers, but they soon recognized the need for a more coordinated effort in a war of unprecedented magnitude. At a meeting called on November 14, 1861, to consider the problem, the United States Christian Commission was born. Mirroring the structure of the national YMCA, it was led by a volunteer executive board of veteran YMCA worthies who loosely coordinated the work of army committees at YMCA branches. These were charged with gathering and processing gifts for the soldiers and sending delegates and supplies to the field.

American women were deeply concerned with the outcome of the struggle and the spiritual and physical well-being of the soldiers. Always the largest percentage of church members and substantial contributors to the success of the antebellum YMCAs, evangelical Christian women were plentiful, and they made good agents in the field and good administrative employees.

To recognize the significance of the contributions of women and to increase their gifts, in May 1864 the Commission proposed the formation of ladies Christian commissions. These auxiliaries would raise money for the central office, collect and produce relief supplies, and process them and send them to the field to be distributed to soldiers. In these organizations, women held leadership roles, including acting as the national executive secretary, heading local societies, and traveling as organizers. The activities of these groups were vital to the functioning of the Commission. In the last year of the war, 266 societies registered with the Commission, some from as far away as California and Hawaii. They provided considerable aid to the work of the Commission, sending over $200,000 to the central office and an unrecorded amount of supplies directly to the field.

The Christian Commission was reluctant to send single women to the field to work as delegates. Correspondence suggests that female volunteers were rejected by the central office when they applied for such service. Local army committees, such as the one in St. Louis, were more amenable to their applications. There women were employed as missionaries and sent to locations as far away as Memphis, Vicksburg, and Little Rock for periods ranging from one to three years. Women also served in the field alongside husbands and fathers. For example, Hannah Smith served in Nashville, Tennessee, with her husband, the Reverend E. P. Smith. There she ran the Christian Commission rooms and acted as a regional manager for the Special Diet Kitchen program. Some women, such as Mrs. James Fisher, died in Commission service.

Prior to 1864, women's participation in fieldwork was scattered and isolated. In the spring of 1864, Annie Turner Wittenmyer, a wealthy widow from Keokuk, Iowa, and a veteran relief worker, proposed a program that created a special niche for women in the Christian Commission service. Wittenmyer, reacting to a widely held concern that the recovery rate of soldiers in Union hospitals was being sabotaged by the unhealthy and inappropriate diet served them, suggested a strategy to improve the diet of the sickest hospital patients. Under her plan, the Commission would sponsor the creation of Special Diet Kitchens within hospitals. The kitchens would be administered by middle-class Christian women employed by the Commission. These women would craft menus that would appeal to the ailing soldier and train soldier cooks to prepare the food in an appetizing manner. In addition, the women would work as missionaries when not busy running the kitchens.

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The program began in Nashville, Tennessee, in April 1864. Early lady managers, as the Special Diet kitchen administrators were called, faced considerable challenges when they arrived to set up kitchens. Hospital administrators often resisted the invasion of women, particularly as administrators, but the diet kitchen managers persevered and in the end prevailed. By the end of the war, the kitchens had spread across Union-controlled territory from Little Rock, Arkansas, to Washington, D.C. and from North Carolina to New Orleans. Employing over one hundred and fifty women, with kitchens in over sixty locations, this work—designed, administered, and staffed by women—was highly regarded by military and medical authorities.

On January 1, 1866, the work of the Christian Commission officially ended, but its impact lived on. As workers or fundraisers for ladies' Christian commissions, field agents, or diet kitchen mangers, thousands of American women had labored to improve the lot of the soldier. They gained significant experience and established that women were effective and highly economical workers. In the years to come, veterans like Annie Wittenmyer would use new skills and status to shape the postwar world.

Wittenmyer established a national reputation during the war. For the rest of her life, she continued her relief and reform efforts, as an organizational leader and as an author of works urging women to participate in evangelical crusades and to take an active role in society. From the presidency of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the largest women's organization of the nineteenth century, to leadership in the Women's Relief Corps, the women's auxiliary to the Grand Army of the Republic, she would work to stamp out vice, build homes for soldiers' orphans and widows, and win pensions for Civil War nurses. She also remained active as a writer, lecturer, and reformer until her death. Women who had served as lady managers also participated in the temperance crusade, traveled to foreign lands as missionaries, and held leadership roles in the fight for women's suffrage.

Theresa R. McDevitt

See also Aid Societies; Northern Women; Wittenmyer, Annie Turner (1827–1900).

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United States Sanitary Commission

The United States Sanitary Commission (USSC) was a privately run philanthropic organization established during the American Civil War to collect and distribute supplies, to assist the Federal government in the management of military hospitals, and to make inquiries and give advice on issues of sanitation and medicine. The USSC was the only civilian-run organization to receive official recognition from the Federal government. Middle- and upper-class men, who sought to reassert their social and political status after the expansion of the franchise and the advent of machine politics, comprised the executive board of the Commission. Northern women of various socioeconomic backgrounds comprised the leadership of the Commission branches and the bulk of the volunteers. The wartime relationship between these men and women provided much needed battlefield assistance, along with conflict over the place and value of women's work.

The USSC emerged from the Women's Central Association of Relief (WCAR) in response to the

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United States Army's failure to maintain adequate sanitation and supply sufficient medicine in the aftermath of the Battle of Bull Run in the spring of 1861. Elizabeth Blackwell, the first female doctor in the United States, founded the WCAR in the spring of 1861 to manage relief work, communicate directly with the U.S. Army Medical Department, and select and train women nurses. WCAR Vice President Henry W. Bellows traveled to Washington, D.C., to establish political connections, but he shifted his thinking regarding the nature of a wartime relief organization after visiting army camps and military hospitals. Rather then presenting the proposal laid out by the WCAR, Bellows informed Secretary of War Simon Cameron that a wartime relief agency, based in the capital, would improve and maintain the physical and mental health of the army, manage the organization of military hospitals and camps, and advise the transportation of the wounded. The USSC received executive approval in June 1861.

The USSC had a hierarchical structure, with an executive board, inspectors, and field agents in Washington, D.C.; Commission branches located in major Northern cities; and soldiers' aid societies dispersed in smaller towns. Unitarian Minister Henry W. Bellows served as president, New York lawyer George Templeton Strong as treasurer, landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted as general secretary, and architect Alfred J. Bloor as corresponding secretary. Due to exhaustion, disagreements with other board members, and money difficulties, Olmsted resigned in 1863 and was replaced by John Foster Jenkins. Bloor maintained connections with the Northern homefront through direct correspondence with regional branches and local aid societies. Unlike his colleagues on the executive board, Bloor was convinced that the Commission needed to respond to the needs of Northern women. He was let go from his position in October 1864.

The USSC was supported by the grassroots efforts of Commission branches, including the WCAR, and by localized soldiers' aid societies. In September 1862, the USSC recognized the WCAR as an auxiliary branch, but it continued to function independently from the parent organization. Twelve regional branches located in New York City, Boston, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Louisville, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Chicago, New Albany, Detroit, Buffalo, and Columbus supported the USSC throughout the war. The regional branches existed and functioned under the authority and direction of the USSC, but they also initiated programs accepted by the parent organization. The establishment of female associate managers, who communicated supply requests to the homefront and provided reports on the conditions of the homefront and battlefront, provided branch managers with more time for recruitment activities. Local soldiers' aid societies provided the bulk of the support for the USSC coming from the Northern homefront. By late fall 1862, over fourteen hundred soldiers' aid societies were associated with the USSC, and, over the course of the war, nearly seven thousand aid societies were created. Both the regional branch offices of the USSC and the local soldiers' aid societies were managed, worked, and sustained primarily by women.

To counter what the Commission saw as the inefficiency and confusion of Federal government action and the lack of order or benevolence at the local level, the USSC emphasized centralized efforts and philanthropy based on scientific principles to effectively carry out wartime needs. The USSC fulfilled this goal through fundraising, inquiries, advice, transportation, and distribution. One of the Commission's first tasks included raising the necessary money to hire field agents and to transport supplies to the front. Money initially came from insurance companies, businesses, and property holders. Early donations allowed the Commission to begin its work, but the organization would be plagued by a lack of sufficient funds and supply shortages throughout the war. The course of the war and Northern sympathy toward the war influenced the amount of money and supplies held by the USSC at any given moment. Inspectors thoroughly investigated and reported the conditions of camps and troops, including sewage disposal, cleanliness, clothing, cooking, and diets, and advisors made recommendations to the War Department. The USSC

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Quarters of the United States Sanitary Commission ca. 1860–1865. (National Archives and Records Administration)

advised the War Department to improve the diets of soldiers to include greater nutritional variety, to reorganize the Medical Bureau to better care for the sick and wounded in hospitals, and to allow the Commission to participate in the transportation of supplies and of the wounded and sick to hospitals.

In the first year of the war, the USSC focused on persuading the government to reorganize the Medical Bureau, which the Commission saw as plagued by poor management, bureaucracy, and the demands of special interests. In April 1862, Congress passed a reorganization bill, which provided for an increase in the number of medical and nonmedical personnel, inspectors, an increase in the requirements in sanitation reports, as well as the dismissal of Dr. Clement Finely from the post of surgeon general and the appointment of William Hammond.

The USSC remained in communication with its branches to ensure the continual flow of supplies to the troops and the battlefront. Women on the Northern homefront provided over $15 million worth of supplies over the course of the war, including ice, bandages, lint, pens, paper, clothing, and food. When the USSC was unable to obtain supplies from local aid societies, they bought goods on the market. To keep the Northern homefront abreast of its supply and distribution activities, the USSC began publishing *The Sanitary Commission Bulletin* in November 1863, along with lecture tours in USSC regions. Both attempts at improved communication with the homefront were suggestions of female branch managers. The Commission used the publication to advance the organizational themes of centralization and scientific basis for philanthropy.

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The *Bulletin* was published twice a month and circulated to local aid societies and troops.

Due to wartime cooperation with the Federal government and the Northern homefront, the USSC experienced conflict and controversy. Advice offered by the USSC to the Federal government was not always welcome. While the USSC criticized the Medical Bureau for failing in its duties to the troops, the Bureau believed the Commission exaggerated its concerns about sickness and sanitation. The appointment of Edwin M. Stanton as secretary of war in 1862 also placed strains on the Commission's influence in the War Department, since Stanton accused the Commission of engaging in trade rather than philanthropy. Although the Commission was called on by the armies of George. B. McClellan and John C. Frémont, in early 1864 General William T. Sherman refused to let the Commission use military transportation for supplies.

The USSC clashed with other philanthropic organizations, including the United States Christian Commission (USCC) and the Western Sanitary Commission (WSC). Both the USCC and the WSC were perceived by the Commission to be threats to its success in gaining the support and contributions of the homefront and in the push for centralized and efficient work. The USCC functioned as a philanthropic organization and provided religious tracts and materials to soldiers, while the WSC provided supplies for the trans-Mississippi region including Texas, Kansas, Missouri, Arkansas, Mississippi, Tennessee, Louisiana, and Kentucky. Unlike the USSC, the WSC relied on local leaders and solutions to meet supply and distribution needs. The executive board believed the methods of the WSC were inefficient, bred repetitiveness, and undermined the USSC's role as a national benevolent organization.

The women of the Northern homefront proved to be the Commission's most formidable foe during the course of the war. At the beginning of the war, the executive board believed that they could easily gain the support and participation of women and that women would naturally and dutifully carry out benevolent activity, while the structure and centralized organization of the USSC would bring direction and efficiency to their activities. The wartime assistance of women on the Northern homefront depended on local circumstances like child care, family illness, and community welfare. As became increasingly evident in branch-issued questionnaires, Northern women held both the USSC and the Federal government responsible for the requests for and the distribution of supplies. Women questioned why the Federal government was unable to provide the necessary supplies for war, particularly in light of rising taxes. They indicated their anger over supposed corrupt and fraudulent practices on the part of the USSC. Specifically, women feared that the supplies they provided were not getting to the battlefront or were being sold.

Certain activities carried out by the women on the Northern homefront went against the directions of the USSC and earned its dissatisfaction. Some women sent supplies directly to the battlefront, rather than to the USSC, as instructed. Sanitary fairs, which were successful fundraising activities for Commission branches, were seen by the Commission to be violations of its emphasis on centralization. Despite the success of sanitary fairs—the Northwestern Sanitary Commission's fair raised $100,000 in 1863—the Commission believed that the fairs benefited the parent organization very little and provoked unnecessary emotion and localized activity.

The USSC chose not to involve itself directly in the process of demobilization, although Commission women sought to continue their activities by assisting returning soldiers and families. At the conclusion of the war, the USSC informed branches to continue operating until July 4, 1865, after which they needed to forward remaining supplies and money to the Commission. The last official act of the USSC came with the publication of its official history in 1866, entitled *History of the United States Sanitary Commission.*

Sarah K. Nytroe

See also Aid Societies; Blackwell, Elizabeth (1821–1910); Fairs and Bazaars; Hoge, Jane Currie Blaikie (1811–1890); Livermore, Mary Ashton Rice (1820–1905); Nurses; Olmsted, Frederick Law (1822–1903); United States Christian Commission; Women's Central Association of Relief; Wormeley, Katharine Prescott (1830–1908).

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Urban Women, Northern

The start of the American Civil War coincided with the peak of the nineteenth-century women's rights movement that had, by 1860, prepared Northern women in particular for a larger public role. Although in the South it was primarily the war itself that upset gender roles and that brought women into the public in new ways, in the North many urban women had been gaining experience organizing and engaging in a battle for a public presence and the right to political participation since at least the 1830s. The Civil War found many Northern women prepared for public roles in defense of their nation.

Wartime gave new meaning to women's traditional work. In both the North and the South, women contributed publicly to the war through their domestic efforts: sewing clothing and blankets for soldiers and organizing relief and nursing centers in numerous cities from Boston to New York to St. Louis. At the outset of the war in 1861, Northern middle-class women founded the United States Sanitary Commission for the purpose of helping the army attend to the health needs of soldiers. The women of the Sanitary Commission took pride in their work as "foot soldiers" in the war effort and in their executive talents, which were put to use in organizing food and medical supplies to be sent to troops in the field. Both white and black women worked for the Sanitary Commission and were mobilized by the war to set up organizations to collect and distribute supplies, even when it meant stepping outside their traditional roles.

Individual women across the Union took on new roles on behalf of their nation. For example, Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin took her commitment to the Union cause one step further by working to recruit black men as soldiers. Initially reluctant to visit the battlefield herself because of propriety, Clara Barton was eventually convinced to take her much needed supplies directly to the front, thus expanding women's presence and range of activities in the midst of war. Dorothea Dix, an active reformer on behalf of the mentally ill in Washington, D.C., before the war, used her reputation and connections to organize nursing care during the war at a time when nursing as a profession did not officially exist. Other urban women served in informal roles, bringing food and comfort items to war prisoners and hospital inmates.

Northern urban women also used their numbers, their reform connections, and their organizational skills to raise money for the war effort, including the money necessary to carry out their relief work. Newspapers reported on the "mass movements of the Ladies" gathering in public spaces and holding fundraising fairs. Under the auspices of the Sanitary Commission, reformer Mary Livermore planned a large fundraising bazaar in Chicago in 1863. Although their goal was to raise $25,000, the women took in almost four times that amount. Such activities also raised issues about women's public roles, however; Livermore and her colleagues were frustrated by the fact that, even though they were competent organizers and leaders of their local associations, as women they could not sign contracts and therefore manage their own business affairs. This aspect of her wartime work led Livermore, for one, to think more broadly about women's rights after the

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Civil War, and she later spearheaded the suffrage movement in Illinois.

One of the less traditional ways that urban women participated in the war effort was through factory and government work. Women filled many new clerical and government positions created by the war. Although most of these jobs were temporary and women were consistently paid less than men, women employed by the Federal government in Washington, D.C., could earn better salaries than in any other professions available to women at the time. The presence of women in the workplace, even in the name of supporting the Union cause, still raised concerns for some Northerners about protecting the virtue of the so-called government girls.

In some instances, women had more to worry about than their reputations because war-related work could be dangerous. Both Northern and Southern cities suffered female civilian deaths due to factory explosions. In June 1864, a munitions factory explosion in Washington, D.C., killed twenty-three workers and wounded several others. More than one hundred women were employed at the factory assembling rifle cartridges, most of them young unmarried Irish women, and the accident sent shockwaves of grief throughout the civilian population, already wearied by mounting casualties so late in the war. The city was so brought together over the tragedy that even President Abraham Lincoln attended the memorial service.

Besides volunteer work and employment directly related to supporting the Union cause, wartime also saw an increase in urban women's participation in public discussions, demonstrations, and parades. These public events might include residents as well as nonresidents because wartime attracted a range of individuals to the cities, both men and women, looking for either paid employment or ways to participate in the war effort. Women, for example, were drawn to urban areas to work in hospitals, to take government or factory jobs, or to accompany their enlisted husbands. As the Southern states began to secede, even before hostilities broke out, Northern women gathered in cities to show their support for the Union. In the early years of the war, women from New York all the way to San Francisco came out to show their support for soldiers and for their leaders. It was reported that an "Immense Demonstration" in New York in the summer of 1862 brought almost as many women as men out to declare their undying support for the Union. At such events, women might wave banners from high-rise apartment buildings or crowd the sidewalks with their children in tow to show their support for the troops gathering and marching through the streets.

Not all public gatherings were necessarily celebratory, however. The cities also served as centers of public anger over the war and its effects on the civilian population, and women were often at the forefront of urban riots and protests. While many middle-class urban women found new opportunities for displaying their patriotism and for public roles related to the war effort, working-class women were more likely to be economically devastated by the war. Working-class and poor immigrant women were at the center of the draft riots in New York City in the summer of 1863, protesting the conscription of their men to fight to free the slaves. The *New York Herald* noted the significance of the presence of "a large number of workingmen's wives" and even blamed the women for the draft riots themselves. The racial and class tensions in the city meant that the riots in New York City were about more than the draft; the city's African Americans, in particular, became the targets of white anger over the purpose and impact of the war. White female rioters reportedly participated in an attack on a black orphanage, targeted black women for violence, and even turned their anger on white abolitionists.

A few months before the draft riots, however, women protestors had already taken to the streets over the even more immediate issue of feeding their families. Bread riots in April 1863 resulted from, as the *New York Times* reported, thousands of hungry women rioting in the streets. While the numbers of rioters may have been exaggerated, no doubt women throughout Northern cities were affected by the conscriptions and deaths of male breadwinners, the scarcity of food, and the drop in morale as the war raged on.

Tiffany K. Wayne

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See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; Aid Societies; Barton, Clara (1821–1912); Bread Riots; Dix, Dorothea Lynde (1802–1887); Draft Riots and Resistance; Factory Workers, Northern; Fairs and Bazaars; Fundraising; Government Girls; Hospitals; Immigrant Women; Livermore, Mary Ashton Rice (1820–1905); Northern Women; Nurses; Politics; Union Homefront; United States Sanitary Commission; Wartime Employment; Wounded, Visits to.

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Urban Women, Southern

The Civil War increased the numbers of women living in cities as female refugees brought their families to the places that they thought could offer support and protection. As refugees flocked to urban centers looking for food, wages, and safety, the wartime population influx contributed to overcrowding and food shortages.

On a daily basis, urban Confederates dealt with many of the difficulties faced by their rural counterparts, including displacement, food shortages, impressment, conscription, and widespread disorder. In addition, like their rural counterparts, urban women participated directly in the Confederate war effort. They helped raise military regiments, took over businesses, worked for the government, formed female home guards, and lobbied politicians. Some men remained on the urban homefront, especially the industrial laborers, teachers, railroad and river workers, civil officials, and telegraph operators who took advantage of the exemptions they were given in the 1862 Conscription Law.

As did the Southern countryside, Confederate cities experienced demographic upheaval, growing tremendously as the rural areas lost residents. City populations increased at astounding rates as rural civilians took refuge from Union forces, rebellious slaves, hunger, and homelessness. Some came to the cities to escape the tedium of rural life, but most arrived out of necessity. These refugees saw the urban areas as the safest place to be during wartime. However, the large influx of people resulted in a myriad of difficulties. The wartime shortages of food, clothing, housing, and medicines that all Southerners faced were intensified in the cities and exacerbated by the cities' overgrown populations.

At the outset of the war, the South's five most populous cities were New Orleans, Louisiana; Charleston, South Carolina; Richmond, Virginia; Mobile, Alabama; and Memphis, Tennessee. All their populations increased significantly during the war. For example, Richmond's wartime population tripled to over one hundred and forty thousand. Thousands of wartime refugees, politicians, soldiers, and peddlers made their way to the capital, ultimately making it the most congested Confederate city. This drastic increase forced President Jefferson Davis to declare martial law five days after his inauguration in the hopes of controlling the chaos, violence, and rising crime in the city. The disorder continued, however, and in 1862 local officials banned the sale of liquor, established a pass system, and arrested the disorderly and criminal elements.

The infrastructures of the South's cities could not handle the wartime influx of people. The drastic population growth caused housing, food, and supply shortages. Houses, hotels, and other types of accommodations filled beyond capacity. In addition, in Richmond and other urban centers, the food shortage led families to extreme actions, including food riots. In April 1863, approximately three hundred women and children set upon the capital and demanded that the government sell them food at official prices. When these requests were refused, the women raided the business section, seizing food and other necessary goods. Women staged similar bread riots in cities around the Confederacy, including those in Georgia, Alabama, North Carolina, Tennessee, Louisiana, and Virginia.

Once in the Southern cities, some women found work in factories as well as in government offices. Others took up jobs as teachers, seamstresses, cooks, or laundresses. Although their pay was often

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meager, it helped these women support themselves and their families.

Despite the demographic plights in the cities, these communities generally supported the war effort. Urban women gathered together to make and gather supplies for the soldiers. They set up sewing and aid societies that met in church basements, created centralized centers to gather material and monetary contributions for the soldiers, and staged bazaars, plays, and other entertainments to raise money for the fighting men. The cities' larger populations and the centralized nature of that population allowed the women in these areas to gather regularly and work together in groups for the benefit of the troops.

Women's aid societies also fed the soldiers who passed through their areas. Women in several Southern cities formed groups who met troop trains and then fed the men with whatever food was available. In Columbia, South Carolina, for example, the aid society set up around-the-clock shifts to ensure that at least a few members met every train, regardless of when it arrived.

The Union occupation of cities also affected life in the South's urban centers. Early in the war, Union forces captured New Orleans, Memphis, Nashville, Norfolk, and Alexandria. By the end of the war, they controlled many more towns and cities, including Atlanta, Savannah, Charleston, Richmond, Vicksburg, and Wilmington. Although the United States government often improved the infrastructure of the cities it occupied, helping sanitation, water supplies, and street conditions, few Southerners appreciated the upgrades. Instead, many urban Confederates resented their occupiers, visibly demonstrating their contempt for the invading Yankees. Southern women often verbally and socially chastised the occupying troops. Confederate women in occupied cities repeatedly avoided Union soldiers on the roads, waved Rebel flags and cheered for Jefferson Davis in front of Northern troops, refused to speak to Northerners, and held their noses when passing Federal soldiers. After capturing Atlanta, Union General William Tecumseh Sherman evacuated the city of its civilian population, avoiding problems in the city but provoking the ire of Southerners around the Confederacy.

The population growth in Confederate cities allowed for some anonymity. Consequently, it accelerated the growth of prostitution. Some urban Southern women turned to prostitution for the first time as a way of surviving the vagaries of war, whereas others flourished in their trade of many years.

Other women used the close proximity of soldiers, both enemy and their own, to advance their espionage work. Female spies often flirted with soldiers, gaining valuable information that they then transmitted to the Union or Confederacy.

Lisa Tendrich Frank

See also Aid Societies; Atlanta, Evacuation of (Special Field Orders, Number 67); Bread Riots; Butler, Benjamin F. (1818–1893); Confederate Homefront; Factory Workers, Southern; Female Spies; Government Girls; Imprisonment of Women; Prostitution; Rape; Southern Women; Teachers, Southern; Treasury Girls; Wartime Employment; Woman Order (General Order Number 28).

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Usher, Rebecca (1821–1919)

Rebecca Usher was one of twenty thousand women who served as nurses during the Civil War. Usher wrote extensive letters to her sisters while volunteering at the Union army's General Hospital in Chester, Pennsylvania. In her letters, Usher describes the other nurses, the soldiers, her duties, the physical appearance of the hospital, and the frustrations and joys she experienced during her nursing stint.

Rebecca Usher was born in 1821 in Hollis, Maine. Her mother was Hannah Lane, and her father was Ellis Baker Usher, a wealthy lumberman who was

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also a state politician. Rebecca was the oldest of four sisters, with whom she remained in close contact throughout her life. At the age of sixteen, Usher attended the Ursuline Convent at Three Rivers in Canada, where she studied and then taught French. At the age of twenty, Usher returned to Maine and her family.

Little is known about Usher's activities before she became a nurse for the Union army. However, she never married. As a single, middle-class, middle-aged woman, Usher was a prime candidate to fulfill the role of nurse because American Victorian ideals dictated that she was less likely than her younger counterparts to be influenced by immoral male soldiers.

Following the Battle of Antietam, hospitals increased their recruiting of female nurses. In October 1862, Usher received a letter requesting her services under the authority of Dorothea Dix, superintendent of the United States Army nurses. Usher instead responded to Adaline Tyler, matron of the Chester General Hospital, who had put out her own call for volunteer nurses. Usher joined the Chester hospital in late November.

By the second week of December, Usher was in charge of her own ward. She and the other female nurses did not participate in medical assistance as much as they provided caregiving to the soldiers. Usher's duties included supervising mealtimes, mending clothing, distributing goods, and providing companionship to soldiers. Usher also wrote letters to her sisters, from whom she requested stockings, tobacco, and other supplies that were needed to make the soldiers' stay at the hospital more comfortable.

Usher took great pride in her work at the hospital and found the work fulfilling. When the Chester General Hospital closed in 1863, Usher was distraught but ultimately found nursing duties elsewhere.

In 1865 she continued volunteer work—as a nurse and relief worker—with the Maine State Agency at City Point, Virginia. With the agency, Usher focused on serving the Maine soldiers, visiting them in hospital wards as well as providing them with food, supplies, and shelter.

At the war's end, Usher returned to Hollis, Maine where she attended to her family estate until her death in 1919.

Jessie Wilkerson

See also Antietam/Sharpsburg, Battle of (September 17, 1862); Dix, Dorothea Lynde (1802–1887); Hospitals; Letter Writing; Northern Women; Nurses; Union Homefront.

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V

Van Lew, Elizabeth (1818–1900)

A native Virginian who served as a Union spy in the Confederate capital of Richmond, Virginia, Elizabeth Van Lew was often referred to as Crazy Bet. Van Lew's efforts on behalf of the Union during the Civil War led to the escape of dozens of Union prisoners from Libby Prison in Richmond, the collection of vital intelligence on Confederate military positions in and around the city, and other successful activities of the Union underground throughout the war.

Elizabeth Van Lew was born October 15, 1818, in Richmond, Virginia, the first child of John Van Lew and Eliza Louise Baker Van Lew. In the 1830s her parents sent her to Philadelphia to live with relatives while she received her education. Although the Van Lews owned slaves, Elizabeth developed a strong abolitionist stance that provided a foundation for her actions during the Civil War. She not only believed that slavery had corrupted Southern society but also that its immoral nature made it a national sin.

As the war began, Confederate women in their Church Hill neighborhood asked Van Lew and her mother to join them in providing sustenance and supplies to the growing Confederate armies that flocked to Richmond. The Van Lew women refused the requests, creating suspicion about the family's loyalty that would follow them throughout the conflict. In an effort to deflect the criticism, occasionally Van Lew would minister to the Confederate wounded and encamped soldiers. She also became an accomplished hostess, entertaining Confederate officers and government officials in the family's home, as well as boarding a Confederate captain and his family for a time. She even explained her desire to visit Union prisoners as a reflection of a proper Confederate woman's Christian duty to minister to those deemed most unworthy. This public persona was simply a way for Van Lew to gain access to people and information that would further the Union cause while raising the least suspicion.

The public perception of her as crazy may have developed from the odd clothing she wore and nonsensical mutterings she uttered as she walked through the streets of the city during the war. However, the most recent biography contends that factual evidence does not exist to support such contentions; instead, resentment for her Unionism, her radical stance on slavery, and her lifelong spinsterhood and reclusive lifestyle may be more the cause of the nickname.

The majority of Van Lew's early war work related to providing for and assisting in the escape of Union prisoners held in Richmond. Both personally and with the aid of free blacks, slaves, and other Unionists, Van Lew sent prisoners messages that were hidden in the spines of books, in the false bottoms of food platters, in the soles of her servants' shoes, or in a hollow egg in a basket of eggs. She had her own encryption code, composed of letters and numbers, which she kept secure in the back of her watch, and she used the family property around the city as relay stations to pass on information to Union officials. She also used much of her family's finances to bribe Confederate guards and clerks.

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Van Lew supervised an extensive spy network that may have included Mary Elizabeth Bowser, believed to be Van Lew's former black servant who gained a maid position in the Confederate White House and sent information back to Van Lew. Some doubt exists about her identity and relationship to Van Lew, but the extent and success of the Union underground led by Van Lew, including the 1864 escape of 103 prisoners from Libby Prison, makes the story plausible.

By 1864, Van Lew began to work as chief correspondent of the Unionist spy network, sending information to Generals George H. Sharpe (chief of the Secret Service), Benjamin F. Butler (Army of the James), George G. Meade (Army of the Potomac), and Ulysses S. Grant (overall Union commander). The information coming from Unionists in Richmond led to a failed raid by General Judson Kilpatrick and Colonel Ulrich Dahlgren to free more prisoners and to the successful final Union assault by Grant's forces on Richmond. Gratitude for her services during the war eventually led to a government payment of $5,000 in 1867 and her appointment as postmaster of Richmond by President Ulysses Grant in 1869, a post she held for eight years. Community resentment toward Van Lew continued for the remainder of her life due to her Republican politics, her advocacy for African American equality, and her perpetual association with Southern disloyalty and the conquering Union.

Elizabeth Van Lew died September 25, 1900, in Richmond, Virginia.

Kristen L. Streater

See also Bowser, Mary Elizabeth (ca. 1839–n.d.); Female Spies; Nurses; Southern Women.

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Velazquez, Loreta Janeta [Harry T. Buford] (1842–1897)

Cuban-born Loreta Janeta Velazquez recounted the cross-dressed experiences of a Confederate woman soldier in her 1876 memoirs, *The Woman in Battle.* Velazquez followed her husband to the Confederate army and, after his death, joined the ranks as Harry T. Buford. She served as both a soldier and a spy.

Born into wealth in Havana in 1842, the seven-year-old Velazquez was sent to live with a relative in New Orleans where she would complete her education. At fourteen, she refused an arranged marriage and instead eloped with an American officer named William. By 1860, Velazquez had two toddlers and a third child on the way. As she settled into her traditional role as wife and mother, a series of events drastically altered the direction of Velazquez's life. That spring, her third baby died shortly after birth. That fall, her two remaining children died of fever. When war broke out a few months later, William resigned his Federal Army post to join the Confederacy, and Loreta decided to follow him.

William headed to Pensacola to train Confederate recruits, but, while drilling his men, his carbine exploded in his hands, killing him almost instantly. Desperate with grief and loss and emotionally fragile, Velazquez headed to the front lines disguised as a male officer, Harry T. Buford. She fought as a self-appointed officer and served the Confederacy as a secret agent. Velazquez's wartime activities took her all over the South, from Arkansas, where she recruited soldiers, to the battlefields of First Bull Run, Ball's Bluff, Fort Donelson, and Shiloh. Although in her memoirs she bragged about her bravery in the heat of battle, she also revealed her understanding of the sober realities of battlefield violence. Wounded at Shiloh, Velazquez spent time recovering in an Atlanta hospital. She was arrested twice during the war: once in Richmond for impersonating a male officer and once in New Orleans on suspicion of being a spy. However, she emerged from both incidents with relatively minor consequences.

Velazquez told her version of her story in her memoir, written ten years after the close of the war. At the time, she was living in Texas, separated from

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Loreta Janeta Velazquez served as a Confederate spy and soldier under the name of Harry T. Buford (1842–n.d.). (Velazquez, Loreta Janeta, *The Woman in Battle: A Narrative of the Exploits, Adventures, and Travels of Madame Loreta Janeta Velazquez*, 1876)

her last husband and raising a son on her own. A literate and well educated Latina, fluent in Spanish, French, and English, Velazquez revealed herself as a brash, quick-witted, and unconventional person, who clearly chafed against the race and gender restrictions of her time. Published in 1876, her book titillated and shocked audiences with its descriptions of her love affairs with women and men. Unlike many other postwar Confederate memoirs that glorified the Confederacy, *A Woman in Battle* criticized it. Prominent Confederate General Jubal Early began a public campaign to discredit Velazquez as a liar and prostitute. Based almost exclusively on his testimony, her work and wartime experiences were considered a hoax for over a century.

Contemporary researchers have discovered newspaper articles about Velazquez's soldiering and arrests during the war, documents in the National Archives that refer to her, and two of her handwritten letters, which now reside in the Richmond Museum of the Confederacy. The existence of the men who staked their reputations to vouch for her in public has been substantiated, and many of her detailed descriptions of camp life and events have been corroborated. Postwar evidence of Velazquez shows her leading a failed expedition of exiled Confederates to Venezuela and, in 1878, meeting with Jubal Early to argue she was indeed a soldier in disguise. A speech signed in her name was presented to Congress. In addition, articles in various newspapers dating as late as 1884 detail Madame L. J. Velasques's continuing political involvement in New York and the capital, this time using antislavery arguments to push for American involvement in liberating Cuba from Spain. However, she subsequently disappeared from the historical record, leaving many questions for future generations. Historians continue to debate the details of her life.

María Agui Carter

See also Bull Run/Manassas, First Battle of (July 21, 1861); Confederate Homefront; Domesticity; Female Combatants; Female Spies; Hispanic Women; Immigrant Women; Separate Spheres; Shiloh, Battle of (April 6–7, 1862); Southern Women; Vicksburg, Siege of (May 18–July 4, 1863); Wartime Literature.

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Victor, Metta Victoria Fuller (1831–1885)

One of the most prolific and popular of the dime novelists, Metta Victoria Fuller Victor was well known as a writer and magazine editor before the Civil War. During the war, she and husband Orville

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Victor gained prominence in the Northern publishing industry. As part of the firm of Beadle and Adams, they produced and helped distribute books that provided soldiers and the general public with fiction and nonfiction about the war and the issues facing the nation. Several of those books were written or cowritten by Metta Victor.

Born in Pennsylvania in 1831, Metta Fuller's family soon moved to Wooster, Ohio, a frontier community. Metta started writing to earn a living when still a teenager. She had some early success, including the support of the influential Rufus Griswold. She may also have had an early marriage; there are a number of mentions connecting her to a Dr. Morse. However, no conclusive evidence of this marriage has been found, and her early novels were written as Metta Fuller.

Fuller's most popular early works drew on prominent controversies of her day. She wrote two very popular temperance novels: *The Senator's Son* (1851, also published under other titles) and *Fashionable Dissipation* (1858). Fuller's temperance novels were a vehicle through which she also spoke to women about women as workers and as wives and in which she argued against some of the conventions of middle-class domestic fiction. Unlike the usual formula for temperance novels, Fuller's novels focused as much on the lives of the female characters as on male drunkenness, and they provide models of women who put their own lives first. Fuller's novel *Mormon Wives* (1856) was also based on prominent cultural issues: Mormonism (especially the practice of polygyny) and free love. Although the novel included a long appendix filled with quotations from Mormon sources, the plot and the novel's main incidents had little connection with reality, and the novel's success rested on the delight of readers looking for entertaining, sensational literature. In this novel, too, the female protagonist flouts convention and vigorously pursues her own desires.

In 1856, Metta Fuller married Orville Victor, and the two began a lifelong association with the firm of Beadle and Adams. After her marriage, Fuller's writings became slightly more conventional, though many of her stories and novels continued to feature active female heroines. In 1860, the couple traveled to England to promote abolitionism and to raise British support for the Union cause. Late in 1861, Metta Victor's novel, *Maum Guinea and Her Plantation "Children"; or, Holiday-Week on a Louisiana Estate. A Slave Romance,* was published both in the United States and in England. In America, *Maum Guinea* was published as a special Beadle double-sized volume that sold for 20¢, twice the usual cost. The enormously popular book went through several editions. Some contemporary observers suggested it rivaled *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in popularity. The Beadle Company shipped barrels of copies of *Maum Guinea* and other dime novels to soldiers on active duty, providing reading material that was often shared, even across battle lines. The next year, Victor's *The Unionist's Daughter. A Tale of the Rebellion in Tennessee* was published and read both by soldiers and by the general reading public.

Both novels combined stereotypical romance plots with episodes reflecting current and historical events. In *Maum Guinea,* Victor included a long flashback scene that retold the story of Nat Turner's rebellion; in *The Unionist's Daughter,* she drew on William Brownlow's already famous Union stand in the Confederate stronghold of Knoxville Tennessee. The historical materials Victor drew on and her use of current events provided a background in which Victor, like Fanny Fern, discussed how the war was changing the wider culture, as well as what women's lives would be like when the war was over.

In both novels, Victor also included romantic plots. *Maum Guinea* includes four different love stories, including one interracial romance that ends with a happy marriage, and in *The Unionist's Daughter* Eleanor Beaufort's romances are integral to the plot. Marriage, however, is not what Victor saw as the whole of women's future. Especially in *The Unionist's Daughter,* she recognized that women could look to work outside the home as a valuable and worthy choice. These novels also presented women—white and black, Northern and Southern—who think for themselves and who act from a consistent moral position. At the same time, Victor's novels are a product of her time and her own limits. While not overtly racist, they posited a caste system in which African Americans willingly subordinated themselves.

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Metta Victoria Fuller Victor died in New Jersey on June 26, 1885.

JoAnn E. Castagna

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; Fiction Writers, Northern; Northern Women; Stowe, Harriet Elizabeth Beecher (1811–1896); Wartime Literature; Willis, Sara Payson [Fanny Fern] (1811–1872).

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Vivandières

As women who accompanied the troops to war, vivandières were often called daughters of the regiment. They served as laundresses, nurses, and cooks, and they performed ceremonial functions. Some of the women took part in military actions along with the men, although most remained behind the lines and out of combat.

The position of vivandière, created by the commanders of Napoleonic armies, helped control the number of women who followed men to war. Camp followers, most often the wives and daughters of soldiers, were a constant source of concern because they stretched supply systems and military discipline. After receiving commissions from the officers, the women sold the men food, drink, and other supplies. They also did laundry and nursed the sick and wounded. Although not fully a part of the military, the women had status in the camps, wore uniforms, and received military rations.

When the Civil War began, military commanders from both sides used the European armies of the Crimean War as models for organization. Among other things, they adopted the institution of vivandière. In towns across the county, young women stepped forward to volunteer to accompany men into service. The women were usually appointed to be daughters of the regiment and were given commissions for that role by state officials. Some simply served ceremonial functions, appearing in bright uniforms to march at the head of columns of men. It was believed that their presence increased the morale of the men, reminded them of proper moral behavior, and encouraged others to enlist. Many of the women took very traditional approaches to their work by making meals, washing clothing, and nursing the men back to health when necessary. Other women interpreted their roles in more unusual ways when they took up arms as full members of their units.

Mary Tippee, sutler with Collis Zouaves (114th Pennsylvania). (National Archives and Records Administration)

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The women were easily visible among the armies of the Civil War. Almost all of them adopted a costume that was based on that worn by Amelia Bloomer (1818–1894). She advocated dress reform and designed a two-part costume consisting of loose-fitting trousers and a knee-length dress worn without the corsets and stays popular at the time. The vivandières wore a variety of jacket styles and their clothing was of no standard coloration. Some wore brown because that color would make it less obvious that their clothing was not always fresh and clean. On ceremonial occasions, the women donned clothing that appeared to be military and that frequently was based on the uniforms worn by the men around them.

Eliza Wilson of Menomonie, Wisconsin was only a teenager when her father organized a recruiting event in their small town in western Wisconsin. She eagerly volunteered to accompany the Fifth Wisconsin Regiment of volunteer infantry to the front. Her father gave her a pair of matched bay horses to make the trip. She also traveled with a cozy tent and a maid. Wilson's duties were largely of the ceremonial variety, and soldiers wrote home that her presence made them feel very happy and that she spread sunshine wherever she went. They carefully noted the smallest changes in her uniform. Her adventures ended when an officer, who was also a relative, sent her home.

Bridget Divers served with the First Michigan Cavalry during and after the Civil War. The Irish Biddy, as she was known, was especially lauded for her cooking and nursing. At one point in her career, she transported a wounded officer many miles to secure the best possible care for him, and then she returned to her unit in the field. She took her responsibilities very seriously, delivering water to the men in the heat of battle and taking the place of wounded men in the battle line when necessary.

Kady Brownell, who served with the Fifth Rhode Island Volunteers, interpreted her position the most radically. She trained with the musket and sword, and she was the flag bearer when the unit was engaged on the field. She returned to civilian life only when her husband's wounds dictated that the couple must leave the front.

Karen A. Kehoe

See also Brownell, Kady (1842–n.d.); Divers, Bridget (ca. 1840–n.d.); Nurses.

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W

Wakeman, Sarah Rosetta [Lyons Wakeman] (1843–1864)

Sarah Rosetta Wakeman was one of the several hundred women who fought in the American Civil War disguised as men. Enlisting in a regiment of New York volunteers on August 30, 1862, under the name Lyons Wakeman, she fought undetected for nearly two years until her death from dysentery on June 19, 1864. The collection of letters to her family she left behind provides unusual insight into the experience of a disguised woman soldier. Unlike narratives prepared for publication by other women soldiers, including Sarah Emma Edmonds and Loretta Janeta Velazquez, Wakeman's letters present a simple and unembellished account of her experience.

Born on January 16, 1843, in Afton, New York, Wakeman was the oldest of Harvey Anable and Emily Hale Wakeman's nine children. After some schooling and work as a domestic, she left home in early August 1862. Masquerading as a man under the name Lyons Wakeman, she became a boatman on the Chenango Canal, but enlisted in the One hundred Fifty-third Regiment of New York State volunteers on August 30, 1862. Although Wakeman's letters do not indicate clear motivations behind her decision to take on the role of a man, the motivations of women soldiers could include patriotism, a search for adventure, the desire to stay close to a loved one, or economic pressures. Her letters, however, attest to her enjoyment of the soldier's life. She wrote, "I like to be a soldier very much" (Burgess 1995, 22). She also clearly appreciated the independence gained through army life, writing, "I am as independent as a hog on ice" (Burgess 1995, 42).

Mustered into the Union army in October 1862, Wakeman's regiment served guard duty in Alexandria, Virginia, and in Washington, D.C. The One Hundred and Fifty-third Regiment joined Major General Nathaniel P. Bank's Red River campaign in Louisiana in February 1864, and in April Wakeman had her first engagement with the enemy. Falling ill with dysentery during the retreat to Alexandria after the failure of the campaign, Wakeman was admitted to the regimental hospital on May 3, 1864. By May 22, 1864, she had been sent to a larger hospital in New Orleans, Louisiana. Although she lingered for nearly a month before her death on June 19, 1864, medical personnel never recorded the secret of her sex on her records, and her headstone in the Chalmette National Cemetery of New Orleans reads simply Lyons Wakeman.

Juliana Kuipers

See also Female Combatants.

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Walker, Mary Edwards (1832–1919)

Born in New York on November 26, 1832, Mary Edwards Walker became a Civil War surgeon, prisoner of war, and Medal of Honor recipient.

The child of free thinking abolitionists, Walker had an unconventional childhood. Her parents raised her and her sisters to be as independent as their only son. The intellectual atmosphere surrounding Mary during her youth became heightened as a result of the Seneca Falls Convention on Women's Suffrage in 1848, John Humphrey Noye's Oneida Commune, and the bloomer movement, as well as the spiritualism awakening, temperance, and abolitionism movements. Mary attended Falley Seminary and taught at the Muretto Village a short distance from her home. Throughout his life, her father voraciously read medical books in search of a cure for his recurring illness. Years later, those same books prompted Mary to seriously consider medical school. Her parents prohibited the fashionable tight clothing, such as corsets, that restricted movement and circulation. They agreed with some medical professionals who believed that snug-fitting dress caused permanent and irreversible damage to women's bodies, sentiments Mary advocated her entire life. In addition, Mary found long hoopskirts and crinoline bothersome and unnecessary. After acceptance to Syracuse Medical College in December 1853, she experimented with clothing design, permanently deciding on a uniform of shortened skirt with trousers underneath. Due to her choice of garments, Mary endured a life of ridicule, police arrests, and taunting by the press. Mary graduated with her medical degree in June 1855 and a few months later married classmate Dr. Albert Miller.

The marriage had a rocky start. Ignoring traditional wedding attire at the ceremony, Mary donned her usual uniform, had the word "obey" stricken from the vows, and preferred to hyphenate her last name, never acknowledging the title of Mrs. After a few years of marriage and a shared medical practice, rumors of Albert's infidelities reached Mary. He confessed after she confronted him. Although she left him and set up her own medical practice, she could not secure a divorce until after the Civil War.

Having received her M.D. degree in 1855, Mary Walker sought a formal commission as a military surgeon when the Civil War broke out. When the Federal government agreed to hire her as a nurse, not a doctor, Walker volunteered her services instead. She tended to the sick and wounded first at the so-called Indiana Hospital, housed in the U.S. Patent Office, and later in the field at Warrenton, Virginia. (National Archives and Records Administration)

Caught up in the dress reform movement in 1857, Walker published articles in *Sibyl,* a fashion reform magazine. Additionally, she lectured about temperance and women's suffrage. Throughout her life she remained dedicated to women's rights, serving on boards, speaking, and confronting Congress on an array of issues including pensions for Civil War nurses. Walker authored two books: *Hit* and *Unmasked, or the Science of Immortality.* Both covered a variety of topics including marriage, social diseases, and women's health issues. She headed to Washington, D.C., a few months after the war began to answer the Union call for physicians in October 1861.

Walker initially served voluntarily as assistant surgeon for Dr. J. N. Green while she worked to secure a paid commission from the Union army. As assistant surgeon, she met ambulances, prescribed med-

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ications, made diagnoses, and administered treatment. Walker left Washington in January 1862 to attend medical classes, but in November she raced to Virginia to help General Ambrose Burnside and his troops. After escorting sick soldiers by rail to Washington, she headed for Fredericksburg to help in the field. In Washington, she established free lodging for women looking for wounded loved ones, escorted mortally wounded soldiers to their homes, searched for missing soldiers, and advocated against amputation when she deemed it unnecessary.

In January 1864, Walker received an official appointment to the Fifty-second Ohio Volunteer Infantry under General George H. Thomas at Gordon's Mills. On April 10, 1864, she was taken prisoner of war and incarcerated in Castle Thunder Prison for four months. Then, in October 1864, she obtained an official contract as acting assistant surgeon, United States Army. She served the rest of the war in a female military prison in Louisville. On January 24, 1866, Mary received the Congressional Medal of Honor from President Andrew Johnson for meritorious service, but the decoration was later rescinded by the United States Congress. Walker unsuccessfully petitioned Congress for reinstatement of the medal but failed. Refusing to return the award as requested, she defiantly wore the medal until her death on February 21, 1919. Congress reinstated Walker's medal posthumously on June 10, 1950.

Adriana G. Schroeder

See also Aid Societies; Fredericksburg, Battle of (December 13, 1862).

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Western Women

As white men in both the North and the South wasted no time in volunteering for service in the Union and Confederate armies, white women of both sections sought ways to contribute to the war effort. Their activities were not limited to the Northeastern, Mid-Atlantic, and Southeastern states but occurred as far west as California and the New Mexico Territory and in the intervening prairie states and plains territories. Distance from the primary theaters of battle near the countries' capitals and along the Ohio and southern Mississippi River valleys neither deterred men from enlisting nor women from involving themselves in the war. Both black and white women living in areas torn apart by divided loyalties and guerrilla warfare experienced armed conflict directly primarily in Kansas, Missouri, and Arkansas. Local militia units, mounted raiders, deserters, and enlisted men confiscated supplies, found refuge, hunted for enemies, and sought revenge from women. Unique to the West were preexisting problems that erupted in local civil wars in the context of the larger one; these small-scale but intense battles profoundly affected American Indian women and white women in the new settlements, especially in Minnesota and Colorado.

Western women of the northern prairies and plains, like their Eastern counterparts, quickly offered their time and talents to aid in the war effort, especially in ways that directly helped soldiers. During the first year of the war, they organized local soldiers' aid societies and branches of the United States Sanitary Commission. Rolling bandages, sewing flags and uniforms, and hosting fairs or socials to raise funds, women in these volunteer organizations committed themselves to providing aid and comfort to soldiers, especially loved ones and community members from locally organized companies and regiments. Although not as formally organized, women in the Confederacy's Western states also did their part in creating and sending care packages to military camps. Small numbers of Western women without husbands and young children worked as nurses in military hospitals; more women in northern areas of the West were able to do so than those in the southern West because railroad transportation extended across the northern prairie states. Regardless of military loyalties, Western women wrote letters regularly to their absent male acquaintances and family members, supplying

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gossip, practical information about town politics or a county's economy, and copies of or excerpts from local papers that did not reach military camps.

Beyond these relatively accepted ways of contributing to the war effort, a few Western women donned military uniforms and joined regiments, either as daughters of the regiment or as soldiers. With their experience with firearms, horses, and outside work in difficult environments, Western women entered the army with skills and physical strength that they would rely on as soldiers. Most of these women disguised themselves as men; however, in companies that stayed in frontier areas, some women soldiers dispensed with deception and were accepted by their comrades and officers.

Rural women across the Union and Confederacy were faced with decisions about operating farms without the acknowledged head of household and with limited numbers of male farm laborers. Even more difficult in the newly settled areas of the West was the cash-poor economy in the aftermath of an 1857 financial panic that devastated the economy of the northwestern trans-Mississippi region. Many mortgaged farms were not yet fully productive and what profits could be made needed to go to moneylenders, who often questioned soldiers' wives' authority to act on behalf of their absent husbands. Among the financially strapped women maintaining households without husbands were those whose spouses left, often to avoid the military draft in 1863 and 1864, and sought wealth in Western gold rushes rather than glory on the battlefield. These wives anxiously waited for news and money from their absent husbands. Rather than remain in the West without their spouses, some women with families in the East returned there with their young children to wait for the war's end and their husbands' homecoming.

For women in the antislavery areas of Kansas Territory, a civil war of sorts had been under way since 1855, as proslavery Missourians and abolitionist New Englanders competed for control of the territory not only through political action but also by sacking towns and attacking farmsteads. The outbreak of the Civil War caused some men from Missouri, Kansas, and Arkansas to enlist in regiments recognized by the Confederate and Union governments and incorporated into their armies; however, other men formed mounted units, sometimes sanctioned at the national level but more commonly acting on their own without orders and sometimes targeting homes where deserters, political opponents, or prewar enemies sought refuge. These guerrilla bands wreaked havoc not only on places like Lawrence, Kansas, in August 1863—where eighty women were widowed—but also directly on women's bodies through rape or torture and on their physical well-being by the theft or destruction of material possessions.

In both Minnesota and Colorado, violence erupted between American Indians and white settlers during the Civil War, leading to Union army involvement in the crises. In 1862, frustrated Dakota Indians attacked white settlers along the Minnesota River to retaliate against unfair treatment by storeowners and the United States government, as well as against the intrusion of farmers onto tribal lands. Over one hundred white women and children were taken captive for six weeks until two of the state's Union army regiments forced the Dakotas to surrender. Soldiers and civilians were incensed that white women had been captives of Native men, fearing they had been raped or adopted as wives and therefore were morally suspect. Two years later, Colorado organized a regiment under Union auspices to fight against Cheyennes who attacked wagon trains traveling west. The soldiers invaded a camp, murdering nearly one hundred twenty Cheyenne women and children to prevent the birth of a new generation of Cheyennes. Although peripheral to the larger war, these conflicts presented very real threats to Indian, white, and mixed-race women's sense of security. For Western women, the Civil War offered new opportunities but also untold losses.

Andrea R. Foroughi

See also Aid Societies; Border States; Destruction of Homes; Destruction of Personal Property; Female Combatants; Guerrilla Warfare; Hospitals; Letter Writing; Native American Women; Northern Women; Nurses; Rape; Rural Women; Southern Women; United States Sanitary Commission.

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Widows, Confederate

While no completely accurate count of women widowed by the Civil War has ever been conducted, one can take an educated guess at their numbers. With two hundred sixty thousand Southern men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five killed during the war, it is reasonable to assume that at least half were married, making one hundred thirty thousand a reasonable, though perhaps low estimate. Regardless of their exact numbers, Confederate widows made up a new class of Southern women in the postbellum South. Having lost their husbands to the cause, these tens of thousands of Confederate widows were no longer part of traditional households. Accordingly, they had to become the moral, social, and economic leaders of their families in a society in which women were supposed to be helpmates, not heads of households.

In the Old South, the roles that young white women had respectably played were limited to the dependent positions of daughter, wife, and mother. Daughters relied completely on their fathers for their public identities, and this dependence transferred to their husbands upon marriage. A woman's legal, social, and economic identity was always attached to the man in her life. According to white Southern social rules, marriage was the only truly acceptable state for a woman. There was no guaranteed place for widows; they were expected to remarry, especially if they were young and still in their childbearing years. Those who remained widows in the antebellum South were anomalous to Southern gender ideals for women.

In the postbellum period, remarriage allowed some Confederate widows to reestablish themselves as wives, provided for and protected by husbands. Yet many Civil War widows could not avail themselves of this traditional solution to the widow problem: too many white Southern men had died in the war. Unable or unwilling to remarry, other widows thrived as single women, taking over their husbands' farms or businesses or even venturing to establish their own commercial enterprises. Many others became dependent on friends or family members for support. For the majority of Confederate widows, survival was all they could hope for as they struggled to provide for their families on their own.

Although every Confederate widow shared the pain and grief of losing a husband, there was no single experience of the social, legal, or economic ramifications of Confederate widowhood. Factors such as family wealth before the husband's death, inheritance laws and practices, opportunities for gainful employment, and the presence or absence of an outside support system all affected the strategies of a Confederate widow to weather her widowhood.

When the Civil War ended in 1865, widows began the often daunting task of rebuilding their lives. Though for many the shock and grief of suddenly losing their spouses were difficult to bear, it was not grief alone that complicated widows' lives. They also had to face new familial responsibilities and economic distress that varied according to the family's financial situation before the death of the household head. Generally speaking, in rural areas, the more real estate a family owned before a husband's death, the better off a widow would be if her husband died. Conversely, widows from families with small amounts of property often suffered extreme hardship and deprivation. Although there were extremely wealthy Southerners, most white Southerners, roughly 67 percent, fell among the yeoman classes, and another 20 percent were poor and less economically established. Both of these groups depended almost entirely on the husbands' labor for their support. Not surprisingly, then, the

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widows of poor men and yeomen suffered tremendous economic loss upon their husbands' deaths because they no longer had either the income from his labor or the means to perform his job in his absence.

Even if a woman had enjoyed economic stability before her husband's death through the ownership of land or a substantial plantation, the added complications of an economy devastated by the war and discriminatory estate laws could often leave her facing a harrowing economic situation. Large areas of the South lay in the path of one or both armies, and many Southerners suffered from confiscation, impressment, and wanton destruction. In addition to a devastated landscape, the economy had also bottomed out, and, with the end of slavery, all money invested in human property disappeared. Additionally, many widows had been forced to become refugees; so they could not necessarily rely on their land to provide financial security.

The existing legal system regarding estates and inheritances also threatened a widow's economic existence. If a woman's husband died without leaving a will, which most did because will writing was rare during this period except among men with large amounts of property, Southern estate laws limited a woman's access to and control over the family's possessions. Beginning with the founding of the colonies, Southern statutes had provided that, when a husband died without a will, his widow was entitled only to a dower portion of his property. Dower rights gave a widow only the use of the dower real estate during her lifetime, officially called life interest. This meant that she did not have the power to sell or give away the property or to alter it in any way. If a widow altered the dower property, even if it was in an effort to increase profits, the law considered this wasting another person's property, and the rightful heirs could sue her. From 1790 until about 1890, a widow's dower constituted only a one-third life interest in any real estate and one-third of any personal property that her husband had owned during their marriage. If there were children from the marriage, they received equal portions of the remaining two-thirds of the real and personal property. If the couple had no children, the widow still received only a one-third life interest in the real estate, but her share of the personal estate increased to one-half. Southern estate laws dictated that inheritance of the other two-thirds pass as follows: the eldest brother of the deceased received the entire two-thirds; if there were no brothers, it was divided equally among any sisters of the decedent; if there were no siblings at all, the inheritance passed to the children of the decedent's paternal grandfather, beginning with the eldest male. For a personal estate, the line was identical except the decedent's parents were considered heirs before the siblings. Under Southern estate laws, a widow was never entitled to all of her husband's property unless there were absolutely no legal kin whatsoever.

For Confederate widows whose husbands wrote wills, most were, at least theoretically, well provided for. The majority of will-writing men left their wives all of their property, at least for the duration of their lives if the couple had children. But even if a widow inherited her husband's entire estate, there was no guarantee that she could keep it. Many men included the stipulation that their widows would lose all claim to the estate if they remarried. Additionally, the estate was still beholden to the legal processes of estate settlement and to current property valuation rates, which were extremely low during and after the war. Estate laws throughout the South and throughout the nation, for that matter, dictated that, before a will could be probated and inheritances doled out, all property in the husband's name had to be inventoried, appraised, and sold if there were outstanding debts against the estate. For some widows, it was more economically astute to renounce their husband's will, guaranteeing themselves their dower third rather than accept a will that gave them all of their husband's estate including its debts.

The postwar period was trying for many Southerners, but widows faced especially daunting circumstances because inheritance laws discriminated against them. Perhaps more important, however, widows found themselves in dire economic straits in a region in which few options for survival were open to them. Widows who could do so chose the traditional solution to widowhood: remarriage. For

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these women, a new spouse provided the emotional support and economic stability that they would perhaps be unable to achieve on their own.

A woman's decision to remarry generally reflected a decision based on a combination of need, opportunity, and desire. Financial concerns overwhelmingly influenced many decisions to remarry. For women with little or no property, remarriage was a very attractive possibility. On the other side of the coin, wealth or a substantial inheritance might dampen some women's desire to remarry. A woman's age, along with the absence or presence of children from her first marriage and their ages, also affected her decision and opportunities regarding remarriage. Older widows had a much more difficult time than younger ones finding new husbands. If a widow was older and had adult children, she might be less likely to seek remarriage, expecting to rely instead on her adult children for support. By contrast, a young widow with small children might seek out a new spouse to provide for her family. Childlessness might also compel a widow to choose remarriage so that she could fulfill her "motherly instincts."

Deprived of their husbands' labor, left with reduced property holdings because of Southern estate laws, and unable or unwilling to remarry, most widows in the South found it necessary to enter the paid labor force. However, few jobs were open to women, and none of them paid very well. Additionally, there were significant differences in the opportunities available to women depending on where they lived. Women who lived in urban areas or large towns generally had more opportunities for paid employment than their rural counterparts. During and after the war, many urban widows found employment in the civil service, became teachers, or turned their homes into boarding houses. Women whose husbands had owned commercial enterprises were sometimes able to take over the management of those businesses.

Of course, even after the war, the South remained predominantly rural where there were fewer opportunities for government employment and other service industry occupations. Although women in rural areas could certainly work in the fields, as many yeoman wives had done on their own farms before the war, most white Southerners considered hiring out for labor that was beneath them and their children. Widows could also obtain work as domestic servants or washerwomen, but these jobs were generally reserved for African American women because, like agricultural labor, the work was considered too indelicate for respectable white women. More acceptable ways for rural women to earn money were through the sale of food or other homemade products or by working in the traditional female occupations of seamstress or milliner.

Many widows who were unable to find employment and even some who did were still unable to support themselves and their children without assistance. For some widows, assistance meant reluctantly giving up their independent households to move in with parents, in-laws, siblings, children, or other relatives. Of those widows who moved in with relatives, most lived with adult children or their own parents.

In the 1880s, two new options for economic assistance arose for Confederate widows. They could turn to the government for support as one Southern state after another made small pensions available to their Confederate veterans and widows. They could also obtain assistance from Confederate memorial groups like the United Daughters of the Confederacy who doled out individual assistance and established group homes for needy Confederate women in states across the South. Though neither of these options provided Confederate widows with a great deal of money, for some it was a soothing balm for their economic insecurities and struggles.

Jennifer Lynn Gross

See also Confederate Homefront; Family Life, Southern; Pensions, Confederate Widows; Rural Women; Southern Women; Teachers, Southern; Urban Women, Southern.

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Widows, Union

The American Civil War, with its more than six hundred thousand dead, was the bloodiest conflict in American history. Consequently, it almost certainly left more women widowed than did any other American conflict before or since. A modern historian has estimated that approximately one hundred eight thousand Union women may have been widowed during the Civil War itself, with tens of thousands of additional veterans' wives becoming widows upon the deaths of their husbands in the decades after the war. In 1890 the Federal government conducted a census of Union veterans and widows that recorded 145,359 widows living at that time.

Northern war widows found themselves in a nation changing at a rapid pace economically, culturally, and socially. Throughout the war, Northern women had to alter their domestic roles to deal with the new realities of life. The conflict helped create a climate of both economic and moral paternalism, which particularly affected women who suffered the loss of their husbands during the conflict. Northern women also had to contend with the wartime changes of the government. The rise of the Federal government required new allegiance from women, who were placed in a subordinate role and who offered help under a paternalist system of wartime employment and pensions.

During the Civil War, the Federal government had no notification system to officially contact the families of killed and wounded soldiers. Consequently, a woman widowed during the war often learned of her loss from a newspaper casualty list, in a letter from a chaplain or from one of her husband's comrades, or from a soldier returning home on leave. Women whose husbands had been listed as missing or captured faced constant uncertainty. Many women contacted Clara Barton, who late in the war established an Office of Correspondence with the Friends of the Missing Men of the United States Army, to compile and distribute information on missing Union prisoners. In her postwar lectures, Barton recalled meeting and hearing the heartrending stories of many Union widows, including one who had lost her husband and three sons during the conflict.

A woman who received widespread publicity on the manner in which she learned of her husband's death was Philinda Humiston, the wife of Amos Humiston of the One hundred Fifty-fourth New York Infantry. Amos died at Gettysburg on July 1, 1863. When a burial party discovered his unidentified body, they found in his hands a photograph of three young children. Publicity about the incident led to a nationwide search to identify the soldier and his children. Philinda viewed the image after its publication in a number of Northern newspapers, identifying her children Frank, Frederick, and Alice as those in the photograph, and thus learning of the death of her husband. Humiston, a seamstress, received some funds from reproductions of the image to help support her family. A poem, later put to music, entitled "The Children of the Battle Field," further immortalized the incident. After the war, Philinda Humiston received a pension from the Federal government and worked for three years at an orphanage established at Gettysburg. She remarried in 1869 and died in 1913.

The experiences of Sarah Knapp Pardington were more typical. She married John Pardington in Trenton, Michigan, on December 29, 1860. The couple had a daughter, Maria, who was born in 1862 shortly before her father enlisted in the

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Twenty-fourth Michigan Infantry, part of the famous Iron Brigade. John took part in the battles of Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville before also being killed at Gettysburg. He frequently sent Sarah loving letters from the battlefield. After not receiving word from her husband after the battle, Sarah asked a friend to write to the regimental chaplain for information. He replied that he had no definite information but hoped that Pardington had been taken prisoner. Unfortunately the chaplain's information proved unfounded, and Sarah, like thousands of her countrywomen, was left a widow with a young child, a stack of letters, and a locket with her husband's picture.

For thousands of widows like Pardington, a Federal government pension represented the only regular source of income for themselves and their families. The expanded pension system enacted during the war created a much larger class of government dependents than had ever existed in American history. In July 1862, Congress adopted a new law that increased pension benefits for widows and orphans and that expanded the number of family members eligible to receive compensation. Pension benefits continued to increase throughout the decades after the war. In 1893, 40 percent of the Federal budget was being used to support those affected by the war: widows, orphans, elderly, and wounded veterans. Initially a soldier or widow had to present proof of a service-connected wound or disability to obtain government assistance. However, lobbying by the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) and other veterans' organizations led to a loosening of these restrictions. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, these rules were liberalized. Consequently most surviving Union veterans or their widows received pensions from the Federal government. Meanwhile, by the late nineteenth century, the former Confederate states also began providing payments to former Southern soldiers.

Widows could continue to receive their pensions following the death of their husbands and until they remarried. Because some women avoided this provision by living with another man, Congress revised the pension law in 1883 to include cohabitation as a reason to terminate a widow's pension. Women, however, could again become eligible for a pension if they remarried a veteran and he subsequently died. The marriage of young women to much older veterans had become relatively common in the early 1900s. Following the deaths of their husbands, these younger widows might remain on the pension rolls for decades. African American widows applying for pensions faced a problem unique to their race. Many of them had to prove the legitimacy of marriages that occurred in the antebellum years when slave unions were not legally recognized in the Southern states.

In addition to obtaining pensions from the United States government, Union widows also received help from private organizations like the GAR or its auxiliary, the Woman's Relief Corps. GAR posts assisted widows in a variety of ways, including helping them in obtaining or retaining government jobs, providing aid to those who became unemployed or who were unable to provide for themselves or their families, and providing assistance in the collection of debts or the payment of bills. The GAR also helped widows with funeral expenses, attended services for deceased members, and, if requested, performed a nondenominational GAR service.

War widows played a prominent role in the postwar years, especially in the commemorization and memorialization of the conflict. In some instances, Union widows helped recover the bodies and rebury men hastily buried on battlefields. In addition, they aided in the internment and marking of veteran's graves and in the erection of regimental and other monuments. They also worked in the beginning stages of preserving Civil War battlefields. Of particular concern to Northern widows was the proper internment of United States soldiers buried in Southern states. By the end of the century, nearly eighty national cemeteries had been established in twenty-two states and the District of Columbia.

Many Northern widows struggled with the question of whether to keep their husband's remains buried on the battlefield or in an often distant national cemetery or to bring the bodies home. The fact that many soldiers lay in unmarked graves

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made positive identification and removal impossible, but even when a soldier's burial location was known, the cost of removal often prevented the return of a body to its family. One Pennsylvania widow could not afford the $100 it would cost to have her husband's body returned home, but she asked that his grave be marked so that she could find it in the future. Like many widows, she wished his grave was closer to home but could not make the arrangements to make it so.

In their effort to memorialize Union war dead, widows and other groups contributed to a change in the national perception of death and burial. Although, in the antebellum years mourning was a private family ritual, the large numbers of wartime dead publicized the experiences surrounding death. In addition, the fact that so many soldiers died so far from home forced families to share the death experience with outsiders. Battlefield clergy, nurses, and other soldiers often communicated with a widow about the final moments of her husband's life. Before the Civil War, widows were seen as sturdy women who could control their grief and get on with their lives while memorializing their dead husbands within the family. However, during and after the Civil War, views on how to honor the war dead changed. The growing numbers of fallen soldiers and widows led to a public memorialization. Consequently, widows, who had always played the primary role in preserving their husbands' memories, gained a role in the public remembrance of war dead.

In additional to the establishment of national cemeteries and the building of monuments, Civil War widows also played a prominent role in the establishment of Decoration Day as a holiday to remember the Union dead. Shortly after the war, observances sprang up at a number of locations North and South, with widows and the mothers of war dead taking part and often organizing the events. In 1868, GAR recognized May 30 as a day for its posts to memorialize Union war dead, and, in the 1870s through the 1890s, most Northern states recognized Decoration Day as a state holiday. This commemorative day eventually became Memorial Day.

As the number of Northern Civil War veterans and widows began to decline in the late 1800s and early 1900s, organizations like the Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War, Daughters of Union Veterans of the Civil War, and Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic took over many of the memorialization functions begun by Union widows. Although the last surviving Union veteran died in the 1950s, a number of widows survived into the 1990s, and at least one into the twenty-first century. The last two identified Union widows were Daisy Anderson, the widow of escaped slave Robert Anderson, who had served in the One Hundred and Twenty-Fifth United States Colored Infantry, and Gertrude Janeway, the widow of John Janeway of the Fourteenth Illinois Cavalry. Janeway had married her husband in 1927, when she was eighteen and he was eighty-one. Upon her death on January 17, 2003, she was the last known Union widow, although apparently at that time at least two Confederate widows still survived. The death of the last widow will mark the end of the direct connection between the America of the twenty-first century and the great national crisis of the mid-1800s.

David Coles

See also African American Women; Barton, Clara (1821–1912); Courtship and Marriage; Domesticity; Family Life, Union; Monuments; Mourning; Northern Women; Nurses; Pensions, Union Widows; Separate Spheres; Union Homefront; Widows, Confederate.

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Wilderness, Battle of (May 5–7, 1864)

The opening round of the last Union incursion into Virginia, the Wilderness resulted in a Union defeat but nearly destroyed Robert E. Lee's Confederate Army of Northern Virginia. When the fighting finally ended, after three days of struggle in the dense and trackless second-growth woods, Lee's counterattack had blunted Ulysses S. Grant's southward thrust and resulted in heavy losses. However, Grant changed the pattern of conflict in this theater by continuing to move South rather than retreat. The resulting series of battles, known as the Overland campaign, would cause Lee and the Confederate forces to back up against the defenses of Richmond and Petersburg, where they would remain pinned until the last days of the war. During the Battle of the Wilderness, women served as nurses and soldiers and otherwise witnessed the war firsthand.

The Army of the Potomac had fought Lee at the Battle of Chancellorsville on the same ground almost a year before the Battle of the Wilderness. The tactical problem for the Union in both battles was to move soldiers quickly through the Wilderness into the more open country south of it in order to bring the smaller Confederate army to battle. However, Lee's swift positioning of his troops allowed the Confederates to catch the Federals while they were still moving and to destroy pieces of their army without the Union's being able to deploy its superior numbers and artillery in the heavy growth. After crossing the river, Grant's one hundred and eighteen thousand Federals moved south through the Wilderness on two roads. Lee, whose army of sixty-two thousand was quartered west of the Wilderness, moved swiftly east on the parallel Orange Plank Road and Orange Turnpike, roads that bisected the North–South roads that Grant moved on, clashing with the Union forces in the middle of the Wilderness on May 5. The Union advance came to a halt, and the army's divisions and brigades struggled to wheel into line of battle facing west to meet the Confederate threat. But only the roads and a few cleared fields would allow the line-of-battle formation. Many units advanced in the woods to meet the Rebel assault, only to lose formation and contact with comrades on the flanks, to get lost, or even to be fired on by friendly troops in the murky forest.

General Richard Stoddert Ewell, with Lee's Second Corps, moved in on the left along the Orange Turnpike, and met Union General Gouverneur Warren with General George Meade's Fifth Corps and forced it into a defensive stance; General A. P. Hill, with Lee's Third Corps, moved in on the right, along the Plank Road, finding General Winfield Scott Hancock commanding the Federal II Corps, which had just swung in from the east to form the Union left flank. At first, Hill drove Hancock back, but Hill was soon struck with a Union counterattack, which drove him back into a defensive position. As Hancock pushed Hill's troops to the breaking point, Lee looked anxiously for the arrival of his best corps, the First, under James Longstreet. In the night, General Ambrose Burnside's Federal Ninth Corps came in on Hancock's right flank to reinforce the Union push.

When Longstreet arrived on May 6, he threw his troops up the Plank Road to blunt Hancock's and Burnside's advance, and he relieved Hill's worn-out forces. Longstreet's assault caught Hancock off balance, and the Federals were driven back, as Lee personally tried to lead the Texas Brigade forward but was prevented from doing so by his men. Longstreet then moved around to flank Hancock's now entrenched line, but toward dusk he was wounded, and his attack lost momentum. Even though General John B. Gordon of Ewell's corps later attacked the Union right flank with his division and pushed it back, there were no reserves to exploit the breach, and the Confederate attack halted. On May 7, more clashes occurred in the woods as Grant began to disengage his army and move south. He and Lee would resume the conflict at Spotsylvania a few days later.

The fighting in the thick woods and brush was confused and disjointed, leaving many wounded where they fell, without access to aid. The furious fighting also ignited the dry underbrush afire and burned hundreds of wounded to death.

At least five women served in the Overland campaign—two Union and three Confederate—and

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presumably they were present in combat operations at the Wilderness battle. One account tells of a female lieutenant in Federal uniform who was wounded in the shoulder and was brought in with some of her wounded comrades, who attested that there was no soldier braver. She had apparently enlisted with her lover. She was hospitalized afterward, where because of her gender she was discharged from the army.

Probably the best civilian eyewitness accounts of the battle was written by Katherine Crouse, a young woman who wrote a twelve-page detailed account in diary style of the battles of the Wilderness and Spotsylvania as they raged around her house. She described loud noises of sharp skirmishing, the cannon firing far and near, and even a Federal foraging party that raided their farm, even though she and her family were pro-Union. She described how the Rebels on one side and the Yankees on the other seem to have surrounded their farm and how the armies moved past them to the South.

The losses for both armies were heavy. The Army of the Potomac, by some estimates, lost as many as 17,666 killed, wounded, and missing. The Army of Northern Virginia lost 7,750 or more, in addition to several key officers, including Lee's right-hand man, James Longstreet. Many female nurses cared for the wounded from the Battle of the Wilderness. Cornelia Hancock and Annie Etheridge both served as nurses at the Wilderness. Perhaps most notably, Clara Barton nursed many of the wounded men evacuated from the Wilderness in a Fredericksburg hospital.

Randal Allred

See also Barton, Clara (1821–1912); Blair, Lorinda Ann [Annie Etheridge Hooks] (ca. 1840–1913); Female Combatants; Hancock, Cornelia (1839–1926); Nurses.

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Willis, Sarah Payson [Fanny Fern] (1811–1872)

Fanny Fern was one of the most popular and widely read authors of the antebellum and postwar period. Her opinions and commentary significantly influenced public opinion, especially Northern women's attitudes, both before and during the Civil War.

Fanny Fern was born Sarah Payson Willis on July 9, 1811. Willis's marital history—she was widowed and then divorced before a lasting third marriage to James Parton in 1856—and many of her decisions about her life and her work were considered by many as unacceptable choices for a woman of the middle class. However, as Fanny Fern she was highly successful. Her ability to combine her often iconoclastic opinions with the dominant sentimentalism of the period enabled her to reach and influence women and men. Fern established herself as an independent and audacious voice on women's issues and current events in her widely reprinted newspaper columns, which were gathered together in *Fern Leaves from Fanny's Portfolio* (1853), *Fresh Leaves* (1857), *Folly as It Flies* (1870), *Ginger-Snaps* (1870), and *Caper Sauce* (1872), as well as in her novels, *Ruth Hall* (1854) and *Rose Clark* (1856).

Before, during, and after the Civil War, Fern found her audience through her regular columns written for the *New York Ledger* and often reprinted in other papers, giving her a national audience. The *Ledger*'s publisher, Robert Bonner, wanted the paper's writers to avoid taking any particular political positions, and Fern made some attempts to comply. At the same time, she was determined to express her ideas about and her critique of the society in which she lived. Fern came to

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her ideas about women and the war from a foundation of deep religious beliefs. She was an independent thinker who rejected much of the dominant theological thought of her time as it was expressed by male ministers. Instead, she developed what she called maternalist Christianity. She saw in Christ's love a model of women's love for their children, which she then extended to society as a whole. She saw a need for women to demand that material help and care be given to the poor, that economic opportunities become available for women, and that injustice be challenged, wherever it occurred.

As tensions increased in the country, Fern made her abolitionist sympathies clear in a number of *Ledger* columns, although she seldom discussed specific events. Her style varied. Sometimes she used satire; at other times her work exemplified the sentimental style of midcentury women writers. After the war began, she began to write more directly about the war, including columns that argued for enlistment and that expressed contempt for Northern men who would not support the Union cause or who tried to avoid conscription. A sincere abolitionist, Fern wrote admiringly about the colored troops and was clear that her support for the war was based on an understanding of the evil of slavery. She was friendly with Harriet Jacobs and opened her house to Jacobs's daughter, Laura, during 1856–1858. Fern's conversations with Jacobs undoubtedly contributed to her understanding of the issues facing African American women, but Fern did not use their friendship directly in her work.

Fern's columns also explored how the war affected women. The inequities of women's economic condition during and after the war were a deep concern. She argued that the economic conditions of the war would affect poor and working-class women more than any other group. She declared that women, as both consumers and workers, in both the North and the South, were involved not just in the Civil War, but in an ongoing conflict in which their antagonists were business owners and industrialists. She recognized, too, the loneliness, fear, and physical dangers that the war brought to women left without the protection of their fathers, husbands, and sons. At the same time, she had hopes that the war would offer new possibilities for women and that in the aftermath of the war women would have greater scope, including suffrage. She supported the United States Sanitary Commission, especially the work of women with the commission, as a model of what women could do.

Sarah Payson Willis influenced readers before and during the Civil War with her commentary written under the penname of "Fanny Fern" (1811–1872). (Library of Congress)

Fern wrote three books for children, and in *The New Story Book for Children* (1864) she included a chapter on John Brown. This highly favorable biography was a further indication of her abolitionist attitudes and was well received by Northern abolitionist parents.

Fanny Fern died on October 10, 1872.

JoAnn E. Castagna

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; Conscription; Enlistment; Fiction Writers, Northern;

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Jacobs, Harriet Ann [Linda Brent] (1813–1897); Northern Women; Religion; United States Sanitary Commission; Urban Women, Northern.

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Wittenmyer, Annie Turner (1827–1900)

Involved in temperance, education reform, and benevolent work, Annie Turner Wittenmyer also served as a tireless advocate for soldiers' aid and relief during and after the Civil War. Utilizing her political, administrative, and organizational skills, she fought sexism and local politicians to improve the situations of innumerable Americans.

Sarah Ann Turner was born August 26, 1827, in Sandy Springs, Ohio, to John G. and Elizabeth Smith Turner. In 1847, she married merchant William Wittenmyer and three years later moved to Keokuk, Iowa. Of the couple's four children, only one, Charles Albert, survived childhood. In March 1853, Wittenmyer began her life of benevolence, founding the first tuition-free school for underprivileged children. Because her parents had ensured that she received an education, she adamantly insisted other children should have the opportunity. William's 1860 death left Annie a single mother.

When the Civil War began, Wittenmyer joined the Union war effort as a nurse in the Estes House, a hotel converted to a hospital. The unsanitary conditions, inadequate food, and psychological turmoil the soldiers suffered horrified her. In 1861 the Keokuk Ladies' Soldiers' Aid Society (KLSAS) elected her corresponding secretary. In that capacity she visited the hospitals in her region to determine their needs, gathered and distributed supplies, secured transportation for the wounded, and helped organize a coalition of women's groups. Her work was often impeded by the Iowa branch of the United States Sanitary Commission (USSC), run by local men with connections to state politicians. Tensions rose between the KLSAS and the USSC as both fought for relationships with women's groups in Iowa. To circumvent these problems, Wittenmyer eventually accepted a salaried position as one of the Iowa State sanitary agents. Once the state legislature approved her position in September 1862, she and the KLSAS gained official status. As a sanitary agent, she continued collecting and distributing food, medicine, bandages, clothing, and beds.

Despite working together, the KLSAS and the USSC continued to spar. Wittenmyer and the other women of the KLSAS argued that as women they were morally and emotionally better equipped for the work and far better organized than the USSC men. The KLSAS publicly challenged the Iowa Sanitary Commission, characterizing it as incompetent at best. The two groups eventually combined into the Iowa Sanitary Commission. Wittenmyer remained a sanitary agent for about six months but resigned in May 1864 to devote her energies elsewhere.

Wittenmyer gained nationwide fame through her establishment of over one hundred Special Diet Kitchens in Union army hospitals. A visit to her brother, a patient in one of the hospitals, revealed to Wittenmyer the inedible and inappropriate food fed to patients. She hoped to reorganize kitchens so that each patient would receive individualized doctor-prescribed menus, suitable for that patient's circumstances. Wittenmyer's model helped save countless lives as the wounded and ill began receiving healthier, more nutritious, and better tasting food. At her request, the United States Christian Commission agreed to help fund and organize these revolutionary kitchens, still utilized today. Wittenmyer hired the staff, appointed managers, and supervised the two hundred paid women working in the kitchens.

Wittenmyer had other concerns as well. She began organizing orphanages in Iowa for Union sol-

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diers' children in the fall of 1863, with the first one opening in 1864. In 1865 she applied to Congress for and received barracks in Davenport, Iowa, where the Iowa Soldiers' Orphans' Home was built later that year. During the next three decades, Wittenmyer published several books and articles, and she served as editor for *Home and Country.*

Wittenmyer is perhaps best known as the founder and first president of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, organized in 1874. In 1889 she moved to Pennsylvania and was elected president of the Woman's Relief Work of the Grand Army of the Republic, a national organization dedicated to helping former Union hospital workers obtain homes and pensions. She helped ensure the passage of the Army Nurses Pension Law in 1892.

On February 2, 1900, Annie Wittenmyer died. She was buried in Edgewood Cemetery in Sanatogo, Pennsylvania.

Paula Katherine Hinton

See also Aid Societies; Food; Hospitals; Northern Women; Nurses; Union Homefront; United States Christian Commission; United States Sanitary Commission; Wartime Employment.

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Woman Order (General Order No. 28)

Union General Benjamin Franklin Butler issued General Order Number 28, his infamous Woman Order, on May 15, 1862, in New Orleans, two weeks after Admiral David Farragut had taken the city and turned it over to Butler's administrative control. The order generated immediate controversy and threatened to topple respectable Southern ladies from their pedestal of protection and reduce their status to that of prostitutes if they continued to behave disrespectfully toward Union soldiers and officers. The threat implied by the order inflamed Confederate passions, garnered criticism from elsewhere in the Union and abroad, and earned the general lasting infamy throughout the South. In recent decades feminist authors have forged new interpretations of the Woman Order that suggest how the gender and class politics of the time made Butler's order effective and why it has achieved such lasting significance.

New Orleans's unrepentant and unruly rebel residents initially proved unwilling to submit to Federal authority when troops occupied the city in late April 1862. Butler soon took matters in hand and later recalled that he quickly had the men of New Orleans completely under control. He was dismayed, however, to find that the city's women, especially those of the upper class, continued to abuse and disrespect his men. The behaviors that Butler and his troops found so galling included ladies exiting streetcars and leaving churches when officers or soldiers entered, teaching and encouraging children to sing Confederate songs, displaying or pinning small Confederate flags to their clothing, and choosing to walk in the middle of the streets or turning their backs to avoid acknowledging their occupiers. In a small number of cases, ladies also reportedly spat on officers or allowed their children to do so, and, in one outrageous incident, Butler reported that one of them dumped a "vessel" of "not very clean water" on the head of Admiral David Farragut as he passed below her balcony (Butler 1892, 417). Many writers have suggested that this vessel was a chamber pot.

To stem the tide of the females' disrespect, Butler created an order that brilliantly manipulated the South's existing gender and class ideologies while also taking advantage of the city's well-known reputation for harboring and tolerating large numbers of prostitutes. General Order Number 28 stated that, despite their courteous treatment of civilians, "the officers and soldiers of the United States have been subject to repeated insults from the women (calling themselves ladies) of New Orleans." As a result, "it

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Caricature of Benjamin Butler's behavior as military governor of New Orleans, May–December 1862. In response to harrassment from women toward the Union troops occupying the city, Butler issued General Order No. 28 (Woman Order), declaring that offending women be treated as prostitutes. (Library of Congress)

is ordered that hereafter when any female shall, by word, gesture or movement, insult or show contempt for any officer or soldier of the United States, she shall be regarded and held liable to be treated as a woman of the town plying her avocation."

Butler's order cut right to the heart of both the class privilege accorded to and the gender expectations demanded from upright, respectable Southern ladies. Confederates outside New Orleans howled with indignation about the sexual threat they perceived in the Woman Order. Southern political leaders, ranging from Louisiana's exiled governor to President Jefferson Davis, took exception to the order in formal statements. Davis also placed a bounty on Butler's head and ordered his summary execution if he was ever captured. The predictable outrage in Confederate circles also spread to newspapers in France and England, where Butler's order was condemned on the floor of Parliament.

Butler denied that his order contained an implicit sexual threat and defended it in his autobiography, claiming that it was necessary in response to the treatment received by soldiers. He also claimed that the order did not lead to any arrests, but historical records indicate that at least two women were imprisoned for infractions covered by the order, most notably prominent Confederate sympathizer and diarist Eugenia Levy Phillips.

Butler continued to upset gender conventions throughout his occupation of New Orleans. He kept women in his figurative line of fire when he demanded that they, like male Confederates, sign loyalty oaths to stay in the city. Butler's offensiveness was not limited to ladies, nor was his administrative brilliance a match for his abrasiveness, inflexibility, and financial opportunism. Foreign consuls bristled at his insensitive treatment and complained to Washington. These complaints, accompanied by rumors that Butler was using his position to gain personal financial advantage, led to his dismissal and replacement by Nathaniel Banks in December 1862.

Alecia P. Long

See also Butler, Benjamin F. (1818–1893); Civilian Life; Confederate Homefront; Imprisonment of Women; Phillips, Eugenia Levy (1819–1901); Southern Women; Urban Women, Southern.

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Women's Central Association of Relief

The Women's Central Association of Relief (WCAR) was vital to providing health services and military provisions for Union soldiers during the Civil War. On April 26, 1861, in New York City, a large gathering of both female and male social reformers founded the WCAR. The association was the precursor and most active chapter of the United States Sanitary Commission (USSC), the largest benevolent wartime institution at that time. As a branch of the USSC, the New York–based, female-led WCAR had authority over aid societies in much of New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Massachusetts. Similar to other women's relief associations, the WCAR trained nurses, raised money, worked on the battlefields, and coordinated the collection and distribution of army supplies. It was the most active single philanthropic society for the Union cause, providing relief services to thousands of soldiers, women, and children on the war-torn homefront. Throughout the war, the WCAR remained the dominant branch of the USSC.

As the first shots of the Civil War rang out, hundreds of independent relief aid societies sprang up across the North, and thousands of women collected supplies and offered their services as nurses. However, there was no method for coordinating the women's activities. Elizabeth Blackwell, the first woman medical doctor of the United States, and her sister Emily, also a physician, called for a meeting of the lady managers of New York's Infirmary for Women and Children to create a soldiers' aid society. The Blackwell sisters had founded the infirmary to train female doctors and nurses as well as to provide health care for the poor. Close to one hundred of New York's wealthiest and most influential female citizens turned out. To garner more support, the women decided to broaden their base and have a public meeting. Advertising their cause in newspapers, the female reformers appealed to all of New York's citizenry and over four thousand women and men assembled to discuss the agenda and organization of a nongovernmental relief program. At the gathering, Blackwell and Henry Whitney Bellows, influential pastor of the All Souls Unitarian Church in New York, proposed a plan of centrally organizing the distribution of medical services and military supplies. The philanthropists resoundingly approved the suggestion, and the WCAR was officially established with a board made up of twelve women and twelve men.

To manage their civilian operation, WCAR members mapped out a plan that included running existing local charities, putting together a board for training nurses, and establishing a formal relationship with the United States army to determine military needs. Within a few weeks, Bellows and a group of sanitary reformers went to Washington, D.C., to seek government help. The exact circumstances surrounding the Washington trip remain unclear. In the end, the government replaced the WCAR as the preeminent relief society and created the United States Sanitary Commission. President Abraham Lincoln officially sanctioned the USSC with Bellows as president and nationally known medical reformer Dorothea Dix as Superintendent of Women Nurses for the Union army. The founding of the USSC eclipsed the authority of the WCAR and the status of Elizabeth Blackwell. On September 19, 1861, the WCAR became a branch of the USSC, though it continued largely as an autonomous charitable society.

In the summer of 1861, the WCAR took up residence in the Cooper Union in New York City. Working in small quarters with only two tables, one desk, six chairs, and a wall map, the reformers immediately embarked on their mission. Under the leadership of twenty-four-year-old Louisa Lee Schuyler, New York socialite with a family heritage going back to Alexander Hamilton, WCAR affiliates enlisted the assistance of women in local and regional relief groups, organized supply efforts in cities and villages, and recruited, selected, and trained nurses. In less than seven months, the female volunteers had collected 30,000 hospital garments, 15,147 pieces of bedding, 6,112 havelocks, and over 2,000 jars of jelly and preserves. They had also trained

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and placed thirty-two nurses in military hospitals. With the appointment of Dix, however, the WCAR ceased involvement in the recruitment of nurses and concentrated its efforts on benevolent activities. With the war's conclusion in 1865, the WCAR held its last meeting on July 7, 1865, and closed its doors that September.

E. Sue Wamsley

See also Aid Societies; Blackwell, Elizabeth (1821–1910); Nurses; Schuyler, Louisa Lee (1837–1926); Union Homefront; United States Sanitary Commission.

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Women's National Loyal League

See National Women's Loyal League

Woolsey, Jane Stuart (1830–1891)

Civil War nursing administrator Jane Stuart Woolsey wrote *Hospital Days* (1868), a memoir of her experiences after the war. She also continued to work to improve nursing care and to open the profession to women.

Woolsey grew up in England, Boston, and New York City, where her father owned a sugar-refining business. She was one of the seven daughters of the Woolsey family, all of whom volunteered to aid the Union cause. After her father died in an accident at sea in 1840, the family moved to New York City, where wealthy relatives helped them financially. The children received excellent educations in an atmosphere of culture. Woolsey's mother was a strict abolitionist, although her family came from Virginia.

When the Civil War began, the Woolsey sisters volunteered in many ways. They were part of the group of women who began the Woman's Central Association of Relief, which later became part of the United States Sanitary Commission. In addition, several of Jane's sisters went south to nurse in military hospitals. She stayed in New York, where she worked at a temporary war hospital for several years.

In 1863, Jane Woolsey became the assistant superintendent of the Army Hospital in Portsmouth Grove, Rhode Island. There she learned hospital management under the direction of Katharine Wormeley and her own sister, Georgeanna. Later that year, Jane and Georgeanna became superintendents of nursing at Fairfax Theological Seminary near Alexandria, Virginia. The seminary had been turned into a large Union hospital, and it remained so until the end of the war. Jane's nursing experience in Virginia formed the basis for *Hospital Days.* At the Virginia hospital, Woolsey revealed a genius for administrative and organizational work. She was able to act quickly and effectively to resolve problems. In addition, she developed forms that made hospital business proceed smoothly.

After the war ended, Jane spent several years teaching freed slaves at Lincoln Industrial School in Richmond, Virginia. Unlike other Civil War nursing memoirs, *Hospital Days* offers an administrator's perspective. The memoir analyzes the wartime hospital system, with chapters devoted to the role of the superintendent, the selection and training of nurses, and the relationship of the staff to the chief surgeon.

In 1872, Jane Woolsey became the resident directress at New York Presbyterian Hospital. She remained in that position until 1876, when ill health forced her to resign. Jane Stuart Woolsey died in 1891.

Ellen H. Todras

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; Disease; Education, Northern; Hospitals; Letter Writing; Nurses; Union Homefront; United States Sanitary Commission; Urban Women, Northern; Wartime Employment; Women's Central Association of Relief; Wormeley, Katharine Prescott (1830–1908).

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Wormeley, Katharine Prescott (1830–1908)

Wealthy Rhode Islander Katharine Wormeley volunteered as a nurse and hospital administrator for the Union army in 1862 and 1863. She later wrote a history of the United States Sanitary Commission (USSC), as well as a memoir of her Civil War nursing experiences.

Wormeley was born in England in 1830 to a wealthy family. Her father had roots in Virginia, and the family moved to the United States after his 1852 death. They settled in Newport, Rhode Island, and wintered in both Boston and Washington.

When the Civil War began, the formation of the Women's Central Association of Relief inspired Wormeley to found a similar organization in Newport, the Woman's Union Aid Society. Wormeley also became the assistant manager of the New England women's branch of the Sanitary Commission. In 1861, recognizing the soldiers' need for clothing, Wormeley used donations to the society to hire unemployed seamstresses to make the necessary supplies. Her group generated fifty thousand army shirts in this manner from 1861 to 1862.

In May 1862 the secretary of the USSC, Frederick Law Olmsted, invited Wormeley to volunteer on the first hospital transport ship, which supported wounded Union forces during the Peninsular campaign. She oversaw the linens, bedding, feeding of patients, and general conditions of the hospital wards until that summer.

In September, Wormeley became the superintendent of the Women's Department of the Lowell General Hospital for convalescing soldiers in Portsmouth Grove, Rhode Island. Serving with her were women Wormeley had worked with on the hospital transport ships, including sisters Georgeanna and Jane Woolsey, their cousin Sarah Woolsey, and Harriet D. Whetten. Their positions at the Lowell General Hospital marked the first time that ladies served in such capacities in a general hospital.

A year later, Wormeley returned to private life in Newport, Rhode Island. Her history of the USSC, *The United States Sanitary Commission: A Sketch of Its Purpose and Work* (1863), was sold at sanitary fairs to raise money for the organization.

In 1889 Wormeley published a memoir of her experiences on the hospital transport ships. *The Other Side of War: With the Army of the Potomac* describes female nurses' experiences and reveals the class distinctions between women during the war. It also describes how some Civil War nurses lost their interest in politics, instead focusing only on the wounded in their care. After the war, in addition to continuing her volunteer work, Wormeley became an expert translator of French authors such as Balzac and Molière.

Ellen H. Todras

See also Aid Societies; Hospital Ships; Hospitals; Northern Women; Nurses; Olmsted, Frederick Law (1822–1903); Union Homefront; United States Sanitary Commission; Women's Central Association of Relief; Woolsey, Jane Stuart (1830–1891).

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Wounded, Visits to

The hospitals of the Civil War era were filled with people who came to visit the soldiers, some for a

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brief time and some for long periods. Southern and Northern women who made visits were attempting to recreate the conditions of home. They wanted to provide traditional care, to complete their domestic circles, and to protect their social roles.

Before the Civil War, women had become the spiritual leaders of their families because society considered them to be less corrupted by the world than men. Because they learned to care "for the least"—the poor, the orphaned, the sick, and even the slaves—through prayer and churchgoing, they sought to extend their help to those God placed in their paths. The charity they learned required that they provide physical comfort for those in need. Prior to the war, women had become accustomed to responding to emergency situations by making donations of money and material needed by others. Those practices included visiting the ill in their homes or in institutions. Women who refused such responsibility were seen as out of touch with their spiritual natures. The Civil War allowed women to extend their efforts to military hospitals or to anywhere soldiers needed care.

It was not clear, in the face of war. exactly how to carry out traditional responsibilities. Some women sought to fulfill their duties by sending donations of money and material to national commissions, such as the United States Sanitary Commission (USSC), the United States Christian Commission (USCC), or local aid societies. Others sent servants or slaves to carry donations of food, books, clothing, newspapers, or anything they thought might be useful directly to hospitals. Those who lived near the temporary or permanent military hospitals often called in person with donations. Both Northern and Southern women tried to recreate the sense of comfort found in their homes by reading to the wounded, fanning them in warm weather, singing and praying with them, writing letters for them, bringing them treats, or simply sitting with those who were dying.

Other women traveled to the hospitals in the Union and Confederacy hoping that someone would hire them to nurse the sick, or looking for their sons, husbands, fathers, or brothers. When women found their relatives, they stayed in the hospital or nearby until they could find a better place to care for the men. They tried to provide the same kinds of cleaning, cooking, and laundering that the men would experience at home. However, the women did not necessarily understand or appreciate the procedures used in the hospitals and were frequently in conflict with hospital or military officials.

The women also tried to maintain peacetime familial relationships. Those who provided care for many men, rather than just their own families, were often rewarded with the title of "Mother" because they comforted the men as if they were sick boys. Others who came to the army tried to locate their male relatives. Communication between the homefront and the military, especially following battles, was undependable. To regain the sense of security they felt before the war, women sometimes traveled to the hospitals near the front. Some brought their children with them, and some gave birth while sitting with their sick or wounded husbands. While some of the families came and went in a few brief hours, others stayed for days and weeks. A few stayed with the armies for the course of the war.

Some who visited the wounded took on greatly expanded responsibilities. Although they sought to ensure that the soldiers were receiving appropriate care, a traditional role for women, they worked in official capacities. For example, Cordelia Harvey served as a state agent for Wisconsin when the governor appointed her to the position after her husband's death. In her official capacity, Harvey visited all Union hospitals south of Memphis. In every one of them, she looked for Wisconsin soldiers, noted their names and units, recorded their conditions, helped them with any problems they were having, and reported back to the governor on a regular basis. When she was not carrying out these duties, she provided practical nursing support.

Other women worked for the national commissions. Henrietta Colt of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, was typical of many. She headed the Wisconsin Soldiers' Aid Society, which was affiliated with the USSC. On two separate occasions, she toured Southern hospitals, visiting the wounded men and the officials who ran the institutions. She brought delicacies and supplies with her and helped the nursing staffs. She recorded her observations of the hospitals and used

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them in written materials designed to increase the morale of the civilian population and to motivate them to increase their donations for the men.

Southern women similarly cared for and visited the wounded in their areas, and they traveled to help care for injured or ill family members. Without the auspices of an organization like the USSC, Confederate women's efforts were primarily locally based. Local aid societies often scheduled daily visits to nearby hospitals or to soldiers recuperating in homes around town. The supplies and care that these women provided did not go unnoticed by the soldiers or Confederate officials.

The military was not prepared to care for the civilians who came to the front. Many visitors slept on the floors or in supply rooms. Nurses gave up their own sleeping quarters for especially frail visitors and scavenged to provide for children and infants who toddled about the wards. Those who had no practical experience dealing with the sick and dying often became patients themselves when they fainted from the sights or smells of the hospital. Inexperienced women, dressed in impractical and inappropriate clothing, tried to move through overcrowded and blood-drenched wards in their hoop skirts, lace, and ribbons. No matter how annoying the visitors were, no one could bear to kick them out. For many, the tasks ended when the women accompanied a fallen soldier home for burial.

Karen A. Kehoe

See also Aid Societies; Camp Followers; Confederate Homefront; Domesticity; Family Life, Confederate; Family Life, Union; Hospitals; Northern Women; Nurses; Southern Women; Union Homefront; United States Christian Commission; United States Sanitary Commission.

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Zakrzewska, Maria [Marie Elizabeth] (1829–1902)

Polish physician Maria, or Marie Elizabeth, Zakrzewska attended medical college in the United States and, during the Civil War, founded the New England Hospital for Women and Children in Boston.

Zakrzewska was born in Berlin, Germany, to Polish parents. Both her mother and grandmother practiced medicine—her grandmother as a veterinarian and her mother as a midwife. Her mother, Frederika Urban Zakrzewska, had begun midwifery study at the Royal Charite Hospital in Berlin, and, as a teenager, Marie lived at the hospital with her mother and accompanied her on her midwifery rounds. At age twenty, Marie enrolled in formal midwifery studies at the same hospital. Midwifery was the primary field of medical training available to women, and Zakrzewska went on to become a teacher in the program. She was promoted to head midwife in 1852 but quit after six months and emigrated, along with two of her sisters, to the United States to continue her medical training and career.

Zakrzewska was one of only a handful of women to enroll at Cleveland's Western Reserve College before the Civil War, receiving her medical degree there in 1856. With few opportunities available for women doctors professionally, immediately upon graduation, Zakrzrewska opened a small office next to that of Elizabeth Blackwell who, in 1849, had become the first woman to earn a medical degree in the United States. In May 1857, Zakrzewska joined with sister physicians Elizabeth and Emily Blackwell in founding the New York Infirmary for Women and Children. Their goal was to provide health services to women and children, but also to establish a hospital to train and employ female physicians.

In 1859, Zakrzewska moved to Boston, where she had been offered a position as professor of obstetrics and women's health at the New England Female Medical College. There she led efforts to expand the medical training curriculum and employment opportunities for female students beyond midwifery. She resigned in 1862 and founded the New England Hospital for Women and Children in Boston, the second American hospital to be operated by female physicians. Zakrzewska was committed to providing female patients with the highest level of medical care and to providing women students the same general education and broad medical training as male physicians received at other schools. The New England Hospital for Women and Children survived as a major training ground for women physicians and nurses well into the twentieth century and continues to operate today as the Dimock Community Health Center.

Though her primary work throughout the Civil War era was as a physician and an advocate of women's education and professional opportunities, Zakrzewska was also involved in a variety of American reform efforts. She was close friends with the leading antislavery activists of the day and supported

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woman suffrage and other causes. After the Civil War, Zakrzewska promoted black women's medical education and their access to the nursing profession.

Maria Zakrzewska died on May 12, 1902.

Tiffany K. Wayne

See also Abolitionism and Northern Reformers; Blackwell, Elizabeth (1821–1910); Domesticity; Hospitals; Northern Women; Separate Spheres; Union Homefront; Wartime Employment.

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Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin; Or, Life among the Lowly* (1852)

Prior to the Civil War, most Northerners were apathetic to the plight of African American slaves. This began to change after the publication of Harriet Beecher Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin. *This fictional account of the slave South was originally published as a serial in the* National Era. *It was immediately republished as a book that became a best seller. Within five years, it had sold more than 2 million copies. Stowe would obtain national recognition for her vividly brutal depictions of slavery and Southern planters. In the following excerpt, George describes the cruelty of slave owners and his resolve to risk his life rather than remain in bondage.*

"It was only yesterday," said George, "as I was busy loading stones into a cart, that young Mas'r Tom stood there, slashing his whip so near the horse that the creature was frightened. I asked him to stop, as pleasant as I could,—he just kept right on. I begged him again, and then he turned on me, and began striking me. I held his hand, and then he screamed and kicked and ran to his father, and told him that I was fighting him. He came in a rage, and said he'd teach me who was my master; and he tied me to a tree, and cut switches for young master, and told him that he might whip me till he was tired;—and he did do it! If I don't make him remember it, some time!" and the brow of the young man grew dark, and his eyes burned with an expression that made his young wife tremble. "Who made this man my master? That's what I want to know!" he said.

"Well," said Eliza, mournfully, "I always thought that I must obey my master and mistress, or I couldn't be a Christian."

"There is some sense in it, in your case; they have brought you up like a child, fed you, clothed you, indulged you, and taught you, so that you have a good education; that is some reason why they should claim you. But I have been kicked and cuffed and sworn at, and at the best only let alone; and what do I owe? I've paid for all my keeping a hundred times over. I *won't* bear it. No, I *won't!*" he said, clenching his hand with a fierce frown.

Eliza trembled, and was silent. She had never seen her husband in this mood before; and her gentle system of ethics seemed to bend like a reed in the surges of such passions.

"You know poor little Carlo, that you gave me," added George; "the creature has been about all the comfort that I've had. He has slept with me nights, and followed me around days, and kind o' looked at me as if he understood how I felt. Well, the other day I was just feeding him with a few old scraps I picked up by the kitchen door, and Mas'r came along, and said I was feeding him up at his expense, and that he couldn't afford to have every nigger keeping his dog, and ordered me to tie a stone to his neck and throw him in the pond."

"O, George, you didn't do it!"

"Do it? not I!—but he did. Mas'r and Tom pelted the poor drowning creature with stones. Poor thing! he looked at me so mournful, as if he wondered why I didn't save him. I had to take a flogging

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because I wouldn't do it myself. I don't care. Mas'r will find out that I'm one that whipping won't tame. My day will come yet, if he don't look out."

"What are you going to do? O, George, don't do anything wicked; if you only trust in God, and try to do right, he'll deliver you."

"I an't a Christian like you, Eliza; my heart's full of bitterness; I can't trust in God. Why does he let things be so?"

"O, George, we must have faith. Mistress says that when all things go wrong to us, we must believe that God is doing the very best."

"That's easy to say for people that are sitting on their sofas and riding in their carriages; but let 'em be where I am, I guess it would come some harder. I wish I could be good; but my heart burns, and can't be reconciled, anyhow. You couldn't in my place,—you can't now, if I tell you all I've got to say. You don't know the whole yet."

"What can be coming now?"

"Well, lately Mas'r has been saying that he was a fool to let me marry off the place; that he hates Mr. Shelby and all his tribe, because they are proud, and hold their heads up above him, and that I've got proud notions from you; and he says he won't let me come here any more, and that I shall take a wife and settle down on his place. At first he only scolded and grumbled these things; but yesterday he told me that I should take Mina for a wife, and settle down in a cabin with her, or he would sell me down river."

"Why—but you were married to *me,* by the minister, as much as if you'd been a white man!" said Eliza, simply.

"Don't you know a slave can't be married? There is no law in this country for that; I can't hold you for my wife, if he chooses to part us. That's why I wish I'd never seen you,—why I wish I'd never been born; it would have been better for us both,—it would have been better for this poor child if he had never been born. All this may happen to him yet!"

"O, but master is so kind!"

"Yes, but who knows?—he may die—and then he may be sold to nobody knows who. What pleasure is it that he is handsome, and smart, and bright? I tell you, Eliza, that a sword will pierce through your soul for every good and pleasant thing your child is or has; it will make him worth too much for you to keep."

The words smote heavily on Eliza's heart; the vision of the trader came before her eyes, and, as if some one had struck her a deadly blow, she turned pale and gasped for breath. She looked nervously out on the verandah, where the boy, tired of the grave conversation, had retired, and where he was riding triumphantly up and down on Mr. Shelby's walking-stick. She would have spoken to tell her husband her fears, but checked herself.

"No, no,—he has enough to bear, poor fellow!" she thought. "No, I won't tell him; besides, it an't true; Missis never deceives us."

"So, Eliza, my girl," said the husband, mournfully, "bear up, now; and good-by, for I'm going."

"Going, George! Going where?"

"To Canada," said he, straightening himself up; "and when I'm there, I'll buy you; that's all the hope that's left us. You have a kind master, that won't refuse to sell you. I'll buy you and the boy;—God helping me, I will!"

"O, dreadful! if you should be taken?"

"I won't be taken, Eliza; I'll *die* first! I'll be free, or I'll die!"

Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin; Or, Life among the Lowly* (Boston: John P. Jewett & Company, 1852), 61–64.

Varina Howell Davis (1861)

Many women moved as a result of the war. Some were refugees or camp followers; others used mobility to claim their freedom from slavery. For Varina Howell Davis, mobility came as a result of her position of political privilege. In March 1861, she moved to Montgomery after her husband, Jefferson Davis, was inaugurated as the president of the Confederacy. Her change of residence from Mississippi to Alabama required some sacrifice. In the following excerpt from her memoir, Davis recalls the sadness that accompanied the beginning of the war.

It was necessary to close up our home and abandon all we had watched over for years, before going

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to Montgomery; our library, which was very large and consisted of fine well-chosen English books, was the hardest to relinquish of all our possessions. After all was secured in the best manner practicable, I went to New Orleans en route to Montgomery, and remained a few days at my father's house. While there, Captain Dreux, at the head of his battalion, came to serenade me, but I could not command by voice to speak to him when he came on the balcony; his cheery words and the enthusiasm of his men depressed me dreadfully. Violets were in season, and the captain and his company brought several immense bouquets. The color seemed ominous. Perhaps Mr. Davis's depression had communicated itself to me, and I could not rally or be buoyed up by the cheerfulness of those who were to do battle for us. My journey up the Alabama River to join Mr. Davis in Montgomery was a very sad one, sharing his apprehensions and knowing our needs to be so many, with so little hope of supplying them. . . .

When he reached the hotel where the President was temporarily lodged, the Provisional Congress had assembled, he had been inaugurated, and the day of my arrival the Confederate flag had been hoisted by the daughter of Colonel Robert Tyler, and the granddaughter of the ex-President. . . .

The house chosen for us was a gentleman's residence, roomy enough for our purposes on the corner of a street and looking toward the State Capitol. There were many charming people there, who were all intent on kind services to us, our memory of Montgomery was one of affectionate welcome. . . .

Varina Howell Davis, *Jefferson Davis: A Memoir by His Wife* (New York: Belford, 1890), 34–37.

Enlisted Female Soldiers Discovered (1861)

At least several hundred women dressed as men to fight as members of the Union or Confederate army. In many instances, women were able to shield their sex by binding breasts, smoking tobacco, dressing appropriately, and otherwise acting masculine. For many women, their ability to pass for men ended when medics and soldiers had to tend to their war wounds. Early in the war, before the creation of the so-called colored units, some African Americans tried to pass for white to enlist in the Union army. The following article discusses the discovery of a black woman passing for a white man and reveals nineteenth-century attitudes about race and gender.

THE FEMALE SOLD-UIER

Our readers may remember the case of Jasper, a correspondent of the Daily Rimes, driven from Charleston awhile ago; and his wonderful escape, under many disguises, may not be quite forgotten yet. If Jasper's story was true—and we sincerely hope that it was—he is certainly one of the seven wonders of the world; but alas for human fame! He has been thrown completely in the shade by a more recent discovery.

An exchange, published somewhere in the country, fills of a column with this sublime statement:

A slave woman has been discovered in one of the Ohio regiments. She was discharged.

That is all. Clear, quiet, and simple in language, thrilling in meaning, and totally incomprehensible of understanding, we present it to our readers just as we find it. Our eyes do not deceive us.

A black woman has passed herself off as a white soldier. Shade of Jasper! What a metamorphosis. Was she whitewashed? Did she "paint an inch thick" to come "to that complexion?" How did she pass the medical examination unsuspected? What was her object? Did she wear a beard? The more questions we ask, the more profound our mystification grows. Is it an enigma, a conundrum? What-Is-It? We give it up. But, if this sort of thing is prevalent, what regiment is safe from these female Ethiopian Jaspers? How do we know that our army, which we have loved and esteemed so much, is not largely composed of negro wenches! Can anybody swear that Brigadier-General Pierce is not a colored maiden in disguise? If he is, let him also be discharged and speedily.

Seriously, it doesn't seem likely that this can be a very common case. Jasper's was not, and Munchausen's adventures were unique. Let us hope that the Ohio regiment is the only one in whose ranks a

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Chloe or a Phyllis has found even a temporary asylum, and let us rejoice that in that case "she was discharged." It is probable that McAron's army alone boasts of an organization of "light quadroons;" and that we can put down a rebellion better than by "Putting it Down in Black and White."

Vanity Fair 4, no. 81 (July 13, 1861): 16.

The Woman Order in New Orleans (1862)

The Union occupation of New Orleans brought Confederate women and Union soldiers face to face. Although many of the city's women acted with civility or refrained from interaction altogether, many did not. In one notable exchange, a woman in New Orleans dumped the contents of a chamber pot onto the head of David Farragut. Major General Benjamin F. Butler, who was in charge of the occupying force, responded with the following order on May 15, 1862. In what became known as the Woman Order, Butler declared that any defiant woman in the city should be treated as a prostitute. Southerners gave Butler the nickname Beast in response to this order.

GENERAL ORDERS,
HDQRS. DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF,
No. 28.
New Orleans, May 15, 1862.

As the officers and soldiers of the United States have been subject to repeated insults from the women (calling themselves ladies) of New Orleans in return for the most scrupulous non-interference and courtesy on our part, it is ordered that hereafter when any female shall by word, gesture, or movement insult or show contempt for any officer or soldier of the United States she shall be regarded and held liable to be treated as a woman of the town plying her avocation.

By command of Major-General [Benjamin F.] Butler.

United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies,* Series 1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1880–1901), 15: 426.

A Northern Newspaper Supports Butler's Woman Order (1862)

Major General Benjamin F. Butler's Woman Order shocked many Southerners for its willingness to treat defiant Confederate women not only as the enemy, but also as prostitutes. The policy seemed to betray the standards of treatment typically reserved for female civilians under occupation. As a result, many Southerners began to refer to the Union leader as Beast Butler. The Woman Order surprised some Northerners as well. In the following article, Vanity Fair *declares its support for the order and for Butler.*

OUR CHIEF BUTLER

The bottled spirits of New Orleans are finding themselves in a tight place now that the BUTLER has taken to looking after them himself. Neither the Crescent nor the Cross have found the slightest favor from that stern chief, who has promptly suppressed both of them—the one represented by a newspaper, the other by the "ladies" of the city, if not of the town. BUTLER is not the man to stand any nonsense; and it is now well understood at New Orleans that ladies who contort their faces in defiance of Union soldiers, must serve out a term of imprisonment in a place called the "Calaboose." This may be considered by some as an aboose of the authority vested in General BUTLER's hands, but that depends upon what you call aboose. It may be remarked that as there are no cellars at New Orleans, our BUTLER must find himself rather astray there; but people will do well to remember that the Port of that city was never in better order than it has been since it came into his keeping.

Vanity Fair 5, no. 128 (June 7, 1862): 272.

Confederate Spy Belle Boyd Recalls Her Arrest (1862)

Women served as spies for both the Union and Confederacy. They often took advantage of their femininity to appear harmless and to coax information out of male informants. Belle Boyd was one of the most famous Confederate spies. She provided information to General Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson dur-

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ing the 1862 campaign in the Shenandoah Valley. She was arrested in July 1862, only to obtain her freedom as part of a prisoner exchange. She was arrested again in June 1863. In the following excerpt from her memoir, Boyd recalls her first arrest.

It was on a lovely Wednesday evening that our firm and valued friend Lieutenant Preston, my cousin Alice, and myself were standing on the balcony, watching the last rays of the setting sun as it sank behind the western hills.

Our conversation turned upon the divided and unhappy state of our country. We recalled the peaceful scenes and joyous days of the past, which were so painfully contrasted by the present, and we were forced to agree that we had nothing to expect from the future but a continuance, if not an augmentation, of our calamities.

In such gloomy forebodings, and in the interchange of apprehensions and regrets, we passed some time, and the twilight was fast deepening into gloom when we heard the sound of horses' hoofs; and, straining our eyes through the darkness, we discerned a large body of cavalry approaching the house.

I immediately conceived the idea that it was a scouting-party on their way to the mountains with the design of surprising Major Harry Gilmore's cavalry, and feared that their enterprise would prove successful unless the Confederate officer should leave timely notice of his danger. I ran at once to my room and wrote a hasty note, in which I communicated my suspicions to Major Gilmore, and warned him to be on his guard.

This note I transmitted in the manner I have described in a previous chapter, by my "underground railway [an old slave]." After this feat I retired to bed, and slept quietly, undisturbed by any dream or vision of my approaching captivity.

Next morning I rose early, and soon after breakfast I went to the cottage door, where I daily spent much of my time, watching the movements of the persons who, for various purposes, frequented head-quarters. I had not been long at my post when I observed several Yankee soldiers go into the coach-house. They immediately proceeded to drag out the carriage, and pull it up at the door of head-quarters, where they put to the horses.

There was nothing very extraordinary in all this; but in these anxious days the minds of all were in a perpetual state of tension, and a slight incident was sufficient to cause alarm.

This may account for the strange feeling that came over me—an irrepressible desire to ascertain who was to be the occupant of the carriage, which was on the point of starting for a destination of which I was ignorant.

I walked out upon the balcony; and, looking up and down the street, I saw that it was thronged with cavalry, the men dismounted, lounging about, and conversing with each other, in groups of twos and threes, evidently waiting for the expected order to mount.

While I stood looking at this scene, not without interest and curiosity, one of the servants came to me and said—

"Miss Belle, de Provo' wishes to see you in de drawing-room, and dere's two oder men wid him."

I immediately went down-stairs, and, upon entering the room, I found the Major, whose face wore an expression of excitement and nervousness. There were, as the servant had said, two other men in the room with him: one, a tall, fine-looking man, was introduced to me by the name and title of Major Sherman, of the 12th Illinois Cavalry; the other was low in stature, coarse in appearance, with a mean, vile expression of countenance, and a grizzly beard, which, it was evident, had not made the acquaintance of water or a comb for weeks at least. His small, restless eyes glanced here and there, with an expression of incessant watchfulness and suspicion. All his features were repulsive in the extreme, denoting a mixture of cowardice, ferocity, and cunning. In a word, his mien was unmistakably that of a finished villain, who was capable of perpetrating any act, however atrocious, when stimulated by the promise of a reward in money.

This man was a good type of his order: he was one of Secretary Stanton's minions—a detective belonging to, and employed and paid by, that honourable branch of Mr. Lincoln's Government, the Secret Service Department.

I had not been in the room more than a few moments when Major McEnnis turned to me and said —

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"Miss Boyd, Major Sherman has come to arrest you."

"Impossible! For what?" I cried.

Major Sherman here interposed, and, speaking in a very kind manner, assured me that, although the duty he had to perform was painful to his feelings, he was, nevertheless, forced to execute the orders of the Secretary of War, Mr. Stanton; and, as he finished speaking, the detective produced from his pocket the document, which I transcribe as nearly as I can recollect: —

"War Department.

"SIR, - YOU will proceed immediately to Front Royal, Virginia, and arrest, if found there, Miss Belle Boyd, and bring her at once to Washington.

"I am, respectfully,
"Your obedient Servant,
"E. M. STANTON."

Such was the curt order that made me a prisoner; and, as remonstrance would have been idle and resistance vain, nothing was left for me but quiet, unconditional obedience.

The detective then informed me that it was his duty to examine all my luggage.

To this I could not do otherwise than assent, and only begged that a few minutes might be granted, to enable my servant to prepare my room, which was in great confusion, and that I might also be permitted to retire. I made this request to the detective, for it had not escaped my notice that Major Sherman was acting a subordinate part, and was virtually at the disposal and under the orders of the former.

As no answer was returned to my question, I took it for granted I had tacit permission to withdraw; but my disgust was great when, turning round upon the stairs, I saw my persecutor silently following at my heels.

I stopped short, and said —

"Sir, will not you wait until I see if my room is in a suitable condition for you to enter?"

The reply was characteristic, though not urbane.

"No, yer don't: I'm agoin' with yer. Yer got some papers yer want to get rid on;" and, with these words, he pushed violently past me, and hastily entered my room.

My clothes were first seized, and searched with the utmost scrutiny. My dresses were examined closely, and, after being turned inside out, and distorted into all sorts of fantastic shapes, were flung in a pile upon the floor, much to the horror and amazement of my maid, who had employed a great part of the previous night in packing them safely and neatly, and who was at a loss to understand the meaning of such treatment, which appeared to her, naturally enough, so strange and unseemly.

My under-clothing next underwent an ordeal precisely similar to that which my upper garments had passed through; and, finally, my desk and portfolio were discovered; but here very fortunately my devoted servant came to the rescue with the promptitude and courage of a heroine.

She well knew the value I attached to the contents of my portfolio, and made a shrewd guess as to how far they would compromise me with my captor and his employers. Acting upon a sudden impulse, she made a swoop upon the repository of the greatest part of the evidence that could be adduced against me; and, rushing at headlong speed down-stairs, she gained the kitchen in time to burn all the papers it contained. But some important papers were, unfortunately, in my writing-desk, and these fell into the possession of the detective who also, much to my regret, made prize of a handsome pistol, with belt and equipments complete, which had been presented to me on the 4th July, by a Federal officer on the staff, as a token, he was pleased to say, of his admiration of the spirit I had shown in defence of my mother and my home.

It had always been my hope to have some day an opportunity of begging General Stonewall Jackson's acceptance of a present made to me, under very trying circumstances, by a gallant and generous enemy; but this could not be done. The pistol now occupies a conspicuous place in the War Department at Washington, and is entered in the catalogue of spoils in the following words: —

"A trophy captured from the celebrated rebel Belle Boyd."

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Not contented with the seizure of my own papers, the emissary of Mr. Stanton proceeded to break open the private *escritoire* of my uncle, who was a lawyer, and who had left it in my room for safekeeping during his absence from Front Royal.

The detective, bundling up the law-papers with mine, bade me, in the roughest manner, and in the most offensive language, be prepared to start within half an hour.

I asked permission to be indulged with the attendance of my maid; but this request was refused, with imprecations, and she was only allowed to pack one trunk with apparel absolutely necessary to comfort, if not to decency. Brief time was granted for the packing; and, before many minutes, my solitary trunk was strapped to the back of the carriage.

I then nerved myself, and, walking into the drawing-room, announced, in firm, unbroken accents, that I was ready to start.

I preserved my composure unshaken; although it was a hard trial to me to see my grandmother and cousin weeping piteously, and beseeching Major Sherman, in the most moving terms, to spare me. Their supplications were vain; and the detective, stepping up close to my side, ordered me to get into the carriage forthwith.

Then came the final parting, bitter enough, God knows; for I was being dragged from those to whom I was endeared by the associations of my happy youth, no less than by the ties of nature, and consigned to the safe-keeping of a man whose countenance alone would have immediately convicted him of any crime of which he might anywhere have been accused.

Belle Boyd, *Belle Boyd, In Camp and Prison,* 2 vols. (London: Saunders, Otley, and Co., 1865), 1: 157–170.

Women's Pennsylvania Branch of the United States Sanitary Commission's Call for Contributions (March 1863)

Established on June 18, 1861, the United States Sanitary Commission (USSC) organized the efforts of thousands of female volunteers. Members worked as nurses, raised money, ran hospital ships, donated clothing, sewed clothing and blankets, and ran sanitary fairs on behalf of the Union army. An institution of the federal government, the USSC provided an umbrella organization for hundreds of local ladies' aid societies. In the following newspaper excerpt, the Pennsylvania Branch of the USSC called on patriotic women in the area to join in the cause and to donate items that were needed immediately.

WOMEN'S PENNSYLVANIA BRANCH
OF THE U. S. SANITARY COMMISSION.

The women of the Pennsylvania Branch of the United States Sanitary Commission, appeal to the women of Pennsylvania, and of the neighboring counties of adjoining States, for assistance in their new enterprise—not as to those who have been unmindful of our sick and wounded soldiers—but fully cognizant of the great amount of supplies which their industry has prepared and sent for distribution to various Aid Societies.

Our appeal is based upon the knowledge that this Commission has greater facilities for doing this work than any State or Local Agency—that out of the thousands of boxes distributed by them, but one has been lost—that their Agents are notified of the time of an army's advance, and permitted to transfer their stores to as near the front as possible—and that they are the only organization authorized by Government to pass within the lines, and administer their supplies on the field of battle for the saving of life and the relief of suffering, knowing no difference between men from any section who are nobly fighting for the preservation of the Union.

This work must be left undone if THE WOMEN of the land do not keep the Sanitary Commission supplied with the means of doing it. For this purpose, some of the women of Philadelphia have organized under the name of the "Women's Pennsylvania Branch of the United States Sanitary Commission," and we invite every loyal woman in the city and State and surrounding counties of other States, to co-operate with us.—A small amount of self-denial, or of exertion on the part of each, would insure to the Commission and exhaustless supply of those needed stores. There is no time to be lost. Let every county, every town organize and put

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themselves in communication with us without delay. We know not how many lives depend upon our exertions—how much suffering rests with us to relieve. Let us assume these duties solemnly, with the determination that while the war lasts, we will devote our energies to this sacred cause.

LIST OF ARTICLES NEEDED
Flannel Shirts, ordinary size and make
Flannel Drawers, " "
Calico Wrappers
Blankets and Quilts for single beds.
Cotton Shirts and Drawers.
Bed Sacks, 7 feet by 3 feet; slit in the middle, with strings.
Carpet Slippers, with stiff soles.
Woolen Sacks, Towels.
Handkerchiefs, made of old chintz or lawn dresses.

Wines, Syrups and Jellies should be packed in separate boxes. Jellies should be covered with cloth, pasted over the mouth of the jar. Bottles should have the cork tied or sealed over. They should be packed in saw-dust, as firmly as possible. Every bottle should be labeled.

On the top of the contents of each box, under the cover, a list of what it contains, with the name and address of the donor, should be placed; a duplicate of this list should be sent by mail.

Each box should be marked on the outside with the name of the Society, Town and State from which it is sent. Boxes should be directed:

WOMEN'S PENN. BRANCH, U. S. SAN. COM.
1307 Chestnut Street Philadelphia.

Women's Pennsylvania Branch of the U. S. Sanitary Commission, *The Saturday Evening Post* (March 28, 1863): 2.

Mrs. Moore, Corresponding Secretary of the Women's Pennsylvania Branch of the U.S. Sanitary Commission, Calls for More Soldiers Aid Societies to be Formed (April 1863)

The United States Sanitary Commission relied on communities of local women to organize themselves on behalf of the national organization. Donations of food, uniforms, money, and other needed items were usually raised locally. In the following newspaper article from the Saturday Evening Post, *the USSC provided a how-to guide to urge women to form local aid societies.*

SANITARY COMMISSION DEPARTMENT
Our Sick and Wounded Soldiers

We last week published in this paper the circular of the Women's Pennsylvania Branch of the U.S. Sanitary Commission, and the list of supplies most needed; to which we invite the attention of existing Aid Societies, soliciting them to unite with this Association, under the assurance that their stores will be sent where they are *the most needed;* and distributed with the least possible waste and delay. All applications made to Independent Aid Societies and referred by them to the Sanitary Committee, will be attended to with far greater despatch than any other Association can command; and if the existing Aid Societies co-operate with this Commission, they will enable the latter to meet all the urgent demands made upon them.

After the delivery of an address in behalf of the Sanitary Commission at Rochester recently, an aged man arose, and with tears rolling down his cheeks, thus gave in his testimony,

"After the battle of Fredericksburg, hearing that my boy was wounded, I went on to look after him; but I found the Sanitary Commission had been *looking after him* from the time he fell, and after sixteen other Rochester boys; and I say, God bless everyone connected with the Sanitary Commission!"

He sat down in a silence so profound that one could have heard a pin drop.

A well known lady of this city who has returned within the last week from Falmouth, where she has been ministering in the Hospitals, gives the most powerful testimony to the efficiency of the work which the Sanitary Commission are doing. She says, "Hearing of great distress at a Hospital some miles distant, we went there in all haste, but found that the Sanitary Commission had been twelve hours before us." On her way home quite a number of

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sick soldiers were put under her care. Not knowing the provision made for them at Washington, by the Sanitary Commission, she was at a loss what to do; but all her anxiety was relieved, when upon the boat touching the wharf, she found the Agent of the Commission ready to convey these men to the comfortable beds awaiting them at "The Home," which the Commission have provided.

Is it any wonder that those who know the workings of this humane Association call upon God to bless all connected with it?

The only wonder is that the various societies whose supplies are not distributed under their supervision, do not make the Commission almoner of their bounties; and that societies do not spring up wherever there is a mother who has a boy exposed to the dangers of camp or battle, and pour in an exhaustless supply of stores!

In the towns and villages where no such organization exists, a few simple directions may be necessary for starting them. When once organized, we hope to keep up their enthusiasm by the interesting matter which we proposed to publish in these columns, by frequent correspondence, and in other ways. Acknowledgments will be made to all those who forward parcels; and a final report to the Secretary of War will be published, recording the names of all contributors. Circulars, with the names of the officers for 1863, can be procured at 1307 Chestnut street.

DIRECTIONS FOR FORMING SOCIETIES

Let the first woman whose heart is stirred with a desire to do something in her own town, go to two or three of her neighbors and take counsel.

Let them agree on some convenient day and hour for a meeting of ladies, in the lecture-room of some place of worship, or in the town-house, or school-house.

Let notices of this be written, and carried to the pastors of all the churches in town, with a request that they be read, with comments by the pastor, in each society, at the close of service.

Let the ladies meet—select a President and Secretary, and form themselves into a Soldiers' Relief Circle, to meet once a week from 1 to 4 P. M.—the time to be spent in sewing or knitting for the soldier.

Let them, in addition to the President and Secretary already elected, choose a Treasurer and two committees—one on supplies and work, of three ladies, and one on correspondence, forwarding, and all other business, such as storing, engaging rooms, &c., of the same number.

The duty of the officers should be as follows:

I.—The President—to call and preside at all meetings, and have a general charge of the interests of the Circle.

II.—The Secretary—to enroll the names of the members (each lady simply pledging herself to give three hours per week, either in the meeting or at home, to the service of the soldier)—to keep a record of the meetings—the amount of work done weekly—the number present, and their names—and to make a monthly report, to be read at the first meeting in each month.

III.—The Treasurer—to keep all donations of money, collections in churches, or funds raised by other means, and disburse them at the order of the President, on vote of the Circle, and to make a monthly report of receipts and expenditures.

IV.—The Committee on Supplies—to solicit donations in kind from stores, farmers, and citizens in general, in yarn, wool, cotton cloth, and other articles, to be made up by the industry of the Circle; also, to determine the kind of work to be engaged in by the Circle, and to distribute it properly; to put out work to those willing to receive it at home, but unable to attend, and to see to its collection; to form, with the President's advice, plans of work, and endeavor to get the largest possible stock of goods against the monthly reckoning. This Committee, on the first meeting in each month, shall report a plan of work for that month, and report in full the results of the work of the last month.

V.—The Committee on Correspondence, forwarding, storage—shall have for their duties, first, the custody, care, and storage; then, the packing and forwarding of the goods; and, finally, all the correspondence with the "Women's Penn. Branch," either for instructions, counsel, sympathy, or business. They shall send a monthly letter, and if possible a monthly package, directed to U.S. Sanitary Commission, 1307 Chestnut street, Philadelphia.

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With these hints, and in view of the pressing need of our army, it is difficult to see how any patriotic village will be without its "Soldier's Aid," and we hope soon to hear from many who have been newly incited to this work, as well as from those whose labors commenced with the war. For further information address

Mrs. Moore,
Cor. Secretary W. P. B.
1307 Chestnut street, Philadelphia.

Sanitary Commission Department, Mrs. Moore, Cor. Secretary, *The Saturday Evening Post* (April 4, 1863): 8.

Frustrated Women in Richmond Participate in Bread Riot (1863)

In the spring of 1863, hundreds of women across the South took to the streets to protest the price of bread and other necessities. These rioters were primarily poor white women who were frustrated that they were making sacrifices for the Confederacy while their government ignored their immediate needs. Rather than expressions of disloyalty or Unionism, the riots were in fact public statements that called on the Confederate government for assistance and an end to policies that magnified their economic troubles. In the following excerpt, the New York Herald *details the upheaval in Richmond, the largest of the bread riots. Similar uprisings took place in North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and elsewhere across the South.*

A refugee from Richmond, who left that city on Tuesday, gives an interesting account of the riot of the 2d inst [April 2].

Considerable excitement had prevailed for some time in consequence of the exorbitant prices, and rumors of a popular movement had been in circulation for several days. Females had begged in the streets and at the stores until begging did no good, and many had been driven to robbery to sustain life. On the morning of the 2d inst a large meeting, composed principally of the wives and daughters of the working classes, was held in the African church, and a committee appointed to wait upon the Governor to request that articles of food should be sold at government rates. After the passage of sundry resolutions the meeting adjourned, and the committee proceeded to wait upon Governor Letcher. The functionary declined to take any steps in the matter, and upon urging the case the ladies were peremptorily ordered to withdraw. The result of the interview was soon made public, when a body of females, numbering about three hundred, collected together and commenced helping themselves to bread, flour, meat, articles of clothing, &c. The entire city was at once thrown into consternation.

Stores were closed, the windows barred, doors bolted, and every precaution taken against forcible entries; but hatchets and axes in the hands of women rendered desperate by hunger made quick work, and building after building was rapidly broken open. The destruction commenced on Carey street, above Fifteenth street, and was becoming general in that section of the city, when the City Guard, with fixed bayonets, arrived at the scene of operations. A few individuals attempted to resist the women, but without success. One man who struck a female was wounded in the shoulder by a shot from a revolver, and the threatening attitude of those armed with hatchets, &c. intimidated others from attempting force. The Mayor soon appeared, and, mounting a stool on the sidewalk, proceeded to read the Riot Act. During the reading of that document a portion of the crowd suspended operations; but no soon had the Mayor concluded than the seizure of provisions commence again more vigorously than before. At this juncture an attempt was made to arrest the more violent; but the party immediately scattered, and, entering Main street, resumed operations.

Gov. Letcher then appeared, and, mounting a vehicle in the centre of the street, addressed the throng, characterizing the demonstration as a disgrace and a stigma upon the city, and announcing that but five minutes would be given them in which to disperse. If in that time the order was not complied with, the troops would be called upon to act. Again the crowd broke up, and in a few moments burst into the stores of Franklin street, But little damage was done here, however, and the riot finally

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subsided; but not until after the arrest of about forty of the women, and the promise of the Governor to relieve the wants of the destitute. A large amount of bread and bacon was carried off, and all engaged in the riot succeeded in getting a good supply of provisions. Steps have been taken to provide for the immediate wants of some of the families; but great suffering still prevails and is daily increasing. Another uprising is feared, and precautionary measures for its suppression have been instituted; but great uneasiness is felt throughout the city, and merchants are adding to the strength of doors and shutters in every possible manner. The effect of this riot upon the troops about Richmond was very demoralizing. The authorities are much exercised over it, and the greatest vigilance is enjoined upon the police force. The leading men of the city attempted to circulate the report that the women were *"Irish and Yankee hags,"* endeavoring to mislead the public concerning the amount of loyal sentiment in the city, miserably failed. The fact of their destitution and respectability was too palpable, and the authorities are forced to admit the conclusion that starvation alone incited the movement.

Troops are being hurried up from Richmond to Fredericksburg. There is still a large force in the vicinity of Richmond; but these, it is believed, are about to leave for the Rappahannock. Fortifications are being thrown up on the Rapidan river, and the force in that section is being augmented. No work is going on upon the defenses about Richmond. Two gunboats (iron clads) are afloat in James river. The Virginia Vessel has been trying to get below the obstructions, and now lies near Drury Bluff. The third is unfinished, but is rapidly approaching completion. The iron works are worked to their utmost in the manufacture of munitions of war; but the iron is of miserable quality, and many of their projectiles contain pieces of stone.

The railroads have almost entirely given out, and no material is to be had for their repair. Great despondency prevails, and the events of the next three months are awaited with most absorbing anxiety.

New York Herald (April 2, 1863).

Farmers' Wives Overtaxed (1863)

During the Civil War, the number of voices increased that were demanding equality or a greater public voice for women. Much of the discussion revolved around suffrage, which would be granted, through the Fifteenth Amendment, to African American men but not to white or black women. The struggle for equality meant more than political or economic equality; it also meant recognizing the essential functions of women in American society. In the following 1863 article, the author proclaims that proper recognition is rarely given to the wives of common farmers. Instead, women are treated without the respect or deference that should accompany their importance to the household.

There is scarcely any lot in life, in this country, which promises so much quiet enjoyment, such uniform health and uninterrupted prosperity, as that of a gentleman's farmer's wife; of a man who has a well-improved, well-stocked plantation, all paid for, with no indebtedness, and a sufficient surplus of money always at command, to meet emergencies, and to take advantage of those circumstances of times, and seasons, and changing conditions which are constantly presenting themselves. Such a woman is incomparably more certain of living in quiet comfort to a good old age than the wife of a merchant prince, or one of the money-kings of Wall Street; who, although they may clear thousands in a day, do, nevertheless, in multitudes of cases, die in poverty, leaving their wives and daughters to the sad heritage of being slighted and forgotten by those who once were made happy by their smiles; and to pine away in tears and destitution. On the other hand, it is often a sad lot indeed to be the wife of a farmer who begins married life by renting a piece of land or buying a "place" on credit, with the moth of "interest" feeding on the sweat of his face every moment of his existence.

The affectionate and steady interests, the laudable pride, and the self-denying devotion which wives have for the comfort, prosperity, and respectability of their husbands and children, is a proverb and a wonder in all civilized lands. There is an abnegation of self in this direction, as constant as the flow of time; so loving, so uncomplaining, so

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heroic, that if angels make not of mortal things, they may well look down in smiling admiration. But it is a melancholy and undeniable fact, that in millions of cases, that which challenges angelic admiration fails to be recognized or appreciated by the very men who are the incessant objects of these high, heroic virtues. In plain language, in the civilization of the latter half of the nineteenth century, a farmer's wife, as a too general rule, is a slave and a drudge; not of necessity, by design, but for want of that consideration, the very absence of which, in reference to the wife of a man's youth, is a crime. It is perhaps safe to say, that, on three farms out of four, the wife works harder, endures more, than any other on the place; more than the husband, more than the "farm-hand," more than the "hired help" of the kitchen. Many a farmer speaks to his wife, habitually, in terms so imperious, so impatient, so petulant, that if repeated to the scullion of the kitchen, would be met with an indignant and speedy departure, of if to the man-help, would be answered with a stroke from the shoulder, which would send the churl reeling a rod away!

In another way a farmer inadvertently increases the hardships of his wife; that is, by speaking of her or treating her disrespectfully in the presence of the servants of children. The man is naturally the ruling spirit of the household, and if he fails to show his wife, on all occasions, that tenderness, affection and respect which is her just due, it is instantly noted on the part of menials, and children too, and they very easily glide into the same vice and interpret it as an encouragement to slight her authority, to undervalue her judgment and to lower that high standard of respect which of right belongs to her. . . .

The indisputable truth is, that there is no other item of superior, or perhaps equal importance, in the happy and profitable management of any farm, great or small, than that every person on it should be made to understand that deference, and respect, and prompt and faithful obedience, should be paid, under all circumstances, to the wife, the mother, and the mistress. . . .

"Farmers' Wives Overtaxed," *New England Farmer* 15, no. 5 (May 1863), 141–142.

Louisa May Alcott, *Hospital Sketches* (1863)

New Englander and abolitionist author Louisa May Alcott spent six weeks as a nurse in a Georgetown, Virginia hospital tending to wounded Union soldiers. She had to leave nursing after contracting typhoid fever. She used her experiences at the Union Hotel Hospital as the basis for Hospital Sketches, *which was first published in serial form. She later gained fame for* Little Women (1868). *In the following excerpt from* Hospital Sketches, *Alcott details daily life in the hospital and the situations faced by nurses.*

In most Hospitals I hope there are [services by hospital death beds]; in ours, the men died, and were carried away, with as little ceremony as on a battle-field. The first event of this kind which I witnessed was so very brief, and bare of anything like reverence, sorrow, or pious consolation, that I heartily agreed with the bluntly expressed opinion of a Maine man lying next his comrade, who died with no visible help near him, but a compassionate woman and a tender-hearted Irishman, who dropped upon his knees, and told his beads, with Catholic fervor, for the good of his Protestant brother's parting soul. . . .

To me, the saddest sight I saw in that sad place, was the spectacle of a grey-haired father, sitting hour after hour by his son, dying from the poison of his wound. The old father, hale and hearty; the young son, past all help, though one could scarcely believe it; for the subtle fever, burning his strength away, flushed his cheeks with color, filled his eyes with lustre, and lent a mournful mockery of health to face and figure, making the poor lad comelier in death than in life. His bed was not in my ward; but I was often in and out, and for a day or two, the pair were much together, saying little, but looking much. The old man tried to busy himself with book or pen, that his presence might not be a burden; and once when he sat writing, to the anxious mother at home, doubtless, I saw the son's eyes fix upon his face, with a look of mingled resignation and regret, as if endeavoring to teach himself to say cheerfully the long good bye. And again, when the son slept, the father watched him as he had himself been watched; and though no feature of his grave

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countenance changed, the rough hand, smoothing the lock of hair upon the pillow, the bowed attitude of the grey head, were more pathetic than the loudest lamentations. The son died; and the father took home the pale relic of the life he gave, offering a little money to the nurse, as the only visible return it was in his power to make her; for though very grateful, he was poor. Of course, she did not take it, but found a richer compensation in the old man's earnest declaration:

"My boy couldn't have been better cared for if he'd been at home; and God will reward you for it, though I can't."

My own experiences of this sort began when my first man died. He had scarcely been removed, when his wife came in. Her eye went straight to the well-known bed; it was empty; and feeling, yet not believing the hard truth, she cried out, with a look I never shall forget:

"Why, where's Emanuel?"

I had never seen her before, did not know her relationship to the man whom I had only nursed for a day, and was about to tell her he was gone, when McGee, the tender-hearted Irishman before mentioned, brushed by me with a cheerful—"It's shifted to a better bed he is, Mrs. Connel. Come out, dear, till I show ye;" and, taking her gently by the arm, he led her to the matron, who broke the heavy tidings to the wife, and comforted the widow.

Another day, running up to my room for a breath of fresh air and a five minutes rest after a disagreeable task, I found a stout young woman sitting on my bed, wearing the miserable look which I had learned to know by that time. Seeing her, reminded me that I had heard of some one's dying in the night, and his sister's arriving in the morning. This must be she, I thought. I pitied her with all my heart. What could I say or do? Words always seem impertinent at such times; I did not know the man; the woman was neither interesting in herself nor graceful in her grief; yet, having known a sister's sorrow myself, I could have not leave her alone with her trouble in that strange place, without a word. So, feeling heart-sick, home-sick, and not knowing what else to do, I just put my arms about her, and began to cry in a very helpless but hearty way; for, as I seldom indulge in this moist luxury, I like to enjoy it with all my might, when I do.

It so happened I could not have done a better thing; for, though not a word was spoken, each felt the other's sympathy; and, in the silence, our handkerchiefs were more eloquent than words. She soon sobbed herself quiet; and leaving her on my bed, I went back to work, feeling much refreshed by the shower, though I'd forgotten to rest, and had washed my face instead of my hands. I mention this successful experience as a receipt proved and approved, for the use of any nurse who may find herself called upon to minister to these wounds of the heart. They will find it more efficacious than cups of tea, smelling-bottles, psalms, or sermons; for a friendly touch and a companionable cry, unite the consolations of all the rest for womankind; and, if genuine, will be found a sovereign cure for the first sharp pang so many suffer in these heavy times.

I am gratified to find that my little Sergeant has found favor in several quarters, and gladly respond to sundry calls for news of him, though my personal knowledge ended five months ago. Next to my good John—I hope the grass is green above him, far away there in Virginia!—I placed the Sergeant on my list of worthy boys; and many jovial chat have I enjoyed with the merry-hearted lad, who had a fancy for fun, when his poor arm was dressed. While Dr. P. poked and strapped, I brushed the remains of the Sergeant's brown mane—shorn sorely against his will—and gossiped with all my might, the boy making odd faces, exclamations, and appeals, when nerves got the better of nonsense, as they sometimes did:

"I'd rather laugh than cry, when I must sing out anyhow, so just say that bit from Dickens again, please, and I'll stand it like a man." He did; for "Mrs. Cluppins," "Chadband," and "Sam Weller," always helped him through; thereby causing me to lay another offering of love and admiration on the shrine of the god of my idolatry, though he does wear too much jewelry and talk slang.

The Sergeant also originated, I believe, the fashion of calling his neighbors by their afflictions instead of their names; and I was rather taken aback by hearing them bandy remarks of this sort, with

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perfect good humor and much enjoyment of the new game.

"Hallo, old Fits is off again!" "How are you, Rheumatiz?" "Will you trade apples, Ribs?" "I say, Miss P. may I give Typus a drink of this?" "Look here, No Toes, lend us a stamp, there's a good feller," etc. He himself was christened "Baby B.," because he tended his arm on a little pillow, and called it his infant.

Louisa May Alcott, *Hospital Sketches* (Boston: James Redpath, 1863), 86–94.

Document: A Letter from the Mother of a Black Union Soldier to President Abraham Lincoln (1863)

In 1863, after President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, the United States Army began organizing an African American regiment. Led by Colonel Robert Gould Shaw, the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Infantry Regiment became the nation's first colored unit. Members of the Fifty-fourth soon faced problems specific to their race. First, although the Federal government promised recruits the same pay as white soldiers, this was not initially the case. In addition, the Confederate government vowed to treat any captured black soldiers as runaway slaves and send them back to slavery. Members of the regiment proved their capabilities as soldiers in the attack on South Carolina's Battery Wagner in July 1863. In the following letter, a mother asks the president to protect her son in the Fifty-fourth from Southern retaliation.

Buffalo [N.Y.] July 31 1863

Excellent Sir My good friend says I must write to you and she will send it. My son went in the 54th regiment. I am a colored woman and my son was strong and able as any to fight for his country and the colored people have as much to fight for as any. My father was a Slave and escaped from Louisiana before I was born morn forty years agone I have but poor edication but I never went to schol, but I know just as well as any what is right between man and man. Now I know it is right that a colored man should go and fight for his country, and so ought to a white man. I know that a colored man ought to run no greater risques than a white, his pay is no greater his obligation to fight is the same. So why should not our enemies be compelled to treat him the same, Made to do it.

My son fought at Fort Wagoner but thank God he was not taken prisoner, as many were I thought of this thing before I let my boy go but then they said Mr. Lincoln will never let them sell our colored soldiers for slaves, if they do he will get them back quck he will rettallyate and stop it. Now Mr Lincoln dont you think you oght to stop this thing and make them do the same by the colored men they have lived in idleness all their lives on stolen labor and made savages of the colored people, but they now are so furious because they are proving themselves to be men, such as have come away and got some edication. It must not be so. You must put the rebels to work in State prisons to making shoes and things, if they sell our colored soldiers, till they let them all go. And give their wounded the same treatment. it would seem cruel, but their no other way, and a just man must do hard things sometimes, that shew him to be a great man. They tell me some do [sic] you will take back the Proclamation, don't do it. When you are dead and in Heaven, in a thousand years that action of yours will make the Angels sing your praises I know it. Ought one man to own another, law for or not, who made the law, surely the poor slave did not. so it is wicked, and a horrible Outrage, there is no sense in it, because a man has lived by robbing all his life and his father before him, should he complain because the stolen things found on him are taken. Robbing the colored people of their labor is but a small part of the robbery their souls are almost taken, they are made bruits of often. You know all about this

Will you see that the colored men fighting now, are fairly treated. You ought to do this, and do it at once, Not let the thing run along meet it quickly and manfully, and stop this, mean cowardly cruelty. We poor oppressed ones, appeal to you, and ask fair play. Yours for Christs sake

Hannah Johnson.

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Hannah Johnson to Hon. Mr. Lincoln, July 31, 1863, J-17 l863, Letters Received, ser. 360, Colored Troops Division, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives).

A Noble Enterprise: The Loyal Women's Petition to Get a Federal Amendment Passed to End Slavery (1863)

In 1863, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony called for a constitutional amendment to end slavery in the United States. The amendment would extend the recent Emancipation Proclamation to include slaves living within the Union as well as preclude future slavery in the United States. The National Women's Loyal League organized the petition drive and called on local affiliates to gather a million signatures and support for the cause. The group disbanded with the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment. The following article from The Liberator *explains the rationale and importance of the movement and petition.*

A NOBLE ENTERPRISE

We have been remiss in not earlier calling the attention of our readers to the great work undertaken by the Women's Loyal League of New York, at their meeting last May. They then formed an organization, of which Mrs. E. C. Stanton is President, and Miss Susan B. Anthony Secretary, for the purpose, first, of procuring a *million signatures* to a petition to Congress, for the emancipation by law of all the slaves in the country. This petition; drawn up by Hon. Robert Dale Owen, and already signed by thousands of men and women in all parts of the land, is printed to-day at the head of our columns, and will remain there until the meeting of Congress, for the convenience of our readers who may wish to sign or circulate it. It is a petition that few of the loyal people of the North can refuse to sign; for if it be objected that Congress has no power to pass such an act, and if this objection be well founded (which we deny,) then of course "the earliest practicable day" will be after such changes have been made in the Constitution as will allow such a law to be passed.

Certainly, there can be few *loyal* men in the North, who do not earnestly pray for the emancipation of the slaves at the "earliest practicable day," since Reverdy Johnson, the Maryland lawyer, has just declared that to be his prayer. This petition, then, if Congress decide the matter to be out of its jurisdiction, will serve as an indication of the popular wish for such action in other ways as shall bring about the same result. Therefore all who honestly prefer Freedom to Slavery can and ought to sign it.

Miss Anthony, the efficient Secretary of the League, which is extending itself over the whole North and West, is now in Boston, making arrangements for the circulation of the petition throughout New England, where, as yet, few signatures have been procured. We commend her and her enterprise to the assistance of our readers, and of all friends of the Union and of Freedom. It will be seen by the following pledge, adopted by the League last May, how broad is the basis of principles on which it is proposed to operate:—

We, the Undersigned, Women of the United States, agree to become members of the Women's Loyal National League; hereby pledging our most earnest influence in support of the Government, in its prosecution of the War for Freedom, and for the restoration of the National Unity.

God speed these patriotic women in their labor of love!—*Commonwealth*

THE LOYAL WOMEN'S PETITION

Subscription papers were sometime since sent to several ladies in this city, with the request that they would interest themselves in procuring signatures. We do not know what has been done in the matter, but presume not much, as we have heard of no plan of systematic action being adopted; and without some systematic method, such a work cannot be properly accomplished.

Mr. Willits, of Mercer County, has lately undertaken to set the ball in motion in this and adjoining counties, and is devoting himself to the cause. In some places, he calls public meetings, at which the people are stirred up to the importance of the subject, and committees appointed to canvass towns and neighborhoods for the signatures of all women who wish to hasten the day of universal emancipation for our slavery-cursed country—and there are

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few women who do not. In other places, he finds individuals who volunteer to go out independently, and canvass for signatures.

There is another petition, similar to the foregoing, for subscription by men. They will generally be circulated together, and it is hoped the men will not fall behind the women in the number of their signatures, but that a full million at least of them will be sent into Congress, to plead for the regeneration of our country.

This is the most important petition that was ever circulated for signatures, and we hope the means will be adopted to insure its presentation to every woman in the North. We have no doubt but a million of names, and more, will be obtained if proper exertions are made; and we have very little doubt but Congress will pass the act thus petitioned for before its adjournment next summer. We hope Mr. Willits will find ready co-operators here, and wherever he goes in the good work of making arrangements for the circulation of the petition.—*Galesburg Free Democrat*

"A Noble Enterprise," *The Liberator* 33, no. 42 (October 16, 1863): 167.

Augusta Jane Evans, *Macaria; Or, Altars of Sacrifice* (1864)

Southern author Augusta Jane Evans wrote Macaria; Or, Altars of Sacrifice *while nursing Confederate soldiers at a makeshift hospital. The novel praised Southern soldiers and the Southern cause, and Evans dedicated it to Confederate soldiers' sacrifices. In addition, the novel offered female readers, barred from the battlefield by virtue of their sex, ways to support their nation.* Macaria's *heroine, Irene Huntingdon, sacrifices her luxurious antebellum lifestyle to aid the Confederacy in any way possible. In the following excerpt, she explains the importance of women's sacrifice to the success of the Confederacy.*

TO THE
ARMY OF THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY,
WHO HAVE DELIVERED THE SOUTH FROM
DESPOTISM, AND WHO HAVE WON FOR
GENERATIONS YET UNBORN THE PRECIOUS
GUERDON OF
CONSTITUTIONAL REPUBLICAN LIBERTY:

TO THIS VAST LEGION OF HONOR,
WHETHER LIMPING ON CRUTCHES THROUGH
THE LAND THEY HAVE SAVED AND IMMORTALIZED,
OR SURVIVING UNINJURED TO SHARE THE
BLESSINGS THEIR
UNEXAMPLED HEROISM BOUGHT, OR SLEEPING
DREAMLESSLY IN NAMELESS
MARTYR-GRAVES ON HALLOWED BATTLE-FIELDS
WHOSE
HISTORIC MEMORY SHALL PERISH ONLY WITH
THE REMNANTS OF OUR LANGUAGE,
THESE PAGES ARE
GRATEFULLY AND REVERENTLY DEDICATED
BY ONE WHO, ALTHOUGH DEBARRED FROM THE
DANGERS AND DEATHLESS GLORY OF THE
"TENTED FIELD,"
WOULD FAIN OFFER A WOMAN'S INADEQUATE
TRIBUTE TO THE NOBLE
PATRIOTISM AND SUBLIME SELF-ABNEGATION OF HER
DEAR AND DEVOTED COUNTRYMEN.

. . .

Electra had finished the bandages and was walking slowly before the windows, and, without looking up from the lint, which she was tying into small packages, Irene answered:

"The safeguards will be found in the mothers, wives, and sisters of our land."

"Ah! but their hands are tied; and they walk but a short, narrow path, from hearthstone to threshold, and back again. They have, I know, every inclination to exert a restraining influence, but no power to utilize it. Sometimes I almost fear that the fabled Norse *Ragnarök* is darkening over this continent. The monsters, Midgard Serpent, Fenris, and all, have certainly been unloosed at the North."

"Electra, though we are very properly debarred from the 'tented field,' I have entire confidence that the cause of our country may be advanced, and its good promoted, through the agency of its daughters; for, out of the dim historic past come words of encouragement. Have you forgotten that, when

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Sparta forsook the stern and sublime simplicity of her ancient manners, King Agis found himself unable to accomplish his scheme of redeeming his degenerate country from avarice and corruption, until the ladies of Sparta gave their consent and support to the plan of reform? Southern women have no desire to usurp legislative reins; their appropriate work consists in moulding the manners and morals of the nation; in checking the wild excesses of fashionable life, and the dangerous spirit of extravagance; of reckless expenditure in dress, furniture, and equipage, which threatened ruinous results before the declaration of hostilities. Noble wives, who properly appreciate the responsibility of their position, should sternly rebuke and frown down the disgraceful idea, which seems to be gaining ground and favor in our cities, that married women may, with impunity, seek attentions and admiration abroad. Married belles and married beaux are not harmless, nor should they be tolerated in really good society. Women who so far forget their duties to their homes and husbands, and the respect due to public opinion, as to habitually seek for happiness in the mad whirl of so-called fashionable life, ignoring household obligations, should be driven from well-bred, refined circles, to hide their degradation at the firesides they have disgraced. That wives should constantly endeavor to cultivate social graces and render themselves as fascinating as possible, I hold their sacred duty; but beauty should be preserved, and accomplishments perfected, to bind their husband's hearts more closely, to make their homes attractive, instead of being constantly paraded before the world for the unholy purpose of securing the attentions and adulation of other gentlemen. I do not desire to see married women recluses; on the contrary, I believe that society has imperative claims upon them, which should be promptly met and faithfully and gracefully discharged. But those degraded wives, who are never seen with their husbands when they can avoid it—who are never happy unless riding or walking with strangers, or receiving their attentions at theatres, concerts, or parties—are a disgrace to the nation which they are gradually demoralizing and corrupting. From the influence of these few deluded weak libels on our sex may God preserve our age and country! They are utterly unworthy the noble work which calls loudly to every true Southern woman. Statesmen are trained up around the mother's armchair, and she can imbue the boy with lofty sentiments, and inspire him with aims which, years hence, shall lead him in congressional halls to adhere to principles, to advance the Truth—though, thereby, votes for the next election fall away, like stricken leaves in autumn. What time has the married belle for this holy hearthstone mission? The conscientious, devoted, and patriotic Christian women of a nation are the safeguards of its liberties and purity."

Augusta Jane Evans, *Macaria; Or, Altars of Sacrifice* (Richmond, VA: West & Johnson, 1864), 163.

Special Field Orders, Number 67 for the Evacuation of Atlanta, Georgia (1864)

Before his famous March to the Sea, Union General William Tecumseh Sherman laid siege to and then occupied Atlanta, Georgia. Upon taking control of the city, Sherman ordered the evacuation of Atlanta's civilians—men, women, and children. He also confiscated, on behalf of the Union army, the valuable raw materials that were stored there. These decisions turned hundreds of families into refugees and set the stage for the hard war policies that Sherman used on his march through Georgia and the Carolinas. Issued on September 8, 1864, Special Field Orders, Number 67 detailed Sherman's decision as a wartime necessity. Sherman and his men set fire to buildings in Atlanta before they left the city in November 1864.

SPECIAL FIELD ORDERS, NO. 67
HDQRS. MIL. DIV. OF THE MISSISSIPPI,

In the Field, Atlanta, Ga.
September 8, 1864.

I. The City of Atlanta, being exclusively required for warlike purposes, will at once be vacated by all except the armies of the United States and such civilian employees as may be retained by the proper departments of government.

II. The chief quartermaster, Colonel Easton, will at once take possession of buildings of all kinds, and of all staple articles, such as cotton, tobacco, &c.,

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and will make such disposition of them as is required by existing regulations, or such orders as he may receive from time to time from the proper authorities.

III. The chief engineer will promptly reconnoiter the city and suburbs, and indicate the sites needed for the permanent defense of the place, together with any houses, sheds, or shanties that stand in his way, that they may be set apart for destruction. Colonel Easton will then, on consultation with the proper officers of the ordnance, quartermaster, commissary, medical, and railroad departments, set aside such buildings and lots of ground as will be needed for them, and have them suitably marked and set apart. He will then, on consultation with Generals Thomas and Slocum, set apart such as may be necessary to the proper administration of the military duties of the Department of the Cumberland and of the post of Atlanta, and all buildings and materials not thus embraced will be held subject to the use of the Government as may hereafter arise, according to the just rules of the quartermaster's department.

IV. No general, staff, or other officers, or any soldier will on any pretense occupy any house or shanty, unless it be embraced in the limits assigned as the camp of the troops to which such general or staff belongs, but the chief quartermaster may allow the troops to use boards, shingles, or materials of buildings, barns, sheds, warehouses, and shanties, not needed by the proper departments of government, to be used in the reconstruction of such shanties and bivouacs as the troops and officers serving with them require, and he will also provide as early as practicable the proper allowance of tents for the use of the officers and men in their encampments.

V. In proper time just arrangements will be made for the supply to the troops of all articles they may need over and above the clothing, provisions, &c., furnished by Government, and on no pretense whatever will traders, manufacturers, or sutlers be allowed to settle in the limits of fortified places, and if these manage to come in spite of this notice, the quartermaster will seize their stores and appreciate them to the use of the troops, and deliver the parties or other unauthorized citizens who thus place their individual interests above that of the United States, in the hands of some provost-marshal, to be put to labor on the forts or conscripted into one of the regiments or batteries already in service.

VI. The same general principles will apply to all military posts south of Chattanooga.

By order of Major General W. T. Sherman:
L. M. DAYTON,

Special Field Orders No. 67, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies,* Series 1, Vol. 38, Part 5 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1880–1901), 837–838.

Charlotte Forten, "Life on the Sea Islands" (1864)

Charlotte Forten became the first African American to teach the freed slaves in the South Carolina Sea Islands. Born free in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Forten began her teaching career in Salem, Massachusetts. Her family's long abolitionist roots inspired her to do something to aid the Union cause during the Civil War. Beginning in 1862, she spent two years on St. Helena teaching the freed slaves, in what became known as the Port Royal Experiment. Forten's essays about her experiences there offered Northern readers insight into the Port Royal Experiment. They were published in The Atlantic Monthly *in 1864.*

The first day at school was rather trying. Most of my children were very small, and consequently restless. Some were too young to learn the alphabet. These little ones were brought to school because the older children—in whose care their parents leave them while at work—could not come without them. We were therefore willing to have them come, although they seemed to have discovered the secret of perpetual motion, and tried one's patience sadly. But after some days of positive, though not severe treatment, order was brought out of chaos, and I found but little difficulty in managing and quieting the tiniest and most restless spirits. I never before saw children so eager to learn,

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although I had had several years' experience in New England schools. Coming to school is a constant delight and recreation to them. They come here as other children go to play. The older ones, during the summer, work in the fields from early morning until eleven or twelve o'clock, and then come into school, after their hard toil in the hot sun, as bright and as anxious to learn as ever.

Of course there are some stupid ones, but these are the minority. The majority learn with wonderful rapidity. Many of the grown people are desirous of learning to read. It is wonderful how a people who have been so long crushed to the earth, so imbruted as these have been,—and they are said to be among the most degraded negroes of the South,—can have so great a desire for knowledge, and such a capability for attaining it. One cannot believe that the haughty Anglo Saxon race, after centuries of such an experience as these people have had, would be very much superior to them. And one's indignation increases against those who, North as well as South, taunt the colored race with inferiority while they themselves use every means in their power to crush and degrade them, denying them every right and privilege, closing against them every avenue of elevation and improvement. Were they, under such circumstances, intellectual and refined, they would certainly be vastly superior to any other race that ever existed.

After the lessons, we used to talk freely to the children, often giving them slight sketches of some of the great and good men. Before teaching them the "John Brown" song, which they learned to sing with great spirit. Miss T. told them the story of the brave old man who had died for them. I told them about Toussaint, thinking it well they should know what one of their own color had done for his race. They listened attentively, and seemed to understand. We found it rather hard to keep their attention in school. It is not strange, as they have been so entirely unused to intellectual concentration. It is necessary to interest them every moment, in order to keep their thoughts from wandering. Teaching here is consequently far more fatiguing than at the North. In the church, we had of course but one room in which to hear all the children; and to make one's self heard, when there were often as many as a hundred and forty reciting at once, it was necessary to tax the lungs very severely.

My walk to school, of about a mile, was part of the way through a road lined with trees,—on one side stately pines, on the other noble live-oaks, hung with moss and canopied with vines. The ground was carpeted with brown, fragrant pine-leaves; and as I passed through in the morning, the woods were enlivened by the delicious songs of mocking-birds, which abound here, making one realize the truthful felicity of the description in "Evangeline,"—

"The mocking-bird, wildest of singers, Shook from his little throat such floods of delirious music

That the whole air and the woods and the waves seemed silent to listen."

The hedges were all aglow with the brilliant scarlet berries of the cassena, and on some of the oaks we observed the mistletoe, laden with its pure white, pearl-like berries. Out of the woods the roads are generally bad, and we found it hard work plodding through the deep sand.

Charlotte Forten, "Life on the Sea Islands," *The Atlantic Monthly* 13 (May 1864): 587–596.

The Capture and Rescue of Union Spy Pauline Cushman (1864)

An actress by trade, Pauline Cushman served as a Union spy during the Civil War. She posed as a Confederate sympathizer and went behind enemy lines in Louisville, Kentucky, to determine troop movements and how Southerners were smuggling medical supplies. Cushman was caught in 1863 and sentenced in a court-martial to hang. Before the Confederates could mete out their punishment, Cushman escaped. The following article from the New York Times *detailed some of Cushman's exploits and helped her reputation for bravery grow in the postwar years.*

Among the women of America who have made themselves famous since the opening of the rebellion, few have suffered more or rendered more service to the Federal cause than Miss Maj. PAULINE CUSHMAN, the female scout and spy.

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At the commencement of hostilities she resided in Cleveland, Ohio, and was quite well known as a clever actress.

From Cleveland she went to Louisville, where she had an engagement in Wood's Theatre. Here, by her intimacy with certain rebel officers, she incurred the suspicion of being a rebel, and was arrested by Federal authorities. She indignantly denied that she was a rebel, although born at the South, and having a brother in a rebel Mississippi regiment.

In order to test the love for the old flag, she was asked if she would enter the secret service of the Government. She readily consented, and was at once employed to carry letters between Louisville and Nashville. She was subsequently employed by Gen. ROSECRANS, and was for many months with the Army of the Cumberland. She visited the rebel lines time after time, and was thoroughly acquainted with all the country and roads in Tennessee, Northern Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi, in which sections she rendered our armies invaluable service. She was twice suspected of being a spy, and taken prisoner, but managed to escape.

At last, however, she was not so fortunate. After our forces had captured Nashville, Maj. CUSHMAN made a scout towards Shelbyville to obtain information on the strength and position of the enemy, and while returning to Nashville, was captured on the Hardin pike, eleven miles from the latter city. She was placed on a horse, and in charge of two scouts, was being taken to Spring Hill, the headquarters of FORREST.

While on the way to this place, she feigned sickness, and said she could not travel any further without falling from her horse. Her captors stopped at a house on the roadside, when it was ascertained that a Federal scouting party had passed the place an hour before. Knowing that her guards had important papers for Gen. BRAGG, the quick-witted spy seized the fact and schemed to use it to her advantage.

Seeing an old negro, who appeared to commiserate her unfortunate plight, she watched her opportunity and placed $10 in Tennessee money in his hand, saying: "run up the road, Uncle, and come back in a few minutes, telling us that four hundred Federals are coming down the street." The faithful negro obeyed the order literally, and soon came back in the greatest excitement, telling the story. The two "rebs" told him he lied. The old colored man got down on his knees, saying: "Massa, dey's cumin, sure nuff; de Lord help us, dey is cumin."

The scouts at this believed his story, mounted their horses, and "skedaddled" for the woods. Miss CUSHMAN, seizing a pistol belonging to a wounded solider in the house, also mounted her horse and fled towards Franklin. She travelled through the rain, and, after nightfall, lost her way. Soon came the challenge of a picket, "Who comes there?" Thinking she had reached the rebel line, she said: "A friend of JEFF. DAVIS." "All right," was the reply, "advance and give the countersign."

She presented the countersign in the shape of a canteen of whisky. She passed five pickets in this way, but the sixth and last was obdurate. She pleaded that she was going to see a sick uncle in Franklin, but the sentry couldn't see it. Sick and disheartened, she turned back. Seeing a light at a farmhouse, she sought shelter. An old man received her kindly, showed her to a room, and said he would awake her at an early hour in the morning, and show her the road to Franklin.

A loud knock awoke her in the morning from her Lethean slumbers, and upon arousing she found her horse saddled and the two guards from whom she had escaped the previous afternoon. She was taken to the headquarters of FORREST and he sent her, after a critical examination, to Gen. BRAGG. Nothing could be found against her until a secesh woman stole her garters, under the inner sole of which were found important documents which clearly proved her to be a spy.

She was tried and condemned to be executed as a spy, but being sick, her execution was postponed. She finally, after lying in prison three months, sent for Gen. BRAGG, and asked him if he had no mercy. She received from him the comforting assurance that he should make an example of her, and that he should hang her as soon as she got well enough to be hung decently.

While in this state of suspense, the grand army of ROSECRANS commenced its forward movement,

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and one fine day the rebel town where she wos [sic] imprisoned was surprised and captured, and the heroine of this tale was, to her great joy, released. She is now in this city visiting friends, having arrived at the Biddle House one day last week. — *Detroit Tribune, Tuesday.*

New York Times (May 28, 1864): 9.

Letter to the Editor from "Many Wives and Mothers of Charleston" (1865)

As Union General William Tecumseh Sherman waged hard war on the civilians of Georgia, many residents of Charleston, South Carolina discussed evacuating women and children from the city. Sherman's men foraged their way across the lower South, destroying crops, homes, livestock, and railroad lines. The Confederate army seemed powerless to stop the march, and many rightfully feared that Sherman would target Charleston for destruction. In the following letter to the editor of the Charleston Mercury, *"Many Wives and Mothers of Charleston" rejected this as an appropriate course of action and continued to declare their Confederate patriotism.*

Many Wives and Mothers of Charleston to the Editor of the *Charleston Mercury*

We beg through your columns to address the General Commanding South Carolina, and the Governor of the State. We, women of Charleston, not enthusiastic girls, but women whose hair has whitened through the anguish of this awful war, whose husbands, sons, brothers, have died for South Carolina and Charleston, entreat to be heard. We would say that we have listened with grief and horror inexpressible to the hints of abandoning to our foes, without a struggle, the city of our love. We urge by all our titles to regard; we implore, as the greatest boon, fight for Charleston! At every point, fight for every inch, and if our men must die, let them die amid the blazing ruins of our homes; their souls rising upwards on the flames which save our city from the pollution of our enemy.

Send out the women and children yet in the city. Thousands of Charleston women scattered through the land will share with them their all. They shall not starve. But let there be no excuse for deserting the sacred homes of us and our ancestors. What! the four years of proud defence to be rendered nugatory? The battle flag of Sumter to veil its proud defiance without a cannon shot? The churches where we heard the burial services of our dead who died around our walls, to ring with the triumphant Te Deums of the invaders? Oh, men! it is impossible! By the rain of blood and tears which has fallen upon our hearts, never quenching, but brightening the flame of patriotism there, do not utterly crush those true hearts by this blow.

We *know,* each of us, *our* husbands, *our* brothers, *our* sons, are not shrinking now. They are chafing at this fatal policy of retreat. They who have won their fame from the Savannah River to Charleston Harbor, they ask but leave to fight as they have fought. Do you but lead them on, not keep them back. We call upon the Commanding General to stand by us, to fight with us, heart and soul. We call upon our Governor, sworn to defend Carolina and her honor, to defend it here. Let the mantle of the Dictator fall upon him, and if Charleston, defended to the hour, must then fall, let the Governor and her homes—to sound of the guns of our forts, as they send out their last defiance to the baffled foe.

Charleston Mercury (January 24, 1865).

Reverend Hatfield Reminds Women of their Christian Duty (1865)

The enlistment of millions of men in the Union and Confederate armies created a moral crisis for many religious leaders. American men were forced to live without the civilizing influences of women, and the weighty responsibilities of the homefront were placed in the hands of women. In the following sermon, Reverend Edwin F. Hatfield of New York calls on his Christian sisters to ensure that the church will continue its moral and religious functions during the war.

Abundant, as are always the opportunities for being of service in the cause of her Redeemer, woman is called upon, with far more earnestness, and much more constantly, to work for her Saviour in time of war; especially, such a war as is now raging over the breadth of this great land. The necessi-

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ties of the country demand that the time, attention, and services of nearly a million of the most active, enterprising and laborious of her sons should be diverted from the peaceful pursuits and occupations in which they are ordinarily employed, and devoted, almost or quite exclusively to the work of suppressing this gigantic rebellion. This vast number of men must, then, be separated for one, two, or three years, as the case may be, from their homes, the social circles in which they are accustomed to move, and the Christian congregations to which they have been attached. Old associations, in consequence, are broken up; new combinations, commercially and socially, are demanded; other than the ordinary agencies, for the promotion of many of the educations and reformatory schemes of the age are called for; and any of our dearest and most cherished institutions of benevolence are put into serious jeopardy. The exigencies of the occasion require, to some extent, a re-adjustment of our plans and calculations in almost all the departments of business, and of social, home and religious life.

Two evils of great magnitude are to result from this social revolution, and are to be met with energy, and, if possible, to be overcome. The one necessarily results from the segregation of large bodies of men by themselves, afar from the mollifying refining, restraining, and sanctifying influences of the home, the family, and the church. Universal experience has conclusively demonstrated the wisdom of that providential arrangement, by which the sexes are do distributed in society, as to exert a constant influence over each other, stimulating, restraining, and all-pervading. Break up this arrangement, and separate the sexes entirely from each other, and the invariable tendency is to a greater laxity in manners and morals, to deterioration and demoralization . . .

The other evil to which I would refer, resulting from this great revolution, is the withdrawal of such an immense number of the most vigorous, active and enterprising men from posts of usefulness, from positions of great importance, and from associations of the most sacred character at home. The husband disappears from the quiet abode, where the fond wife was wont to meet and greet him, on his daily return from labor and business, and where she looked to him for counsel and support. The father is taken from his children, and separated from them for months and years, at a period, when most they need his instructions and his paternal care. A sad and wearisome change comes over the loved home, where the son and brother gave such a charm to the domestic sanctuary. What shall fill the void—who make good the terrible privation? . . .

It devolves on you, my Christian sisters, to make good, to the extent of your abilities, the deficiencies occasioned by the absence of your brothers, and their devotion to the cause of their suffering country. Our churches must not be suffered to languish for want of appropriate laborers. Women labored with Paul in the gospel, as they have with others of Christ's ministers in every age. None have labored so much as they. But for them, their prayers, their endeavors, their self-denying and unwearied services in the cause of Christ, the kingdom of God would have advanced but slowly on the earth. They are now the most reliable and the most efficient helpers in many of our Churches. But for them what would become of our mission and Sunday-schools, our prayer meetings and our tract visitations? . . . All honor to the sex! Let it be known what the church owes to woman. . . .

Here is something that you, my Christian sisters, can do for your Saviour. You are wanted at the prayer meeting. Your presence there cannot be dispensed with. Your brothers are away, and you must take their place. You cannot have their attendance as formerly, but you can come alone. . . .

So, too, you can do much for your Saviour, by your prompt and faithful attendance on the services of the sanctuary every Sabbath-day. Never were you more needed there. Never could you absent yourselves with so little reason. . . .

You could be of service, also, in the Sunday-school and mission-school . . .

Our churches, it is evident, while sending so many of their sons to the Army and Navy, so many to whom they have been wont to look for the prosecution of their work of evangelization at home and

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abroad, and from whom they have received their main support, must now, more than ever, depend on the reserve force of their sisters and daughters; and, we trust, will not depend in vain. You, my sister, must not be deaf to the call, not backward to follow where God leads. . . .

Edwin F. Hatfield. "Woman's Work in Time of War," *The National Preacher and Village Pulpit* 39, no. 3 (March 1865): 70-76.

"The Unconquered Class" in Georgia (1865)

When the military struggle ended, many Southerners were less than eager to return to the Union or accept the changes imposed on their lives. Many white Southerners resisted Reconstruction policies, the presence of Union soldiers, and efforts by African Americans to define what their freedom would mean. Women participated as part of this resistance, often in attempts to prevent freedwomen from enjoying their new liberties. The Ku Klux Klan and other militant groups formed to "redeem" the south and prevent significant changes in their society. As the following newspaper article,"The Unconquered Class," from The Liberator *demonstrates, many white women tried to prevent African American women from enjoying even the most basic freedoms.*

General Carl Schurz, who, at the request of President Johnson, is making an extended tour of observation at the South, has send to the Boston *Daily Advertiser* a series of interesting letters, from the last of which, dated Savannah, July 31, we make the following extract.

"But there is another class of people here, mostly younger men, who are still in the swearing mood. You can overhear their conversations as you pass them on the streets, or even sitting near them on the stoop of the hotel. They are not conquered, but only 'overpowered.' They are only smothered for a time. They want to fight the war over again, and they are sure in five years we are going to have a war bigger than any we have seen yet. They are impatient to get rid of 'this d—d military despotism.' They will show us what stuff Southern men are made of. They will send their own men to Congress, and show us that we cannot violate the Constitution with impunity. They have a rope ready for this or that Union man, when the Yankee bayonets are gone. They will show the Yankee interlopers, who have settled down here to live upon their subsistence, the way home. They will deal largely in tar and feathers. . . . Now, there may be much of the old Southern braggadocio in this, and I do not believe that such men will again resort to open insurrection. But they will practice private vengeance whenever they can do it with impunity, and I have heard sober-minded Union men express their apprehension of it. This spirit is certainly no evidence of true loyalty. . . ."

Unfortunately, this spirit receives much encouragement from the fair sex. We have heard so much of the bitter resentment of the Southern ladies that the tale becomes stale by frequent repetition. But when inquiring into the feelings of the people, this element must not be omitted. There are certainly a good many sensible women in the South who have arrived at a just appreciation of the circumstances with which they are surrounded. But there is a large number of Southern women who are vindictive and defiant as ever, and whose temper does not permit them to lay their tongue under any restraint. You can see them in every hotel, and they will treat you to the most ridiculous exhibitions whenever an occasion offers. A day or two ago, a Union officer, yielding to an impulse of politeness, handed a dish of pickles to a Southern lady at the dinner-table of a hotel in this city. A look of unspeakable scorn and indignation met him. "So you think," said the lady, "a Southern lady will take a dish of pickles from a hand that is dripping with the blood of her countrymen!" It is remarkable upon what trifling materials this female wrath is feeding and growing fat. In a certain district in South Carolina, the ladies were some time ago, and perhaps are now, dreadfully exercised about the veil question. You may ask me what the veil question is. Formerly—under the old order of things—negro women were not permitted to wear veils. This is an outrage which must not be permitted to. The white ladies of that neighborhood agree in being indignant beyond measure.

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Some of them declare that whenever they meet a colored woman wearing a veil, they will tear the veil from her face. Others, mindful of the consequences which such an act of violence might draw after it under this same new order of things, declare their resolve never to wear veils themselves as long as colored women wear them. That is the veil question, and this is the way it stands at present.

Such things may seem trifling and ridiculous. But it is a well-known fact that a silly woman is sometimes able to exercise a powerful influence over a man not half as silly; and the class of "unconquered" above described is undoubtedly in a great measure composed of individuals that are apt to be influenced by silly women. It has frequently been said that, had it not been for the spirit of Southern women, the rebellion would have broken down long ago, and there is, no doubt, a grain of truth in it. The same spirit of the female part of the community, although undoubtedly at present much less powerful in a quantitative sense, is now contributing to keep those bitter feelings alive, which, as long as kept under a sufficient control, may be harmless, and gradually die away; but which, if prematurely relieved of that control, may lead to serious conflicts.

The Liberator 35, no. 36 (September 8, 1865): 144.

Clara Barton Becomes a Wartime Nurse

Clara Barton provided medical assistance at some of the bloodiest battles of the Civil War. She tended to the wounded at the Second Bull Run, Antietam, Fredericksburg, the Wilderness, Spotsylvania, Petersburg, and elsewhere. Although she did not arrive at the battlefield as an official nurse or as a member of an organization, she and other female nurses transformed the nature of nursing in the United States. Before the war, nursing was widely considered menial labor, and it was exclusively performed by men. When the war ended, nursing was considered an honorable profession in which women were widely accepted. Barton later founded and became the first president of the American Red Cross. In the following description, Barton explains her original decision to dedicate herself to wounded soldiers.

I was strong and thought I might go to the rescue of the men who fell. The first regiment of troops, the old 6th Mass. that fought its way through Baltimore, brought my playmates and neighbors, the partakers of my childhood; the brigades of New Jersey brought scores of my brave boys, the same solid phalanx; and the strongest legions from old Herkimer brought the associates of my seminary days. They formed and crowded around me. What could I do but go with them, or work for them and my country? The patriot blood of my father was warm in my veins. The country which he had fought for, I might at least work for, and I had offered my service to the government in the capacity of a double clerkship at twice $1400 a year, upon discharge of two disloyal clerks from its employ,—the salary never to be given to me, but to be turned back into the U.S. Treasury then poor to beggary, with no currency, no credit. But there was no law for this, and it could not be done and I would not draw salary from our government in such peril, so I resigned and went into direct service of the sick and wounded troops wherever found.

But I struggled long and hard with my sense of propriety with the appalling fact that I was only a woman whispering in one ear, and thundering in the other the groans of suffering men dying like dogs—unfed and unsheltered, for the life of every institution which had protected and educated me!

I said that I struggled with my sense of propriety and I say it with humiliation and shame. I am ashamed that I thought of such a thing.

Percy H. Epler, *The Life of Clara Barton* (New York: Macmillan, 1915), 31-32.

Susie King Taylor Recalls Her Time as a Camp Follower

Many women joined their husbands when they left their homes to serve in the Union and Confederate armies. Susie King Taylor was an African American camp follower whose husband served in the Thirty-third Colored Regiment. She and her husband had escaped from slavery earlier in the war by taking refuge among Union soldiers. When her husband enlisted, Taylor became a laundress for the company. She performed many tasks, including tending

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to the wounded, cleaning guns, cooking food, and cleaning clothes. In the following reminiscence, she details her life in the Union army.

FORT WAGNER being only a mile from our camp, I went there two or three times a week, and would go up on the ramparts to watch the gunners send their shells into Charleston (which they did every fifteen minutes), and had a full view of the city from that point. Outside of the fort were many skulls lying about; I have often moved them one side out of the path. The comrades and I would have quite a debate as to which side the men fought on. Some thought they were the skulls of our boys; others thought they were the enemy's; but as there was no definite way to know, it was never decided which could lay claim to them. They were a gruesome sight, those fleshless heads and grinning jaws, but by this time I had become accustomed to worse things and did not feel as I might have earlier in my camp life.

It seems strange how our aversion to seeing suffering is overcome in war,— how we are able to see the most sickening sights, such as men with their limbs blown off and mangled by the deadly shells, without a shudder; and instead of turning away, how we hurry to assist in alleviating their pain, bind up their wounds, and press the cool water to their parched lips, with feelings only of sympathy and pity.

About the first of June, 1864, the regiment was ordered to Folly Island, staying there until the latter part of the month, when it was ordered to Morris Island. We landed on Morris Island between June and July, 1864. This island was a narrow strip of sandy soil, nothing growing on it but a few bushes and shrubs. The camp was one mile from the boat landing, called Pawnell Landing, and the landing one mile from Fort Wagner.

Colonel Higginson had left us in May of this year, on account of wounds received at Edisto. All the men were sorry to lose him. They did not want him to go, they loved him so. He was kind and devoted to his men, thoughtful for their comfort, and we missed his genial presence from the camp.

The regiment under Colonel Trowbridge did garrison duty, but they had troublesome times from Fort Gregg, on James Island, for the rebels would throw a shell over on our island every now and then. Finally orders were received for the boys to prepare to take Fort Gregg, each man to take 150 rounds of cartridges, canteens of water, hard-tack, and salt beef. This order was sent three days prior to starting, to allow them to be in readiness. I helped as many as I could to pack haversacks and cartridge boxes.

The fourth day, about five o'clock in the afternoon, the call was sounded, and I heard the first sergeant say, "Fall in, boys, fall in," and they were not long obeying the command. Each company marched out of its street, in front of their colonel's headquarters, where they rested for half an hour, as it was not dark enough, and they did not want the enemy to have a chance to spy their movements. At the end of this time the line was formed with the 103d New York (white) in the rear, and off they started, eager to get to work. It was quite dark by the time they reached Pawnell Landing. I have never forgotten the good-bys of that day, as they left camp. Colonel Trowbridge said to me as he left, "Good-by, Mrs. King, take care of yourself if you don't see us again." I went with them as far as the landing, and watched them until they got out of sight, and then I returned to the camp. There was no one at camp but those left on picket and a few disabled soldiers, and one woman, a friend of mine, Mary Shaw, and it was lonesome and sad, now that the boys were gone, some never to return.

Mary Shaw shared my tent that night, and we went to bed, but not to sleep, for the fleas nearly ate us alive. We caught a few, but it did seem, now that the men were gone, that every flea in camp had located my tent, and caused us to vacate. Sleep being out of the question, we sat up the remainder of the night.

About four o'clock, July 2, the charge was made. The firing could be plainly heard in camp. I hastened down to the landing and remained there until eight o'clock that morning. When the wounded arrived, or rather began to arrive, the first one brought in was Samuel Anderson of our company. He was badly wounded. Then others of our boys, some with their legs off, arm gone, foot off, and wounds of all kinds imaginable. They had to wade through creeks and marshes, as they were discovered by the enemy and shelled very badly. A number of the men were lost,

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some got fastened in the mud and had to cut off the legs of their pants, to free themselves. The 103d New York suffered the most, as their men were very badly wounded.

My work now began. I gave my assistance to try to alleviate their sufferings. I asked the doctor at the hospital what I could get for them to eat. They wanted soup, but that I could not get; but I had a few cans of condensed milk and some turtle eggs, so I thought I would try to make some custard. I had doubts as to my success, for cooking with turtle eggs was something new to me, but the adage has it, "Nothing ventured, nothing done," so I made a venture and the result was a very delicious custard. This I carried to the men, who enjoyed it very much. My services were given at all times for the comfort of these men. I was on hand to assist whenever needed. I was enrolled as company laundress, but I did very little of it, because I was always busy doing other things through camp, and was employed all the time doing something for the officers and comrades.

Susie King Taylor, *Reminiscences of My Life in Camp with the 33rd United States Colored Troops* (Boston: Self-published, 1902), 31–35.

Mary Livermore Remembers the Sanitary Commission

Mary Livermore served as an associate manager of the Northwestern Branch of the United States Sanitary Commission. She raised money for the organization, oversaw its charity work, gave countless public speeches, and recruited volunteers to serve as nurses. She also helped plan two charitable fairs in Chicago, which raised more than $1 million for relief efforts. In the following excerpt, Livermore explains the importance of the commission, the reasons for its formation, and her personal path to becoming a public official.

It was months after the war opened before the Sanitary Commission was organized and in the field, and it was yet longer, before relief work for the soldiers was generally carried forward under its admirable system. But women did not wait for that. They refused to release their hold upon the men of their households, although the government had taken them out of the home and organized them into an army. Whether sick or well, the women were determined that they should receive home care, such as had never before been known to soldiers, and that was the prevalent feeling of the country. No failure of their plans of relief abated the ardor of the women, and no discouragements stayed the stream of their beneficence. Relief societies were organized everywhere, working independently, and in accordance with their best judgment. There was very little co-operation of societies in the beginning, and not unfrequently there was clashing.

Some of them proposed to follow the volunteers of their neighborhoods with their benefactions, or, as they phrased it, "to provide them with home comforts when well, and with hospital supplies and nurses when wounded and sick. If such a plan could have been carried out, it would have been admirable, but the difficulties in the way, and the failure of their attempts, soon brought that method into disrepute. The constant movement of troops rendered it impossible for express agents to forward boxes to special regiments, and, as much of the freight sent to the soldiers by these Relief Societies was perishable, baggage cars were flooded with decaying fruit and vegetables, pastry and cake, and badly canned meats and soups, which became spoiled and were thrown away en route. For a time there was great waste of the lavish outpouring of women. It did not, however, check their liberality, but it compelled better methods, and out of this chaos of individual benevolence and abounding patriotism, the Sanitary Commission finally emerged with its marvelous system.

I was reluctant to enter upon the work of the Commission in an official capacity, for I saw that it would take me from home, break up my habits of study and literary work, and take me altogether too much from my husband and children. But the need of relief work for the sick and wounded men of the army became more and more imperative,—the necessity of a better organization and wiser methods were more keenly felt,—and the government was

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preparing for a more vigorous prosecution of the war than it had yet ventured upon,—and I felt compelled to withdraw all objections and obey the call of my country. My husband was very desirous that I should enroll myself regularly in the work of the Commission, and aided me in finding a suitable housekeeper, and governess for the children, so that home interests should not suffer because of my absences. And when Dr. Bellows, president of the United States Sanitary Commission, proposed that my friend, Mrs. Jane C. Hoge, and myself should become associate members of the Commission, with headquarters at Chicago, we consented, and remained at our posts until the October after the war closed.

The Relief Societies, all through the Northwest, very quickly affiliated themselves in some way with the Northwestern branch of the Sanitary Commission at Chicago. And, as new societies were formed, they also wheeled into line, and adopted our methods of work, until we had, not only through the Northwest, but through the entire North, a compact organization of aid societies, auxiliary to the Commission.

The work of the next three or four years was severe in the extreme. Many women broke down under the incessant strain, and some of them died. I resigned all positions save that on my husband's paper, and subordinated all demands on my time to those of the Commission. I organized Soldiers' Aid Societies, delivered public addresses, to stimulate supplies and donations of money in the principal cities and towns of the Northwest; wrote letters by the thousand, personally and by amanuenses; answered all that I received, wrote the circulars, bulletins, and monthly reports of the Commission; made trips to the front with sanitary stores, to the distribution of which I gave personal attention; brought back large numbers of invalid soldiers, who were discharged that they might die at home, and accompanied them in person, or by proxy, to their several destinations; assisted to plan, organize, and conduct colossal sanitary fairs, the histories of which I wrote at their close; detailed women nurses for the hospitals by order of Secretary Stanton, and accompanied them to their posts; in short, the story of women's work during the war has never been fully told, and can never be understood save by those connected with it. Whatever of mine was published during this period, or whatever related to my work during those stormy times, was carefully preserved by my husband.

Mary Ashton Rice Livermore, *The story of my life; or, The sunshine and shadow of seventy years / by Mary A. Livermore . . . with hitherto unrecorded incidents and recollections of three years' experience as an army nurse in the great Civil War, and reminiscences of twenty-five years' experiences on the lecture platform . . . to which is added six of her most popular lectures . . . with portraits and one hundred and twenty engravings from designs by eminent artists* (Hartford, CT: A. D. Worthington and Company, 1897), 469–472.

Former Slave Hannah Austin Recalls Slavery and the War (April 8, 1937)

As one of many New Deal projects designed to create jobs for unemployed Americans, the Works Progress Administration (WPA), as part of its Federal Writers Project, hired writers to interview former slaves about their experiences. Formed in 1935, the WPA assembled hundreds of interviews of elderly African Americans. Despite their shortcomings, these sources provide some of the most vivid firsthand accounts of the slave experience before, during, and after the Civil War. In the following interview, Hannah Austin recalls some of her wartime experiences as well as her life as a slave.

When the writer was presented to Mrs. Hannah Austin she was immediately impressed with her alert youthful appearance. Mrs. Austin is well preserved for her age and speaks clearly and with much intelligence. The interview was a brief but interesting one. This was due partly to the fact that Mrs. Austin was a small child when The Civil War ended and too because her family was classed as "town slaves" so classed because of their superior intelligence.

Mrs. Austin was a child of ten or twelve years when the war ended. She doesn't know her exact age but estimated it to be between seventy and seventy

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five years. She was born the oldest child of Liza and George Hall. Their master Mr. Frank Hall was very kind to them and considerate in his treatment of them.

Briefly Mrs. Austin gave the following account of slavery as she knew it. "My family lived in a two room well built house which had many windows and a nice large porch. Our master, Mr. Hall was a merchant and operated a clothing store. Because Mr. Hall lived in town he did not need but a few slaves. My family which included my mother, father, sister, and myself were his only servants. Originally Mr. Hall did not own any slaves, however after marrying Mrs. Hall we were given to her by her father as a part of her inheritance.

My mother nursed Mrs. Hall from a baby, consequently the Hall family was very fond of her and often made the statement that they would not part with her for anything in the world, besides working as the cook for the Hall family my mother was also a fine seamstress and made clothing for the master's family and for our family. We were allowed an ample amount of good clothing which Mr. Hall selected from the stock in his store. My father worked as a porter in the store and did other jobs around the house. I did not have to work and spent most of my time playing with the Hall children. We were considered the better class of slaves and did not know the meaning of a hard time.

Other slave owners whipped their slaves severely and often, but I have never known our master to whip any one of my family. If any one in the family became ill the family doctor was called in as often as he was needed.

We did not have churches of our own but were allowed to attend the white churches in the afternoon. The white families attended in the forenoon. We seldom heard a true religious sermon; but were constantly preached the doctrine of obedience to our masters and mistresses. We were required to attend church every Sunday.

Marriages were conducted in much the same manner as they are today. After the usual courtship a minister was called in by the master and the marriage ceremony would then take place. In my opinion people of today are more lax in their attitude toward marriage than they were in those days. Following the marriage of a slave couple a celebration would take place often the master and his family would take part in the celebration.

I remember hearing my mother and father discuss the war; but was too young to know just the effect the war would have on the slave. One day I remember Mr. Hall coming to my mother telling her we were free. His exact words were quote—'Liza you don't belong to me any longer you belong to yourself. If you are hired now I will have to pay you. I do not want you to leave as you have a home here as long as you live.' I watched my mother to see the effect his words would have on her and I saw her eyes fill with tears. Mr. Hall's eyes filled with tears also.

Soon after this incident a Yankee Army appeared in our village one day. They practically destroyed Mr. Hall's store by throwing all clothes and other merchandise into the streets. Seeing my sister and I they turned to us saying, 'Little Negroes you are free there are no more masters and mistresses, here help yourselves to these clothes take them home with you.' Not knowing any better we carried stockings, socks, dresses, underwear and many other pieces home. After this they opened the smoke house door and told us to go in and take all of the meat we wanted.

On another occasion the mistress called me asking that I come in the yard to play with the children." Here Mrs. Austin began to laugh and remarked, "I did not go but politely told her I was free and didn't belong to any one but my mama and papa. As I spoke these words my mistress began to cry.

My mother and father continued to live with the Halls even after freedom and until their deaths. Although not impoverished most of the Halls' fortune was wiped out with the war."

Mrs. Austin married at the age of 16 years; and was the mother of four children, all of whom are dead. She was very ambitious and was determined to get an education if such was possible. After the war Northern white people came south and set up schools for the education of Negroes. She

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remembers the organization of the old Storrs School from which one of the present Negroes Colleges originated.

Mrs. Austin proudly spoke of her old blue back speller, which she still possesses; and of the days when she attended Storrs School.

As the writer made ready to depart Mrs. Austin smilingly informed her that she had told her all that she knew about slavery; and every word spoken was the truth.

Hannah Austin, Works Progress Administration Interview, Library of Congress (April 8, 1937).

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